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THE  
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CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CITY :

ITS STATE UNDER THE ROYALS, SAXONS, DANES, AND NORMANS :

OF THE MIDDLE AGES :

AND THE PRESENT STATE OF THE METROPOLIS :

WITH A HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES AND MONASTRIES

AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS, AND THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE

INHABITANTS, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS TO THE PRESENT TIME :

BY JOHN STOW, AN Eminent Antiquary and Historian of the City.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

By JOHN COCKER, Esq.

AND

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE STATE OF THE CITY OF LONDON, AND ITS ENVIRONS,

IN THE YEAR 1793.

BY JOHN COCKER, Esq.

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THE  
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CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CITY;  
*ITS STATE UNDER THE ROMANS, SAXONS, DANES, AND NORMANS;*  
ITS RISE AND PROGRESS

*To its Present State of Commercial Greatness:*

INCLUDING

AN HISTORICAL RECORD OF EVERY IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING  
PUBLIC EVENT, FROM THE LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE PRESENT PERIOD;  
ALSO, A DESCRIPTION OF ITS ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND ESTABLISHMENTS; OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS IN ITS GOVERNMENT; AND OF THE CALAMITIES TO WHICH  
ITS INHABITANTS HAVE BEEN SUBJECT BY FIRE,  
FAMINE, PESTILENCE, &c.

LIKEWISE

AN ACCOUNT  
OF ALL THE TOWNS, VILLAGES, AND COUNTRY,  
WITHIN TWENTY-FIVE MILES OF LONDON.

BY THE LATE REV. HENRY HUNTER, D.D.  
*AND OTHER GENTLEMEN.*

---

*Embellished with Maps, Plans, and Views.*

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

By S. Gosnell, Little Queen-Street, Holborn.

1811.







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## P R E F A C E.

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IN a work of this magnitude, a considerable time must necessarily elapse from its commencement to its completion; but it will be admitted, that, in the execution of the volumes now offered to the public, a much longer space has been employed than could have been anticipated. To readers in general, it would be uninteresting to detail the causes of this delay. They have been such that the proprietor could neither foresee, nor prevent. He is now anxious that the improvements introduced in the vicinity of London should be noticed in the preface, which might otherwise appear to have been forgotten in their proper places, but which, in truth, have either been finished, or perhaps wholly accomplished, since the early part of the History of London was printed.

It was a subject of surprise to the editor, as it must have been to every intelligent observer, that there were, a few years ago, no docks on the river Thames, at all commensurate with the quantity of shipping employed by British merchants.

The port of London commands about three-fifths of the commerce of the whole kingdom; it frequently has in it 14 or 15 hundred sail of vessels at a time. The increase of its imports, from the year 1700 to 1792, was from about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling to upwards of 12 millions, and its exports had increased from five millions to 14; yet the legal quays had not been enlarged since the year 1666. They were not 1500 feet long, and were totally inadequate to the increase of its commerce. Notwithstanding the inconvenience arising from the crowded state of the Thames at all times, but particularly at those periods when ships arrive in large fleets, no attempt was made to remedy the evil till about the year 1793, when it was proposed to make wet docks for the port of London, in Wapping, the Isle of Dogs, and at Rotherhithe. Much opposition was given to the project; but, having removed the principal obstacles, notice was given, in 1798, that, in the ensuing session of parliament, application would be made for forming docks at Wapping. About the same time, a petition was presented by the corporation of London, with a view to similar objects;



objects ; and by making a navigable canal across the Isle of Dogs, from Blackwall to Limehouse, they proposed to construct wet docks in some part of the isle for the reception and discharge of West-India shipping. The latter part of the plan had been taken up by a number of West-India merchants, who had formed themselves into a company distinct from the subscribers to the London docks, for the purpose of forming docks for the reception of the West-India trade only, either alone, or in conjunction with the other improvements projected by the corporation. In the year 1799, the corporation of London and the West-India merchants formed a junction, and obtained an act for making the West-India docks. In the next session, an act was passed for forming the docks at Wapping ; and afterwards another act was obtained for making docks at Blackwall for the East-India trade. Some account of this national and very important work will be found towards the close of this volume. See p. 858, 865, 867, and 876.

Another considerable improvement has taken place in the neighbourhood of London since the commencement of our work ;—we refer to the completion of the Paddington canal. This vast labour was barely begun, or perhaps scarcely marked out, when the first part of the History of London was sent to the press. It has now been several years in use, and connects London with all the midland and northern counties. It is, in fact, a continuation of the Grand Junction canal, which may be said to terminate in a basin at Paddington, after running 100 miles from the village of Braunston, in Northamptonshire, where it enters the Oxford canal, by which it is connected with the Coventry and Birmingham canals, the Grand Trunk canal, &c. and thus forming a regular line of water-conveyance from London into Lancashire and Yorkshire. The advantages of canal navigation are so great and important, that it is surprising the inhabitants of the metropolis have been so long without a communication to different parts of the kingdom by means of it. Canals not only diminish the expense of carriage, but enable the merchant and manufacturer to transport, from one place to another, goods that could not bear the cost of land-carriage. They put the remote parts of the country more nearly on a level with those in the neighbourhood of large towns, and they encourage cultivation by enabling the farmer to bring manure on his lands at an easy expense. Canals may be considered as so many roads of a certain kind, on which one horse will draw as much as 30 horses on ordinary turnpike roads, or on which one man alone will transport as many



many goods as three men and 18 horses usually do on common roads. The public would therefore be gainers in expending twenty times as much on a canal, as they would upon a turnpike road; but a mile of canal is, frequently, attended with less expense than a mile of turnpike road. In the article of expense only, there is every reason, then, for increasing the number and extent of canals; but in a country like this, in which there is never grown a quantity of corn sufficient for the usual consumption, it is of the utmost importance to carry the canal system as far as possible, in order to diminish the number of horses employed in land-carriage. We have reason to believe, that, by the introduction of canal navigation into some of the inland counties, more than 15,000 horses have been dispensed with, as unnecessary to the purposes for which they had formerly been used. Now the quantity of pasture and arable land employed to feed these will be applied to the production of food for man. Instead of oats, wheat will be cultivated; and, by the general introduction of the system, we shall hereafter become much less dependent on our neighbours for bread, the great support of life, than we are at present.

With respect to the vicinity of the metropolis, we have not only seen the Paddington canal accomplished, which gives a complete line of water-carriage to many of the midland and northern counties, but we have witnessed, within the same period, a canal and railways on the Surrey side of London, which, it is expected, will be productive of very beneficial consequences, and which now connect that part of the country with the noble river Thames, the great source of wealth to the London merchant, and indirectly to the merchants and manufacturers of the whole realm. At present this magnificent stream connects, at East Mersey, with the Colne river; at West Mersey, with Blackwater river; at Foulness east point, with Crouch river; at Whitstable and at Sheerness, with the Medway river; at Gravesend, with the Thames and Medway canal; opposite to Purfleet, with the Darent river, or Dartford creek; at Bow creek, with the Lea river; at Blackwall and at Limehouse, with the Isle of Dogs canal, which is, perhaps, the largest canal ever attempted to be cut, being about 48 yards wide at top, 24 feet deep, and about a mile and a quarter long; at Greenland dock and Rotherhithe, it is connected with the Grand Surrey canal; and at Limehouse with the Limehouse canal. Another navigation of this sort is still wanted, and has, in fact, been long talked of, namely, one that should connect the Paddington canal with the Thames, by taking a circuit about the northern outskirts of London. We trust this will, at no great distance of  
time,



time, be accomplished, as it will not only be highly beneficial to the villages through which it passes, but ornamental to the metropolis.

Having noticed several schemes which have been as advantageous to those who have embarked their property in them, as they are sources of utility to the public, we must not wholly pass over those of a different character: among these are certain attempts at the formation of roads under the Thames. The great distance which the inhabitants of Gravesend and Gray's Thurrock, and the neighbouring parts, have to travel, viz. round by London-bridge, to communicate with each other by land, gave rise, in May 1798, to the proposition for a tunnel, or arched road, under the Thames, from Gravesend, on one side of the river, to Tilbury-fort, on the other. For this purpose 50,000*l.* was soon subscribed. The engineer proposed his arch to be a cylinder, of 16 feet in diameter. The attempt was made; but either through the ignorance of those who undertook the task, or from other causes, it completely failed. In the year 1805 an act was passed for making other archways under the Thames, for the passage of carriages and foot passengers, between Rotherhithe and Limehouse. It was intended to sink a shaft on one shore of the Thames, with a steam-engine, &c. and to continue the same to a sufficient distance, at which to begin the tunnel in opposite directions, rising to the shore of the river one way, and to a point sufficiently inland the other way, for a regular and proper ascent for carriages. This, like many other projects of the present day, was undertaken by needy adventurers on the one part, and by rich speculators on the other, without sufficient examination, and has likewise miscarried.

The same engineer who failed in the execution of the tunnel under the Thames, did, about two years since, propose a scheme of less difficulty, but of the same kind, at Highgate. A pompous advertisement announced a plan for making a tunnel under or through the Highgate-hill, to render a communication to the metropolis from the north more easy. By this plan there was to be a cold, wet, and noisome cavern, about a mile and a quarter long, through which carriages were to pass to avoid an ascent, which in many parts of England would be regarded as a pleasant rise, rather than a steep and difficult hill. Subscribers were soon found, and shares were said to bear a premium. The inhabitants of Highgate felt that their interests were deeply concerned in this ridiculous project; they saw that their springs were likely to be drained, and that they would probably be left without a gallon of that first necessary of life, water. Knowing therefore, that the advantages to the public could be  
nothing



nothing in comparison of the magnitude of the evils to be dreaded from so tremendous an excavation, they petitioned the house of commons against it; who, perceiving it was a scheme of a few interested persons only, rejected it without hesitation.

Since then another project, less obnoxious to the people of Highgate, and somewhat less foolish with regard to those who have embarked in it, has been matured: an act for it has been sanctioned by parliament, and it is actually begun. By this plan a tunnel under ground is to be made, of less than a quarter of a mile in length, which, though it has scarcely any connexion with the hamlet of Highgate, may, if completed, be even now very mischievous to its interests. It cannot be denied that the hill referred to is an inconvenience, and that to get rid of it by any rational mode would be desirable. To mail-coaches, the hindrance, or difference of time occasioned by the hill, in comparison of level ground, is from ten to twelve minutes, and to other carriages in proportion.

The best plan that could be adopted would be a road from the upper part of Kentish Town through the edge of the grounds belonging to the lords Mansfield and Southampton, to Finchley common: this might be made at a comparatively trifling expense, and the whole hill be completely avoided. Nature seems to have intended this cut as a direct communication from the northern parts of England to the metropolis. To carry such a plan into execution more than one effort has been made, but the noblemen concerned having set their faces against it, the undertaking has been judged too adventurous to be seriously engaged in, because it was thought, and perhaps justly, that their opposition in the upper house would negative the attempt, however beneficial to the public. We respect and honour the aristocracy of the country, because we know, and are proud to acknowledge, that, in general, the nobility are forward in promoting every plan that promises public utility, although it should sometimes interfere with their own personal wishes. In the present case it might be satisfactorily proved, that the road now pointed out would be highly advantageous to the estates through which it passed, and would abundantly repay the proprietors of those estates for any degree of publicity to which their grounds might be exposed by it.

As there is, however, no probability that the noble peers will abandon their views on this subject, and as the idea of a tunnel, a dark and dreary cavern, will never meet the public wishes, a new plan has been started, or rather an old plan has been revived, viz. of making a road from the City-road, over Hoxton-fields, to the Green-lanes turnpike-road beyond Newington-green, through Southgate, to  
Potter's-



Potter's-bar, in the road to Hatfield and York, with branches to Whetstone and South Mimms, in the way to St. Alban's. The advantages of this road over the present, and over that which is actually begun by the tunnel projectors, is, that the *three* hills of Highgate, Whetstone, and Barnet will be completely avoided, and that without any additional expense of tollage; whereas the tunnel must require a very heavy toll upon all carriages and passengers, and will, after all, be the means of expediting them in their progress over *one* hill only, instead of three. We understand that this new road is patronized by the post-masters general, and will, no doubt, be so eventually by the government, and the country at large.

Among the other projects of the day, we must not omit those of three bridges across the river Thames:—one at Vauxhall; a second to open into the Strand, opposite Catharine-street; and a third from the bottom of Queen-street, Cheapside, to the Surrey side of the river. As these are to be supported and paid for by tolls, it is still a matter of doubt whether the speculations will answer to the proprietors. We see perpetually that people will go out of their road to save sums, however small; and as the number of passengers and carriages will be much diminished by the bridges already existing, and which are free of all charges, it is presumed that the new bridges must demand very heavy tolls.

We might mention other projected canals, as one through Dorking, Leatherhead, Walton, &c. to unite with the Thames, and one through some of the principal towns and villages of Essex, Hertfordshire, &c. but it is needless to enlarge on them. Every year, and almost every month and week, will, in this age of speculation, bring forth projects, the success or failure of which will demand the attention of some future historian.

It remains only to observe, that about the year 1806 certain very considerable and important alterations and improvements were projected in the neighbourhood of Westminster-abbey, which have been carried on with the greatest spirit and vigour, and which, when finished, will, it is supposed, occasion to the country an expense of nearly half a million sterling. The whole of the buildings which obscured Saint Margaret's church, situated between King-street and Palace-yard, have been removed: the buildings also on the west side of King-street, between the abbey and Great George-street, and those in the Broad Sanctuary, east and west of the new sessions-house, are cleared away; and an act in 1808 was passed for purchasing a  
plot



plot of ground, at that time covered with buildings, lying between the sessions-house and Prince's-street. The improvements comprehend the whole of this area, which of course has afforded ample room for the display of architectural taste and ingenuity.

Having now endeavoured to supply those deficiencies which might otherwise have been noticed in our work ; having recorded in this preface an account of many great and essential improvements which have been adopted in the metropolis and its vicinity since the commencement of this History, and of others in the progress of execution ; and having glanced at projects which, within a few years, have been proposed and failed, we shall take leave of the subject by recommending, to the candour of the public, a work which contains an abundance of interesting matter, and on subjects with which almost the whole population of the country is in some way or other concerned. The History of London and its Environs, though peculiarly appropriated to the inhabitants of those places, is important to readers in general, inasmuch as London is the centre to which every person, from the remotest parts of the island, is attracted at some period of life, and to which unnumbered thousands annually resort, for the purposes of business or pleasure.

*London,*

*Feb. 20, 1811.*







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Plan of London after the Fire, 1666.



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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
L O N D O N.

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CHAPTER I.

*Origin and Progress of the City up to the great Conflagration: A. D. 1666.*

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

NATURE uniformly draws an impenetrable veil over the first principles of her admirable productions, but takes delight to display them in their perfect and finished state. Time, the servant of nature, copies his mistress with minute exactness. Neither the one nor the other will permit the human eye to penetrate into the arcana of their mysterious operations; both of them invite it to contemplate their workmanship, as soon as it is fit to be seen. With pleasure and advantage the stately oak may be traced backward to the acorn, the full-grown man to the infant, the imperial city to the hamlet, but all beyond is an unknown region, and it affords but little benefit or amusement to pursue the process farther. There is a point of research to which the human mind is capable of advancing, but beyond which it cannot go. Objects become too small to be distinguishable by the unassisted eye, too vast to be comprehended by it, or they are removed to a distance which renders them dim and confused. Nevertheless when the productions, whether of nature or of human art and industry, have attained something like perfection, a laudable curiosity is excited to contemplate that greatness in the bud and blossom, and to mark the progress, through every successive stage, up to maturity.

Thus when a city has acquired magnificence, opulence, beauty, and celebrity; when a nation has arrived at superiority in arms and in arts, in political importance and scientific improvement; nay, when an individual has raised himself by talents and virtue, to fame, and rank, and fortune, we naturally wish to view the dawning of a day so splendid. Hence the delight which men take in the biographical delineation of the boyish sports and prattle of opening genius, and of infant eminence; in surveying the rude materials of rising empire; and in rescuing from oblivion the rustic manners, the uncouth edifices, and the clumsy utensils of their remote forefathers.

There is a period in the progress of society, when fiction is constrained to surrender up her empire to truth. But she surrenders it just as it is, overspread with mists and exhalations, which cannot be dispersed in a moment, and peopled with gigantic, or with fairy forms, which it is impossible instantly to transform into human beings. The love of the marvellous, so natural to man, and national partiality and prejudice, which no philosophy is able to subdue, have dictated the early accounts transmitted to us of every city and people under heaven. But so venerable is antiquity, that her splendid fables at length assume the imposing air of history; and we find human life and manners, as well as the beautiful and tremendous appearances of nature, so accurately depicted in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, that Homer is referred to as an authority by the historian, as well as elevated into a standard by the critic, and adopted for a model by the poet.

The Island of Great Britain and her far-famed metropolis present, at this day, the most prominent object on the face of the globe. It is not declamation, it is not the fond partiality of an Englishman to assert, that, every thing taken into the account, they possess a decided superiority over any country or city that ever existed; a superiority the gift of indulgent Nature; a superiority the effect of persevering industry and exertion; a superiority bestowed, and, through ages, supported by singular interpositions of a gracious Providence. To unfold these, for the information of natives as well as of strangers, and to incite the sons of Britain to prize, to improve, and to transmit to posterity the blessings which they enjoy, is the design of the present attempt. The island and its metropolis have been mentioned in conjunction, because their history, their political and commercial interests, their prosperity or depression, are so blended and involved, that the one can hardly be introduced, without a more direct or more remote reference to the other. The  
general







*W. P. Smith del.*

*W. P. Smith sculp.*

# VIEW of TEMPLE BAR.

*Published Feb. 22. 1799. by J. Stockdale, Newcastle.*



general history of the country, however, shall be prosecuted only in points relative to that of the two great cities, which constitute the capital of the united kingdoms, and the grand seat of government, commerce, science, and the arts.

But is a new History of London necessary in the present state of things? Assuredly it is. Let those who recollect what it was but five and twenty or thirty years ago, relate what they have lived to see. Let them describe if they can the magical metamorphosis of Durham-yard, of Somerset-house and the Savoy, of Fleet-ditch and its purlieu, of Marybone north of Oxford-street, of the vicinity of Broad St. Giles, of old St. Luke's and upper Moorfields, of St. George's-fields and Greenwich-road, &c. and of a multitude besides, and it will appear that volumes might be written on the subject of the very recent additions and improvements. Indeed, to give a proper representation of London, even to its own inhabitants, the history of it ought to be written once every year; for scarcely a month passes in which there is not brought forward some plan or another of elegant embellishment, of public or private utility, of civil or commercial improvement. Of consequence, the lapse of a short time will render this work, like all those on the subject which have preceded it, obsolete and imperfect; and fathers of the next generation will be pointing out to their sons the spot on which Temple-bar stood, and leading them through spacious and wholesome streets of magazines, shops, and palaces, reared where the shambles of Fleet-market and of Whitechapel now pollute the earth and poison the air.

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#### SECTION I.

*Earliest Information respecting London, down to the withdrawing of the Roman Power from Britain: A. D. 420.*

PROVIDENT Nature had previously made all her wise arrangements long before they were discerned by the eye of man, and before human sagacity had learnt to avail itself of them. The silver Thames had from the beginning received its semi-diurnal influx, and rendered it back to the ocean, while as yet no oar grazed its bosom, and no breeze wafted the sail along its tide. The majestic stream had formed itself into many a graceful arch, long before art knew how to

bind together the extremities, by stretching out the line between them; and the declivity, on which proud London now stands, gently sloped down to the ebbing and flowing margin, while as yet no sacred fane nor domestic habitation occupied and embellished the pathless waste. The eye which contemplated new-born worlds rising into lustre and importance, beheld from earliest antiquity, in this venerable spot, the future residence of empire, of law, and liberty; the platform of this queen of cities, the wonder, the glory, the envy of a globe. In vain would man pretend to divide the praise of selection of place with his illustrious parent. He has in a few rarer instances, indeed, endeavoured to force her into an awkward submission to his own caprice, a violation which she never fails to resent and punish; but his highest honour, his truest wisdom is to discern which way she points, to follow where she leads the way, to adopt her plans, and to profit by the materials which she has provided for his use. The rudiments of London's greatness are, accordingly, to be traced in the unchanging pre-dispositions of unerring Nature; and no sooner did man begin to multiply on the banks of Thames, and to unite in the bands of social life, than those dispositions were discerned, and turned to account. Commerce had opened a thousand channels of communication between our island and the adjoining continent ages before it caught the ambitious eye of the aspiring Julius, and tempted the domineering genius of Rome to add another splendid province to her empire. Property, the child of commerce, had likewise roused the spirit of self-defence, and produced military prowess and discipline, as Cæsar and his legions felt, when they presumed to attempt an invasion. To that insolent invader, however, equally illustrious as a scholar and as a soldier, we are indebted for the earliest authentic accounts of Britain and her inhabitants. Rejecting, therefore, the monkish legends of London's antiquity, as fabulous and incredible, and without entering into etymological discussion to ascertain the origin of a name now so highly renowned, our history of the country, and consequently of its capital, must commence at the period of Julius Cæsar's first descent, about the year of the world 3950, and fifty-five years prior to the Christian era.

Nature, which determined the situation of London, dictated, no doubt, the name also; but at this distance of time, what sagacity of research is able to ascertain its real etymology? Could we with the fabulous Geoffry of Monmouth trace its origin up to the pretended Brutus, the descendant of Eneas, the adulterous bastard of Venus, the daughter of Jupiter, should we have gained any accession of  
reputation



reputation to our metropolis? Is a name importing *renovated Troy* more venerable than that which it has so long borne, involved as it is in all its mysterious obscurity? No: the uncertain derivation of the name, and the unknown era of the city's foundation, throw us back into infinity, and claim an antiquity for London which gives her a rank with Thebes and Memphis, with Nineveh and Babylon. It is of inferior importance to determine the dawning of society and civilization, and the meaning of a word; but it is deeply interesting to know the actual state and character of our ancestors at the period when the floating particles of fabulous tradition begin to settle into historic truth.

The inhabitants of this island, at the time of its invasion by Julius Cæsar, were described by the general epithet of *barbari*, barbarians. But it is to be observed, that both the Greeks and Romans affixed a very different idea to this term, from that which modern usage conveys, and one much less offensive. They simply meant to express by it, a people of rude and uncouth speech and manners; tribes not of their own country; but though unlettered, not brutal; though unpolished, yet by no means ferocious. Internal traffic must have existed long before a foreign trade could have been established; but the very existence of traffic, whether domestic or foreign, much more the combination of the two, necessarily supposes the cultivation of the mental powers and of the moral virtues. But the first and most authentic information which Cæsar received concerning Britain, was from the merchants who traded between that island and the ports of Gaul; and he was allured hither, if we may believe one of his historians,\* chiefly by the size and beauty of the pearls imported from hence into the continent, but more probably by its still more valuable productions, iron and tin, already well-known articles of commerce, and, above all, by an insatiable ambition which grasped the empire of the globe. The commodious situation of London for commerce of every species renders it highly probable, therefore, if not absolutely certain, that in Cæsar's time, though he makes no mention of it, it had acquired celebrity, population, and importance.

But we must make our progress gradually to the capital from the sea-coast, by a brief detail of the first descent made upon it. Cæsar, having meditated and planned his expedition into Britain, prompted by the motives already suggested, and incited, as he himself acknowledges, by resentment against the Britons, for the underhand succours with which they had supplied the Gauls for resisting the

\* Suetonius.

progress of the Roman arms, he thought it prudent to prepare the way for the execution of it, by dispatching Caius Volusenus, one of his lieutenants, to reconnoitre the coasts and harbours of the island, adjacent to Gaul, and to collect what intelligence he could respecting its magnitude and population, the manners and military force and discipline of its inhabitants, and every other particular of moment. In the mean time, he himself collected a considerable army, with the necessary fleet of transports, and a few ships of war, such as ships of war were in those days, toward the ports of Calais and Boulogne, that he might be in readiness to embark as soon as Volusenus should return. Hitherto the intercourse between Britain and Gaul had been the friendly union of two neighbouring countries to repel a common enemy, or the calm interchange of commodities, and of mercantile mutual accommodation and benevolence, or, at worst, of mercantile skill and cunning; but at this period commenced a dreadful interchange of hostility and hatred, which the lapse of eighteen centuries and a half hath not extinguished, but rather inflamed.\*

Volusenus having made such observations as circumstances permitted, navigation being still in a comparative state of infancy, without daring to land, or to hold any conference with the natives, rejoined his general within five days, and made his report. The appearance of his galley upon their coast, however, greatly alarmed the Britons, sufficiently apprized by this time of the irresistible force and unrestrained progress of the Roman arms. Though by no means destitute themselves of military skill and courage, they deemed it more prudent to feign submission, and to prevent, rather than to brave, the impending storm. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to Cæsar, from the southern states of the island, with acknowledgments of the authority of Rome, and a tender of hostages as a security for their fidelity. This embassy was graciously received, and sent back with an earnest recommendation to their countrymen to persevere in their friendly disposi-

\* Virgil puts into the mouth of Dido, rendered frantic by neglected and despairing love, a prophetic imprecation of unrelenting, everlasting animosity between her own Carthage and the future Rome of the Trojan hero. The Poet conveyed history in the form of prediction. Had he been describing, from actual knowledge, the relative situation and reciprocal temper of England and France, for a series of ages, he could not have employed more apposite and more appropriate terms.

*Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas  
Imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotes.*

ENEID IV. 628.



tions, but, at the same time, with a direct intimation of Cæsar's intention to visit the island in person the first favourable opportunity.

The islanders finding that even unconditional submission could not divert the Roman commander from his purpose, with the resolution of free and independent men, prepared for the defence of their country; and the vigour of their resistance, the manner of it, their perseverance, and their success, amply demonstrated that they by no means merited the appellation of barbarian so lavishly bestowed on them by their invader, at least in the odious sense of that word. Cæsar embarked his infantry on board a fleet of eighty transports, at the port of Calais, and leaving orders for the cavalry to follow with all possible dispatch, he set sail with a fair wind, early in the morning of August the 26th, A. A. C. 55, and reached the island by ten o'clock in the forenoon of the same day. Through accident or mismanagement, the ships with the cavalry did not sail till four days after, and, repelled by adverse winds, never arrived at the place of their destination.

From Cæsar's own description of the coast which he first reached, it must have been the bold and steep cliffs in the vicinity of Dover. He found the heights covered with bands of armed men, determined to resist invasion. He was under the necessity, therefore, of receding from his purpose of attempting an immediate descent, and waiting the return of the tide, the wind still continuing favourable, was able to double the south-foreland, and in a few hours made the level and open shore adjacent to Deal and Sandwich. But even here he found his vain-glorious boast *veni, vidi, vici*, unequal to the success of his mighty enterprize. The Britons had carefully watched his motions, and now covered the beach in martial array, resolute to maintain the liberty and independence of their paternal inheritance. The Roman army had difficulties unknown and tremendous to surmount: a shore to which they were entire strangers, the swelling surf of an agitated ocean, water too shallow to admit of the near approach of loaded transports, and yet too deep to be forded by soldiers encumbered with heavy armour, and a formidable military force, well-acquainted with both the land and the water, marshalled on their own ground, and determined to defend it. Cæsar observed with concern the intimidation of his veteran and hitherto invincible troops, but he had advanced too far to retire, and therefore gave orders for a few of the galleys which drew the least depth of water to approach, and to ply the enemy with sling-stones, arrows, and missiles from their engines. The novelty and effect of this mode of attack staggered the islanders,

islanders, but without dismaying them ; and the Roman soldiery still hesitated to quit their ships, and to encounter the complicated dangers which threatened them. In this moment of awful suspense, the courage of one man turned the scale, and decided, for the present, the issue of the expedition. The standard-bearer of the tenth legion, in the enthusiasm of military ardour, having implored of the gods success to his attempt, thus aloud addressed himself to his irresolute companions : “ Plunge in with me, my fellow foldiers, unless you mean to betray the Eagle “ into the hands of the enemy. I, at least, shall fulfil the duty which I owe to “ my general and my country.”—As he pronounced those words he sprung overboard, and proceeded toward the strand. Animated by this spirited address, and stung with shame at the idea of such a stigma on the Roman name, they to a man leaped into the sea to protect their standard. The example was followed by the foldiers in the adjoining ships, and an obstinate conflict ensued, in which, at length, the genius and warlike discipline of Rome prevailed.

Cæsar having thus made good his landing, resolved to wait the arrival of his cavalry from the continent. The dispirited Britons in the mean time deemed it prudent to renew their offers of submission, and to endeavour to obtain peace on whatever terms. The Roman, disappointed of the co-operation of his cavalry, and finding he could make no progress into the interior of the island with his present force, thought it prudent on his part to listen to their overtures ; he accordingly gently reprimanded the ambassadors for breach of national faith, accepted their apology, demanded additional hostages, and consented to a cessation of hostilities. But he had the mortification of not only seeing the eighteen transports which contained his cavalry forced back to the continent by a furious tempest, but of next morning beholding his whole fleet wrecked on the British shore. The equinoctial gales were now coming on, and the moon happened to be at the full. Acquainted hitherto with no seas except the Mediterranean and its branches, over which the supposed influence of the moon is little, if at all, felt, Cæsar was not aware of the swelling of a spring-tide in the ocean, assisted by a violent storm of wind, and had employed no precaution to prevent or to resist its attack. The Gauls in his army, whom experience had completely instructed in the doctrine of the tides, but who bore no good will to the haughty conquerors of their own country, and sympathized, no doubt, with neighbours unjustly invaded, concealed their knowledge, and permitted the Romans to fall into the snare. The consequence was, all the galleys which



which he had ordered to be hauled up on the beach, and thus imagined it to be perfectly secure, were filled with water, while the heavy transports which were riding at anchor, stripped of their crews, run foul of each other, and were forced on shore with the loss of cables, anchors, and every other species of naval stores. This disaster, dreadfully aggravated by the prospect of approaching winter, a slender and daily diminishing provision of corn, and a formidable, unsubdued enemy, struck an universal panic into Cæsar's little, though hitherto victorious, army.\* The state of things in the Roman camp could not long be concealed from the vigilance and resentment of the Britons; nor ought it to be matter of surprize if we find them disposed to avail themselves of it. The infractions of treaty chargeable on the most civilized and punctilious of modern nations may surely be pleaded, if not as a justification, at least as an excuse, for the conduct of the painted tribes of savage Britain; and if there be a case stronger than another to warrant revolt, it is the case of a free and independent people vindicating themselves against unprovoked invasion, and taking every advantage of the enemy's weakness and distress.

The sagacity of Cæsar, on the other hand, discerned, from obvious circumstances, that the islanders were meditating a renewal of hostilities, and began accordingly to prepare for the worst, by collecting corn from the adjacent country, by repairing such of his ships as had suffered least, with the materials of those which had been rendered wholly unserviceable, and by drawing such supplies from the continent as the urgency of his affairs demanded. It was not long before the gathering storm burst upon him. One of his legions having been sent out in rotation to forage, in other words, to pillage the country of the standing corn, now come to a state of maturity, the Britons, attacked in the very support of life, and prompted by revenge, assaulted the detached legion with their collected force, in hope of quashing by one desperate exertion the present attempt made upon their liberties, and of thus preventing every future invasion of their country.† The cohorts on guard at the camp, observing a cloud of dust in that quarter to which the foraging party had marched, gave the alarm, and Cæsar instantly advanced in person at the head of the ready-armed troops, leaving orders to the rest of the army to follow with all possible dispatch. He found the legion in the last extremity, completely surrounded by the enemy's war-chariots, plied on every side by missile weapons, and hardly able to maintain their ground. His arrival changed the fortune of the day. The ardour of the

\* Bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 30.

† Bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 32.

Britons was repressed, and the sinking courage of his men revived. He considered it, however, as highly imprudent to risk a general engagement, and contented himself with having saved from impending destruction so considerable a division of his dispirited army. Every military operation was suspended on both sides, for several days together, by the violence of the weather; but the islanders availed themselves of it, to dispatch messengers through the country, with information of the reduced and desperate state of the Roman affairs, and urging them to collect all their force to storm the camp, and extinguish the invaders by a single blow. This produced a prodigious concourse of both cavalry and infantry, who boldly advanced up to the Roman ramparts, and threatened an irruption. Cæsar saw the necessity of making one vigorous effort to extricate the exhausted remains of his army from their dangerous situation, and resolved to prevent the attack of the enemy, by making an attack upon them. The Roman valour and discipline again prevailed, the Britons were repulsed, and Cæsar wreaked his vengeance for his disappointment by setting fire to the miserable huts and hamlets of the men whom he found it impossible for him to subdue. And now despairing of making any farther impression on the island, at that advanced season of the year, he took advantage of the relaxation which the retreat of the enemy afforded to re-embark his troops, and steal away\* to the continent. Thus terminated the first hostile expedition into our island, of which we have any account whereon we can depend, with little glory, and no advantage whatever, but rather disgrace to the Roman name. Cæsar, however, had the art to give such a plausible colouring to the business, in his letters to the senate, that they ordered a holiday of three weeks to the populace of Rome, in honour of the addition of Britain to the empire.

Sensible, from experience, that the force which he had carried into the island, was altogether inadequate to the subjugation of it, and that the season had been too far advanced to admit of his securing a firm establishment in it, Cæsar determined to make a second descent at an earlier period of the year, and with a more numerous and better-provided armament. On his return from Italy to Gaul,

\* From his own account it is evident, that fear had no small share in prompting his retreat from an enterprize undertaken in ignorance and temerity. He allows that his men were panic-struck on several occasions. His biographer Suetonius gives him no credit for this ill-advised and unsuccessful attempt; and the poet Lucan introduces his great rival Pompey directly charging him with a shameful flight from an enemy whom he had rashly provoked, in that well-known line of the *Pharsalia*:

“*Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.*”



early in the spring (A. A. C. 54.), he had the satisfaction of finding the preparations which he had ordered, in a state of great forwardness. A fleet consisting of no less than six hundred transports, and twenty-eight ships of war, was either already afloat, or on the point of launching. Having made every arrangement which prudence dictated, to ensure the tranquillity of Gaul during his absence, he embarked a well-appointed army of no less than five legions, with their proper complement of cavalry, on board a fleet of eight hundred ships of various sizes, and set sail from the port of Calais one evening about sun-set, about the end of May or the beginning of June.\* The wind having fallen as the night advanced, he found himself at day-break carried considerably to the north-east of the island, by the strength of the current. But taking advantage of the change of the tide, and exciting an ardent emulation among the soldiers to ply their oars, the whole fleet made the coast of Britain about noon of the second day, near the spot where he had landed the year before. No enemy appeared: for though the islanders had by this time formed a confederacy, and assembled in great numbers, on the rumour of this second attempt, the sight of the ocean covered with such a prodigious armament, and the recollection of the Roman prowess in preceding conflicts, deterred them from attempting to dispute their landing, and induced them to consult their own safety by retiring up the country, and burying themselves in their fastnesses.

Cæsar being thus permitted to land quietly, and left at liberty to form his encampment where and how he thought proper, procured information from the stragglers whom he had picked up, of the route which the British force had taken, and leaving about two thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry to guard the camp which likewise inclosed part of the shipping, hauled up on the beach, he advanced with the rest of his army under cover of the night in quest of the enemy, and after a march of twelve hours, came within sight of them. They had drawn up their cavalry and war-chariots on the steep banks of the Stour, resolved to dispute the passage of that river with the Romans. They could not, however, long sustain the attack of Cæsar's cavalry, but retreated into a strong-hold, of difficult access by nature, and fortified by all that their rude art could effect. This, it is conjectured, is the spot on which the ancient city of Canterbury now stands. They attempted to harass the Romans by frequent and sudden eruptions, in small parties, from the wood, with all the intricacies of which they were perfectly well acquainted. The

\* Bell. Gall. l. v. c. 8.

seventh legion, which had been surprized by the Britons the preceding fall, and nearly cut off, in resentment of that danger and disgrace, resolved to storm the British entrenchments, in which they succeeded with no very considerable loss; but Cæsar did not think it advisable to follow up the blow, being involved in a woody and unknown country, toward the close of the day, and labouring under excessive anxiety about the safety of his fleet, but slenderly fortified, on a coast, and in seas, with which he was entirely unacquainted. Having, as he imagined, rendered his encampment secure, he ventured to detach a powerful body of cavalry and infantry to bring the enemy, if possible, to a decisive engagement, in hope of insuring, by one master stroke, the conquest of the island. But the rear of this army was not yet out of sight, when the whole was suddenly recalled by couriers from the camp, bringing the melancholy news of the almost total demolition of his fleet at anchor by a storm. It required the unremitting labour of ten days and nights to repair the damage sustained, to haul up the rest of his ships upon the dry land, and to erect fortifications of sufficient strength to resist all future attacks. This service being at length accomplished, he proceeded to execute his intention of pursuing the flying enemy, and of forcing them to a general action. He found them in much greater force than he had imagined, and the numerous tribes of the southern regions of the island united for mutual defence, under Cassivellaunus, a warlike prince, whose dominions were divided from, or rather united to the maritime districts, by the river Thames.\* Previous to Cæsar's arrival, these numerous tribes, composed chiefly of emigrants from France and the Netherlands, had been

\* It is amusing to compare, in imagination, the then state of this illustrious stream, confined by no banks, swelling occasionally by inland inundations, and twice every day by an influx from the ocean, forming a great sea from above Richmond down to the Nore, but frequented by nothing that deserves the name of navigation, with its present state of improvement and importance, flowing upward and downward, rising and falling between barriers reared by the hand of man, adorning, in its course, the fertile plains which it once overflowed, and enriched with the commerce of the globe. Neither is it less amusing to contrast the ignorance of the Roman general, respecting the simplest phenomena of Nature, the weather, the equinoctial influence, the tides, the phases of the moon, with the intelligence of a common sailor, or even a waterman, on all these subjects. How would Cæsar have felt, with all his undaunted courage, could he have heard the thunder, beheld the flame, and marked the effect of British naval artillery, turning invasion into ridicule. The superficiality of observation discoverable in Horace, the ornament of the court of Augustus, on an obvious subject, likewise excites a smile. In Ode 3. of Book I. he represents the separation of islands and continents by what he calls the *diffociable ocean*, as a wise provision of nature. It is the evident design of Nature to connect, not disunite, mankind by interfluent rivers and seas.



engaged in almost incessant civil broils with the subjects of Cassivellaunus;\* but the approach of a common enemy extinguished their mutual jealousy, and united them in a powerful confederacy under one experienced and gallant chieftain. As the Roman army was now rapidly advancing, the Britons prepared to give them a warm reception. Their cavalry, supported by the war-chariots, met the attack with undaunted resolution, and though constrained to give way, retreated in good order, leaving many of the Romans, as well as of their own men, dead upon the field. From the vigorous resistance which he had encountered, the commander of the detachment deemed it prudent to entrench himself; for several parties who had rashly pursued their victory too far, were surprized by the retreating Britons, and cut to pieces. Indeed the army of Cassivellaunus was so far from being routed, that they were presently in sufficient force not only to act on the defensive, but confidently to attack the invaders of their country, while busied in the fortification of their camp. They darted suddenly out of the woods, routed the advanced guard, repulsed two prime cohorts which Cæsar had sent to support the guard, killed Laberius Durus, an officer of high rank, and made good their retreat with little, if any, loss.

As this bold action passed under Cæsar's very entrenchments, and in the sight of the whole army, he became sensible that he had embarked in an enterprize of much greater difficulty and danger than he at first apprehended. The ponderous armour and exact discipline of the Roman soldiery were highly unfavourable to the desultory war in which they were engaged, in an intricate and unknown country, with an enemy rapid in their movements and brisk in their attack, who frequently gave way out of policy, only to return more vigorously to the charge; who knew how to take every advantage of the ground, and possessed inexhausted resources of recruits, with all needful provision.

The Britons, taught by experience that in close and compacted combat they were by no means a match for their adversaries, thought it advisable to retire to the adjacent heights, to act only on the defensive, but carefully to watch every opportunity of galling the invader. In an evil hour it was determined to make a general attack on a large foraging party, consisting of no less than three legions, and the whole cavalry of the Roman army. The attempt proved fatal to the assailants

\* Cæsar calls them indiscriminately the *Cassi*, and the *Cattivellauni*. They inhabited what are now the rich and beautiful provinces of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire.

and to the confederacy. The British army was completely discomfited and dispersed; the dispirited remains of this hasty and ill-affected union flunk away every man to his own home, and the commander in chief found it utterly impossible to collect a force that dared to face the conqueror. A road was thus opened for him to the very banks of the Thames, and all that Cassivellaunus could do, thus reduced to dependance on the valour of his native subjects, was to observe the enemy's motions, to impede his march, and to avail himself of every favourable circumstance which might occur. The track which Cæsar pursued was marked by the conflagration of the woods, hamlets, and villages, and every other species of devastation, which the resentment of unexpected opposition, and desire of forcing submission, could dictate, and the Thames became for the first time renowned in story, by granting an almost undisputed passage to the haughty conqueror of Germany and Gaul, into the more northerly provinces of Britain. The distance of time, the perishable nature of all human monuments, and the conciseness, not to say the obscurity and perhaps studied concealment of facts, of Cæsar's narration, render it impossible now to ascertain the precise spot where Cæsar crossed the river to attack the British general in his own territories. Camden, however, asserts it was at Cowey Stakes near Weybridge.

Fortunately for the success of Roman ambition, Cæsar found one of the most warlike tribes beyond the Thames exasperated to madness against Cassivellaunus, for his barbarous treatment of their native prince Imanuentius, whom he had slain, and had constrained his son Mandubratius, a youth, to consult his safety by flight. These were the *Trinobantes*,\* who welcomed the victorious general, by a respectful embassy, put themselves under his protection, implored support to their exiled youthful sovereign, and promised unlimited submission to his authority. Thus to the mutual jealousy and resentment of two British tribes was Cæsar, in all probability, indebted for the footing which he obtained in the island, and from the alliance then formed between the Romans and the Trinobantes, we may, perhaps, deduce, if not the very origin, at least the future celebrity and increase of our metropolis. It is not indeed particularly mentioned by Cæsar, but if antiquarians are founded in the etymology of the name of the people called Trinobantes, as compounded of the three British words *Tri*, *Now*, *Hant*,† that is, inhabitants of the

\* The ancient inhabitants of the district which now consists of the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and part of Surry,

† Henry's History of Britain, vol. i. page 170.



new city, we shall have a glimmering of light into the infancy and childhood of London. Being a trading colony transplanted from the continent, and allured to the situation by its obvious accommodation to the purposes of foreign and domestic traffic, they had founded, or greatly enlarged a city on both sides of the Thames, and thus probably obtained from their neighbours the distinctive appellation of the proprietors of the Tri-now or New City. Be this as it may, the place and the people henceforward occupy a most distinguished station in the annals of the British isles.

The submission of the Trinobantes gave a mortal blow to the British confederacy, which rapidly melted away, so that Cassivellaunus, finding himself deserted of every ally, and stripped of his capital itself,\* proposed overtures of peace. Cæsar, by this time, apparently sick of an expedition from which he was likely to reap neither honour nor advantage, and willing to preserve the little credit he had gained, granted peace on very moderate terms. He imposed a tribute on Cassivellaunus, which in all probability was never paid, and exacted a promise from him not to molest Mandubratius and the Trinobantes, which was not very scrupulously observed. His absence had encouraged a spirit of revolt in Gaul, which rendered his immediate return a matter of absolute necessity; and the struggle which soon after ensued between him and Pompey, for the mastery of Rome herself, prevented every future attempt, on his part, to subjugate Britain. Indeed, from his own narrative of the termination of this mighty enterprize, we are warranted to say, that he rather fled than retreated from our island. The last re-embarkation of his troops was effected toward the end of September, in the fifty-fourth year before the Christian era.

An impenetrable veil is spread over the history of this country, and of its rising metropolis, from this period down to the reign of the emperor Claudius; that is, during a space of ninety-seven years: a long calm, which was to be succeeded by storm upon storm that agitated Britain into a celebrity and importance which have far eclipsed the glory of Italy and old Rome. Augustus was too prudent to risk the unhinging of his recently acquired empire over the liberties of his country, by an enterprize in which Julius himself had failed; he satisfied himself, there-

\* Then merely an inclosed wood, containing a few straggling villages, surrounded by a ditch and rampart. It occupied the spot on which formerly stood the flourishing city of Verulamium, near to the present site of the ancient town of St. Albans.

fore, with venting empty threats of an invasion which he never meant to execute, and with swallowing the fulsome adulation of the poets of his court, on conquests which he never achieved.\*

Tiberius, his successor (A. D. 15.), observed a similar conduct respecting Britain, accepted such acknowledgments as were voluntarily tendered, and maintained an intercourse of friendship without affecting superiority. The expedition of Caligula (A. D. 40.) resembled the extravagance of a madman rather than the enterprize of a soldier, and excited contempt instead of inspiring terror. During this protracted respite from foreign attack, though involved in the distresses of internal dissension, London was silently and unperceived, increasing in magnitude, in population, and in the opulence which commerce creates; for when the island was seriously invaded, and actually subjected to the power of Rome, early in the reign of the emperor Claudius (A. D. 43.), this city possessed sufficient consequence to be raised to the rank of a Roman *municipium*, or free town, and its inhabitants were by that conquering people, conformably to their usual policy, declared citizens of Rome; and under this protection, and through the advantage of this high privilege, in a few years became renowned for its wealth, and the number of its merchants. At what precise period it obtained the name which it now bears, by whom that name was imposed, and what is its real import, history is silent, but conjecture most prolific,†

Tacitus

\* Take a specimen:

Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem  
Regnare: præsens Divus habebitur  
Augustus, adjectis Britannis  
Imperio.

HORAT. Lib. III. Od. 5.

Te belluofus, qui remotis  
Obstrepat Oceanus Britannis,  
Te non paventes funera Galliæ,  
Duræque tellus audit Iberiæ.

Id. Lib. IV. Od. 14.

Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos  
Orbis Britannos.

Id. Lib. I. Od. 35.

† The industrious antiquarian and historiographer, John Stowe, after Geoffrey of Monmouth, derives the name from a supposed king *Lud*, who, having repaired, extended, fortified, and embellished the city, and constructed the ancient gate which communicates to this day a denomination to the adjacent street and hill, called it, from a vanity natural to man, by his own name, *Cæſſr-Lud*, or *Lud's-town*, which imperceptibly melted away into London. Camden and others, with a greater air of probability, and supported by the real descriptive character of this great city, deduce it from the British word *Llongdin*, equivalent



Tacitus is the first author of credit who speaks of it from real knowledge;\* but as he adopts the name currently in use, without explaining its import in the Latin language, we must leave the origin and nomination of this metropolis, with the source of the Nile, and the other arcana of nature and antiquity, under the thick darkness which covers them.

It belongs to the general historian of the island to detail the various events which followed the Claudian invasion of Britain. We shall trace them with all possible brevity, as it is impossible to arrive at our particular link of the great chain, without following the series that comes into more immediate contact with it. From the faint sketch already given, it appears that Christianity and London are nearly co-eval. While Cæsar was opening a way into our country by the sword, eternal Providence was bringing forward the “fullness of time,” when the olive branch, in the hand of the Prince of Peace, should commence a progress in every direction, to deliver the enslaved nations of the earth from the dominion of ignorance and vice, and to assert them into “the glorious liberty of the sons of God.” While Claudius was forging chains for the necks of our forefathers, Paul was “preaching” among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.” While London was rising into magnitude and distinction, an unseen hand was preparing her brightest ornament and most invaluable possession. It was a grievous calamity to fall under a foreign yoke; but calamity under the direction of high Heaven is converted into benefit. For our advantage, not to our loss, Julius conquered, Augustus made peace, Claudius invaded, and Nero persecuted.

Britain stands indebted, for her subjugation to the power of Rome, to one of her own unworthy children.† Bericus had been expelled from the island for sedition. He fled for shelter to the imperial court, complained of the injustice which had been done him, and instigated the emperor to invade his country, now become a far more valuable object than it was in the days of Julius, and a much easier prey,

equivalent to the Saxon compound *Ship-ton*, or the town of ships. It has likewise been derived from *Luna* one of the names of Diana, who is supposed to have had a temple there; a conjecture suggested from the apparent influence of that planet on the rising and falling of the tide, an object of such early and obvious importance to a commercial people: and, to mention no more, its situation on the declivity of the banks of the Thames, co-operating with the illusion of sound, has induced the etymologist to trace it up to *Lun-dain* or *Llan-dain*, Hill-town or Bank-town. The reader will judge for himself. Under the Roman domination it was likewise distinguished by the name of *Augusta*, an epithet which powerfully marks the high degree of respectability which it had acquired in the estimation, and under the fostering care, of that enlightened people.

\* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 33.

† Sueton. Vit. Claud. cap. 17.

from the internal factions by which it was torn. Men are easily persuaded to do what they desire. Claudius listened to the suggestion, and issued orders for assembling a well-appointed army on the northern coast of Gaul, consisting of four complete legions, with their full complement of auxiliaries and cavalry, amounting in all to upwards of fifty thousand men. The chief command was conferred on Aulus Plautius, a gentleman of consular dignity, and a general of approved wisdom and valour. Under him the expedition was conducted by Vespasian, who was afterwards raised to the imperial throne, by his brother Sabinus, and by other officers of high character.

The army, at first, discovered much aversion to this enterprize. The precipitate retreat of Julius Cæsar was not yet forgotten. The ocean still presented a most formidable object; and such was the ignorance of the geography of Europe which still prevailed, that Britain was considered at Rome as the utmost extremity of the earth. Plautius, however, had the address to persuade his men at length to embark, and having formed them into three distinct bodies, set sail for the British shore, and landed without opposition. The long calm of almost a century had lulled the Britons into a state of security, which the late ridiculous attempt of Caligula had served only to increase. They had, therefore, concerted no measures to repel invasion. Cunobelinus, their warlike head, had now paid the debt of nature, and his extensive dominions were divided among his widow Cartimandua, and his two sons Caractacus and Togodumnus, who armed merely to act defensively, in hope that the approach of winter would, as formerly, chase the enemy back to the continent. If such was their expectation, it was sadly disappointed. The country was now in a condition to furnish subsistence for a great army; and, to say nothing of the advanced population of Kent and Suffex, at no great distance from each other, beyond the River Thames, stood the flourishing cities of Verulamium, London, and Camulodunum, now Malden in Essex. After various engagements, in which the Britons were constantly defeated, Plautius forced his way across the Thames, and took possession of the rich provinces lying on its northern bank, the inhabitants of which submitted to the Roman arms, and entered into an alliance with the invaders, which continued in force as long as they remained in possession of the island.

The Roman general, though uniformly victorious, was abundantly sensible that he had by no means effected a complete conquest; he, therefore, withdrew his



troops from beyond the river, and either desponding of his own skill and force, or willing to pay the emperor a compliment, he informed Claudius of his progress, and of the present state of affairs, and invited him over to Britain to finish the contest in person.\* That prince accordingly embarked immediately for Marseilles, travelled by land to Boulogne, passed over into Britain, took the command of his army, and by victory, or the voluntary submission of princes and their tribes, rendered himself master of the fairest and most fertile part of the island. Having restored the command to Plautius, and appointed him governor of this newly-acquired province, he hastened back to Rome, which he entered triumphantly in less than six months from his departure. Plautius conducted the war against the princes of the interior of Britain, particularly against the renowned Caractacus, with such success, that on his recall, after four years hard service (A. D. 47.), he was honoured with an ovation, or secondary triumph. His absence encouraged the half-subdued Britons to revolt; for when his successor Ostorius Scapula assumed the command, A. D. 50, he found the affairs of the province in the utmost confusion, and the enemy ravaging the territories of the Roman allies. His address and valour checked the one and protected the other. Proceeding from victory to victory, he reduced in rapid succession the Iceni, who inhabited what now constitutes the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon; the Brigantines, the inhabitants of Yorkshire; the Silures and Ordovices, the natives of South and North Wales. These hardy tribes, under the command of the gallant Caractacus, made the last and the boldest stand for expiring liberty and independence; but all in vain: they were routed in a general and decisive engagement on the borders of Shropshire (A. D. 51.); the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners on the field; his brothers surrendered immediately after the battle, and he himself was delivered up in chains to the Roman general by his cruel stepmother Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, to whom he had fled for protection. (A. D. 52.)

The Britons, though repeatedly defeated, were not yet subdued; and so uneasily did the government of turbulent and high-spirited tribes sit upon Ostorius, that, harassed with incessant revolt, and living in the midst of perpetual alarm, his spirits sunk, his health decayed, and he died of chagrin and dejection in less than three years from his appointment to the command.† He was succeeded by Aulus

\* Dio Cassius, lib. lx. Suet. Vit. Claud. cap. 17.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 39.

Didius, A. D. 53; and Claudius himself, dying the year after, was succeeded in the empire by his son Nero, who continued Aulus in the prætorship of the island for three years (A. D. 57.), during which nothing memorable was transacted here, nor under his successor Veranius, who died within a year from his assuming the government. (A. D. 59.) Suetonius Paulinus was now appointed to the command, who undertook and effected the conquest of the isle of Anglesey (A. D. 61.); but his absence on this expedition, and the severity with which he had exercised his authority, excited a spirit of universal detestation of the Roman yoke.\* London, now become a Roman colony and station, the seat of commerce and opulence, with her sister cities Verulamium and Camalodunum, were at once subjected to the oppression of their Roman allies, and to the jealousy and hatred of the neighbouring states. The last mentioned of these towns first felt the dreadful consequences of being raised to the dignity of a colony, and of trusting to foreign protection. Their neighbours, the Iceni and Trinobantes, had formed a powerful confederacy, and, inflamed with ungovernable resentment, poured like a deluge on Camalodunum, armed with fire and sword, and reduced it to total ruin, within a very few years from its first establishment. Flushed with victory, they hastened westward to execute similar vengeance on the colony at London. On their march they were met by the ninth legion under the command of Petilius Cerealis, on his way to save the devoted eastern colony; but instead of relieving them, he shared their fate; the infantry of the legion were completely put to the sword, and Cerealis at the head of the cavalry with difficulty effected his escape to the camp.†

The news of these disasters quickly recalled Suetonius from Anglesey, where he was busying his army in the construction of forts to preserve the conquest of that island. He marched through the disaffected countries with all possible expedition, and arrived safely in London. It was at first his intention to remain there, and to defend the place to the last extremity. But, alas! London, though by this time both populous and wealthy, was totally defenceless, and the Roman general deemed it safer and more honourable to meet the enemy in the field, than to suffer himself to undergo a siege in a place so indifferently fortified, and loaded with the protection of thousands of helpless wretches, who could contribute nothing toward their own defence. The inhabitants, informed of the dreadful calamity

\* Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 14.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 32. Vit. Agric. cap. 15.

which



which had annihilated Camalodunum, and aware of the storm which was ready to burst on themselves, endeavoured by tears and intreaties to dissuade him from his purpose; but he remained inexorable, determined to sacrifice one city to the safety of a whole province, and marched off with his army and such as were able to follow. By far the greater part remained to become the victims of enraged neighbours, and of their own credulous confidence in perfidious associates.\*

No sooner had Suetonius withdrawn his troops from London than it was entered by a numerous army of Britons, under the command of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who, with indiscriminating fury, put all they found to the sword. They proceeded thence, unopposed, to Verulamium, a free city and full of people, and exercised the same unrelenting barbarities. Such was their hatred of the Roman name, and so deep their resentment against all who had contaminated the British character, by forming a league with the invaders of their country, that on this tremendous occasion they spared neither sex nor age, saved no prisoners, but put all to death by the sword, the halter, the cross, the flames, without distinction, and without mercy. So dreadful was the carnage at the three Roman stations, and in their vicinity, that, according to the computation of Tacitus the historian,† no less than seventy thousand miserable wretches perished by an untimely death. Thus are the earliest authentic notices of our metropolis marked with blood and desolation, and such was the price she paid for the honour of being early distinguished by the friendship of Rome, and such is the melancholy proof of her then advanced state of population.

By what means London recovered from this dreadful blow, we are now unable to ascertain. Happily for the human race, the inexhaustible resources of nature speedily repair the ravages of human passion. From her situation in the centre of a daily improving country, and on the banks of a river of all others in the world formed for an extensive commerce, she must speedily have emerged from ruin; and as the Roman power was gradually and at length firmly established in Britain, it appears by no means improbable that the recollection of her attachment to the cause of Rome, and of her sufferings in that cause, might have procured her, as a compensation, privileges and immunities which contributed to a rapid re-establishment of her opulence and greatness. Without farther pursuing, therefore, the detail of events which affected the island at large, we shall satisfy ourselves with

\* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 33.

† Ibid.

selecting such glimpses of information as history supplies respecting the subject of this work.—We find London mentioned as a great and flourishing city, and again in a most critical situation, when the emperor Constantius came to recover the province of Britain out of the hands of Carausius (A. D. 296.), who had assumed the purple there, but who was himself treacherously murdered at York by Alectus, his principal officer and confidant. Alectus was immediately declared emperor by the soldiery, took on him the government of the island, and enjoyed the undisturbed possession of it for three years. Determined to support his title, he prepared to meet Constantius with a powerful army composed partly of Franks and Saxons, two nations destined to make, in after times, a conspicuous figure in the annals of Europe, but who then had obtained a name only for their valour, and the depredations which they committed by sea and land. Before Constantius had time to get up with his rival, and give him battle, he received the agreeable intelligence that the first division of his army, commanded by Asclepiodotus, captain of the imperial guard, had given Alectus a complete overthrow, and dispersed his ill-afforted troops. The victory was, however, far from being complete; for the fugitive Franks and Saxons entered London in great force, and prepared to enrich themselves with its plunder, in hope of escaping beyond sea with their booty: but Providence now interposed to save the city, for part of the fleet and army of Constantius, which had been separated from him by a fog, got into the Thames, and, arriving at the critical moment, attacked the plunderers, repulsed them with great carnage, and preserved the colony from impending destruction. By this event Britain was restored to the Roman empire after a separation of more than ten years;\* the seas were purged of the pirates who infested them, London escaped unhurt, and the freedom of navigation and trade was re-established. The interest of Britain and Rome seems at this period to have been the same. Constantius was received in the metropolis not as a conqueror, but as a deliverer and tutelary deity. He continued in the island till the day of his death, which took place July 26th, A. D. 306, declaring his son emperor.

This son was the illustrious Constantine, afterwards distinguished by the addition of the Great. He was the offspring of Constantius by the no less illustrious Helena his first wife, and a princess of singular beauty, piety, and virtue. It is confidently affirmed by many of our historians, that this renowned lady was

\* Eutrop. lib. ix. cap. 22. Eumen. Panegy. 8.



actually a native of Britain, and daughter of a British king of the name of Coil, and not a few assert that she was delivered of this her son in her native island. Whatever be in this, it is highly probable that his reign commenced at York, where his father died, and where he was invested with the imperial purple, with the loudest acclamations of universal joy.\* To his elevation to the throne rather than to his birth we are most probably to refer that rapturous expression of his panegyrist:—"O fortunate Britain! more happy than all other lands, for thou hast "first beheld Constantine Cæsar!" Certain it is, that under his long and auspicious reign of thirty-one years, Britain enjoyed a state of perfect tranquillity, of which it is reasonable to suppose our ever-commercial metropolis failed not to take advantage.

London comes again into view under the reign of the emperor Valentinian. For the space of almost a hundred and fifty years South Britain had enjoyed undisturbed repose from the incursions of the northern tribes; the wall of Severus was in complete repair, and the very name of Rome commanded respect. But the enormous fabric of her empire was now tottering under its own weight, and her beautiful and well-cultivated provinces presented a tempting object to the hardy and hungry nations of the cold regions of the north. Thus while the maritime districts of the island were exposed to the piratical depredations of the Franks and Saxons, the province was found to be equally vulnerable on the side of Caledonia. Swarms of Scots and Picts forced their way across the Roman bulwark, and returned laden with plunder. Emboldened by success, these rapacious neighbours repeated their visits year after year, till at length Valentinian determined to give them an effectual check, by sending over a considerable reinforcement of troops under the command of Theodosius, one of the best men and most experienced generals of the age in which he lived. This governor on his arrival found the province in the utmost confusion. The invaders had pursued their depredations as far as London, and were preparing to carry off their booty, together with an innumerable multitude of prisoners of every description. Theodosius lost not a moment to attack them, and obtained an easy victory over an army rendered secure by impunity, and encumbered with ill-gotten wealth. The captives were immediately set at liberty, the property was restored to the right owners as far as the several claims could be ascertained; and, eclipsing his own glory as a general, by his wisdom and mode-

\* Henry's Hist. of Brit. vol. i. p. 66. Eumen. Panegy. 9.

ration as a civil ruler, Theodosius entered the capital in triumph, amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, who looked up to him as a superior being come from heaven for their deliverance. To this excellent person, London, then known by the name of Augusta, was probably indebted for her first fortifications. That great city, weak from its magnitude and opulence, had frequently become a prey to the rapacity of selfish governors or of lawless banditti. To afford it present protection was but half a benefit, his enlarged mind prompted him to plan its future security. During the six years of his wise and prosperous administration, and long after his departure, the province was in the possession of profound peace. The ruined villages and towns were rebuilt, the cities and fortresses strengthened with additional bulwarks, and from a state of extreme disorder and distress, the country rose to unexampled prosperity and respectability. The many amiable qualities and splendid actions of this illustrious commander furnish innumerable topics to both the poet\* and the historian.† But his noblest monument is to be sought in the hearts of the nations whom he so virtuously governed. When recalled to Italy to fill one of the highest stations in the empire, he was attended to his galley by countless multitudes pouring out the benedictions of grateful hearts on his name, and putting up fervent prayers to heaven for his safety.

The violent struggles for the succession to the imperial throne (A. D. 375.), which henceforward convulsed the unwieldy and discordant mass of which the Roman empire was composed, involved Britain with the rest in anarchy and woe. Many of her best soldiers were drained off to fight the battles of the contending rivals on the continent, and never returned. The northern neighbours of the province, no longer awed by the authority, and restrained by the valour of a Theodosius, speedily demonstrated that mere walls were no defence. The Picts, Scots, and Attacots, more fierce from restraint, renewed their depredations year after year.

\* The classical reader will not, perhaps, be displeased at seeing a specimen.

Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,  
 Qui medios Libyæ sub casside pertulit æstus,  
 Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni  
 Littoris, ac pariter Boreæ vastator & Austri.  
 Quid rigor æternus; Cœli quid sidera profunt?  
 Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuso  
 Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,  
 Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

CLAUDIAN. Panegy. Theod.

† Marcell. lib. xxviii. cap. 7.



Beside the devastations committed by a foreign enemy, the Britons were subjected to all the miseries arising from a want of order, law, and government. Civil fury and mutual rapine desolated the country; the arts of peace were neglected, and men fell back into a savage state; the lands were left uncultivated, and a dreadful famine was the necessary consequence.\* To fill up the measure of their wretchedness, pestilence pursued famine close at the heels, and thus, the three dreadful scourges of the human race united to threaten this once flourishing colony with utter extermination. There is little reason to doubt that London, from the very nature of the case, was peculiarly the victim of those disasters. Her wealth must have operated as a bait to rapacity, while her numbers contributed to the diffusion of licentiousness, and to the ravages of contagious distemper. Happily a veil is drawn over scenes of horror at which humanity revolts, and we are saved the pain of contemplating the metropolis a vast field of rapine, disease, and blood. The Romans had withdrawn their troops from the island never to visit it more. To no purpose, therefore, twenty-six years afterwards (A. D. 446), did the Britons appeal to their ancient protectors for relief; to no purpose did they address these mournful strains to the renowned præfect of Gaul: “To Ælius, thrice  
“ consul, the groans of the Britons. The Barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea  
“ drives us back on the swords of the Barbarians; thus we are reduced to the  
“ miserable alternative of perishing by the waves or by the sword.”—Ælius could only give them his pity, for the whole attention of the continent was now turned toward the terrible Attila, king of the Hunns, breaking in like a torrent, and threatening the western empire with universal destruction.†

The unhappy Britons, rendered frantic by despair, in an evil hour determined to invite one enemy to assist them in repelling another, instead of confiding in their own courage and strength. They had frequently experienced the bravery of the Saxons to their loss, and foolishly thought of resorting to it for their defence. In language the most abject they courted an alliance with them; but instead of an associate they found a master. The last division of the Roman army bid a final adieu to the British shore, A. D. 420, as much to the regret of the inhabitants, as the first approach of that people was eyed with terror by their ancestors, four hundred and seventy-five years before. The country was indeed highly improved, but the

\* Gild. Hist. cap. xvi. &amp;c.

† Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 13.

national character had sadly degenerated. The first Saxon army landed in Britain, A. D. 449, and formed another memorable epoch in the history of South Britain.

Before we conclude this section, it may be proper to advert to certain circumstances which evince the early respectability of London, but which could not be so conveniently introduced in the progress of narration. It could not escape the sagacity of a people so intelligent as the Romans, that the situation of London was singularly favourable for trade; and events have completely justified their foresight. Rising on a gentle declivity, in the heart of a fertile soil and wholesome climate, at a commodious distance from the sea, and washed by a beautiful, deep, and broad river, navigable by vessels of every form and size, it seemed in immediate contact with every port on the continent, and, as experience has demonstrated, with every port and shore of the globe. Here, therefore, they fixed their grand emporium. They incorporated the original settlers with the mass of Roman citizens. (A. D. 54.) The three great attractives of the human mind, health, pleasure, and riches, operated conjointly in alluring men hither, to such a degree, that so early as in the first years of the reign of Nero, it had become the largest, most populous, and most opulent city of the island. Tacitus the historian,\* who was well acquainted with his subject, says expressly, that London, so called from its situation, and Augusta from its magnificence, was now illustrious for the vast concourse of merchants who resorted to it for her widely-extended commerce, and the abundance of every species of commodity.

Another ancient monument demonstrates that London had acquired an early and decided superiority over all the towns and cities of South Britain. It is the Itinerary of Antoninus, or a journal consisting of fifteen different routes of communication between the principal places of the Roman province in Britain. Of these no less than seven commence or terminate in London;† a satisfying proof, among many others, that it was the capital of the country under the Roman government, as it continues to be the venerable and august head of the British empire. Of many other Roman stations nothing now remains but the name; of a few, only some obscure traces of pristine magnificence, London alone has outlived the ravages of time, revolution, and accident; has risen more glorious from disaster, and has acquired a splendour which sinks the pride of her once imperial mistress.

\* Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 33.

† Henry's Hist. of Brit. vol. i. Append. No. IV.



Religion likewise contributes her aid towards the diffusion of an early lustre over our metropolis. Neither our subject nor limits admit of entering into a detail of the introduction of Christianity into this island. This much may be with confidence affirmed, that, in the providence of God, the extensive progress of the Roman arms greatly facilitated the propagation of the gospel over an unbounded field, the various parts of which were pervious to each other, by being cemented under one governing power, and by a community of rights and privileges derived from the same source. If to this we add the influence of commerce, the most penetrating and persevering of all principles, it cannot be deemed unreasonable to conclude, that a country, and more particularly a city, in such close connection with the mistress of the world, by the complicated ties of civil policy and military discipline, of traffic, of obligation and dependence, should, along with the good and the evil of these various relations, receive the first blessing of heaven to a miserable world. It is highly probable, then, that Christianity was both planted and persecuted in Britain under the sanguinary Nero, and might open an asylum in her bosom to the persecuted over the extensive provinces of the continent. Whoever desires, on this interesting subject, the conclusions of sound reasoning or of sagacious conjecture, the traditions of ancient history, or the fond tales of the visionary, may consult Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain, to which I acknowledge myself in other respects very highly indebted, Vol. I. book i. chap. 2. page 124, &c.

Whatever progress the religion of Jesus Christ might have made in Britain previous to the succession of Constantine the Great to the imperial throne, one thing is certain, it found in him a zealous friend and supporter: and in such an orderly and settled state were the affairs of religion in Britain, not many years after his accession, (A. D. 314.) that we find among the bishops summoned to an ecclesiastical council at Arles in Vienne, a province of Gaul, three of that order from this country, of whom Restitutus, bishop of London, was one. We would not thence infer, that at this period London had been raised to the rank of a see or diocese, in the present acceptation of the words; but it is a sufficient evidence, that a regular church was already established in the island, and that London, if not the very first, ranked among the first in ecclesiastical honours and dignity.

\* Spelman. Concil. tom. i. p. 42.

The last circumstance, on the page of history, which marks the distinction and superiority of ancient London, is its being the principal residence of the vicar of Britain, and of his numerous retinue, who lived there in great splendour. This was an officer of very high civil rank and authority, of the appointment of Constantine the Great. This illustrious prince having acquired the undivided possession of the vast Roman empire, by a series of splendid victories over all his rivals, found it necessary to make a grand division of it into four great prefectures. Each of these was again subdivided into a certain number of dioceses, in proportion to its population and extent, and each particular diocese was governed by its own vicar. The prefecture of the western empire comprehended the three dioceses of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; which last had its peculiar governor, denominated the vicar of Britain, whose authority extended to all the provinces of the island. His court was numerous and splendid. He was graced with the epithet of *Speſtabilis*, and the ensigns of his office were a schedule of instructions in a green case, and five castles on the prominent angles of the island, representing the provinces under his jurisdiction.\* It is easy to see, that the residence of such an officer at London clearly marks it as then the seat of government, of the administration of justice in the last resort, and of the finances; and that the numerous retainers to all these departments, must have contributed greatly to the magnificence, the wealth, and the importance of this great city.

We have no account of any particular literary establishment in the earlier periods of our history: but we are well-assured that the Romans were at great pains to diffuse the knowledge of their language, the influence of their manners, and a community of their privileges, over all the provinces of their empire. That excellent governor Theodosius published a code of laws relative to this interesting object, the institution of schools of learning: and a mind so luminous and well-regulated as his, could not possibly have overlooked London, in forming establishments of this sort. We may fairly infer, therefore, that under the Roman government, the praise of learning, and progress in the fine arts, may be added to the other articles of that pre-eminence which she was destined to possess, through such a series of ages.

But it was the felicity of her situation for universal commerce which, under Providence, more nearly or more remotely procured her every other advantage. An

\* Notit. Imper. cap. 49.



astonished world beholds her meridian glory ; but even so early as A. D. 359, there were no fewer than eight hundred vessels employed in her port for the exportation of corn only. The plans of human wisdom may be, and frequently are, defeated ; but the unvarying dispositions of nature always must prevail.

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## SECTION II.

*The History of London, from the Arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449, to the Descent of William the Norman, A. D. 1066.*

THE Romans, in conquering, illuminated the world ; and our resentment of their restless and bold ambition is, in many instances, forgotten in admiration of their justice and magnanimity. They frankly communicated a participation of their language, laws, and government, to the nations whom their arms had subdued ; and, at the price of transient evil, conveyed to them much solid and lasting good. We can hardly to this day envy them a glory which they earned so nobly, and a pre-eminence which they exercised with so much moderation. Modern Europe continues still to enjoy the benefits of her literature, her jurisprudence, and her skill in the fine and useful arts. Rome herself has fallen into abject slavery, but she had taught mankind to assert and to maintain their liberties. The savage hordes, on the contrary, which overran southern Europe, and demolished the magnificent but unwieldy fabric of the Roman empire, employed brute force merely in extending their triumphs. To men destitute of letters, of taste, of regular government, of refinement, the elegant monuments raised by the conquerors of the world were an object of no consideration, but rather of savage fury. Hence the ruinous neglect, or destructive violence, which levelled the beautiful and venerable productions of Grecian and Roman architecture ; and London, among other favourite residences of imperial government, has to deplore the loss of edifices sacred to religion, to science, and to the administration of justice. The admission of the Saxons into Britain was peculiarly calamitous to this island. It produced a violent, sanguinary, and unremitting contention of near a hundred and fifty years, between the ancient inhabitants and the successive inundations of northern savages, which

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terminated,

terminated, at length, in the establishment of the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms ; in other words, in the extinction, at least the entire subjugation, of the British spirit and name. In vain do we attempt to trace, during that dark and dismal period, the materials of our history. It is sufficient to produce one melancholy fact on this subject. The Britons, under the government of Rome, had made such progress in civilization and the arts, as to have reared twenty-eight considerable cities, besides a very great number of villages, hamlets, and private castles ; but the fierce barbarians, whom they had invited over to protect them from barbarians, worse than them, threw every thing back into pristine confusion and wild anarchy, and reduced such of the natives as they did not massacre or exterminate, to a state of the most abject servitude. None of the other invaders of the Roman provinces committed such horrid devastation, or discovered such unrelenting rage against the ancient inhabitants. Accordingly few conquests, recorded in history, have been more completely destructive, and few revolutions more violent than what was then effected.

To religion, corrupted as it had then become, we are indebted for the returning light which history throws on the metropolis. The papal throne had now been erected at Rome on the ruins of the imperial ; and the ecclesiastical arm was exercising a dominion, under the weight of which the secular power had shaken and sunk. Pope Gregory the Great, as he is styled, in the spirit of his civil predecessors, willing to keep Anglo-Saxon Britain in subjection to the see of Rome, thought proper (A. D. 597) to send over the pious and eloquent monk Augustine, with forty of his own order, to preach the gospel in our island. These missionaries conducted themselves at first with so much wisdom and moderation, that they were listened to, became respectable, and persuaded multitudes to embrace the Christian faith. As a reward of his zeal, and as a stimulus to future exertions, Augustine was, by order of Pope Gregory, ordained archbishop of the English nation ; and in his turn, under this new character, he ordained Mellitus to be bishop of the East Saxons, who having now been converted to Christianity, had erected and dedicated a church to St. Paul in their capital, the city of London. This has been adduced by some antiquarians as a presumption, if not a proof, that this apostle personally preached the gospel in Britain soon after the Roman invasion under Claudius, when he visited the western regions of Europe, previous to his being sent prisoner to Rome, in the reign of Nero the succeeding emperor. What-  
ever



ever be in this, we still find the present metropolis exhibiting then her prominent character of “ the great mart of many nations, which resorted thither over sea and land.”\* She had not as yet, indeed, attained her proud pre-eminence over the cities of the island and of the earth. Canterbury, the royal residence of Ethelbert king of Kent, appears to have enjoyed at that time the twofold distinction which the seat of government and of religion bestows ; and even York continued for upwards of two centuries longer to dispute precedence with London, till commerce at last finally turned the scale, and fixed the ascendant never more to be shaken. From the opulence of the city, even in the times of Pope Gregory, there is little room to doubt that the first St. Paul’s equalled the magnificence of any of the structures which that age could rear to the service of religion.

The quarter which the lower parts of Westminster now occupy was then a little island in the midst of a morass. On this island, afterwards known by the name of Thorney, stood a temple dedicated, under the Roman government, to the honour of Apollo. And here, about twelve years after the building of St. Paul’s in London, (A. D. 612.) Sebert, king of the East Saxons, erected a Christian church, which he amply endowed, and dedicated to St. Peter.† Thus gradually and imperceptibly the progress of religion and of empire brought into effect the predispositions of nature to make of these two one great city, which should far transcend all that went before it. The sagacious Gregory discerned the manifold advantages which London possessed, as the focal point of all effectual energy. Accordingly, in forming an ecclesiastical government for England, when he sent the pallium, or distinctive badge of a metropolitan, to Augustine, he directed that prelate to ordain twelve bishops in his own province of Canterbury ; to send another bishop to York with directions, that as soon as the northern districts should be converted to Christianity, twelve more should be ordained as suffragans to the see of York. He farther directs, that as long as Augustine lived, he should enjoy the primacy over all the bishops of both provinces ; but that after his death, the metropolitan chair should be transferred from Canterbury to London ; and that thenceforward the archbishop of London and York should take precedence, according to priority of consecration. This designation, however, did not take effect.‡ The arrogance of Augustine, in executing his commission, excited by power and preferment, so

\* Bed. lib. i.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

unlike “ the meekness and gentleness of Christ,” irritated, instead of conciliating affection, to such a degree, that the successors of Sebert openly renounced Christianity and restored the pagan worship.

Mellitus was, for some time, more successful among the East Saxons, the inhabitants of Essex and Middlesex. The converts were so numerous, and the influence of London so great, that it was elevated into an episcopal see. The newly-consecrated bishop found it expedient to undertake a journey to Rome, to consult with Boniface IV. who then filled the papal chair, about the affairs of the English church. His absence almost proved fatal to the cause of Christianity in South Britain. Ethelbert king of Kent died February 24, A. D. 616, and was succeeded by his son Eadbald, who married his father’s widow. The Christian religion not tolerating such incestuous connection, the young prince thought proper to renounce it, and his example was followed by the generality of his subjects. A similar apostasy having taken place among the East Saxons, Mellitus was expelled from his diocese, and retired first into Kent, and afterwards, accompanied by Justus, bishop of Rochester, to France. But Eadbald, struck with remorse, repudiated his stepmother, and resumed the profession of Christianity. Upon this the two exiled bishops were invited to return; but as the apostasy of the East Saxons continued, Mellitus was never restored to his bishopric of London. However, Laurentius archbishop of Canterbury, dying three years after, (A. D. 619.) he was raised to the archiepiscopal dignity. The East Saxons remained in a state of apostasy for forty years; at length Sigibert their king embraced the Christian religion, by the persuasion of Oswi king of Northumberland; the gospel was preached successfully over the counties of Essex and Middlesex by Chad a Northumbrian priest, who, as a reward for his labours, was raised to the dormant bishopric of London, and was consecrated by Finan bishop of Lindisfairn, A. D. 658.\* About six years after this event, the city was visited with the plague, and suffered considerably by that dreadful scourge of mankind. Commerce, the source of wealth, is, at the same time, the source of many woes. The plague was probably an importation; and to the spreading of the calamity, the extreme population of London, the narrowness and putrid air of the streets, aided by the exhalations from the surrounding marshes, must have greatly contributed.

\* Bed. lib. ii. cap. 22.



From this period we meet with another blank in the history of London, of almost a century, and it is another grievous calamity which brings our city then into view. In A. D. 764, London suffered greatly by fire, an evil by which it was destined still more severely to suffer, on many a mournful occasion. The houses consisted chiefly of wood, and other combustible materials, and the streets and lanes were so narrow, that a neglected spark was quickly and easily roused into a conflagration.

After many painful and bloody struggles among the petty princes of the Saxon heptarchy, the southern part of the island at last fell under the sole dominion of Egbert, king of Wessex (A.D. 827.), almost four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain.\* His territories consisted nearly of all the provinces which constitute what is now properly called England; and the Anglo-Saxons now enjoyed the prospect of internal tranquillity under the government of a monarch of acknowledged wisdom, and of security from foreign invasion, under the auspices of a prince of acknowledged valour, elevated to the throne of seven united kingdoms, whose language, manners, laws, and institutions, religious, civil, and military, were nearly the same. But the time was not yet come that England should enjoy domestic quiet, and foreign respectability. She was doomed for ages to come to the horrors of frequently successful invasion, and scarcely was Egbert seated on the throne, when the appearance of Danish fleets and armies blighted all the flattering promises of repose. Those fierce invaders, during more than two centuries, kept the Anglo-Saxons in a state of perpetual alarm, committed on them the most barbarous and unrelenting outrages, and, at length, reduced them to a state of the most grievous and humiliating servitude. Of this our capital among the rest furnished a sad example.

London was now become the royal residence, and, of consequence, the seat of government. Thither a great council of the nation, or Wittenagemot, was summoned, (A. D. 833), to deliberate on the most proper means of preventing, or of repelling, the incursions of the Danes. In this assembly, which may be denominated the first English parliament, Egbert presided in person, and was supported by his son and successor Ethelwolf, Withlaff the nominal and tributary king of Mercia, and all the prelates and grandees of the kingdom. Egbert had the felicity of gaining repeated victories over the Danish plunderers, but they continued to repeat their visits year after year, more fierce from defeat, till at length they made good an establishment on the isle of Thanet; and in the spring of 852, having

\* W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 1.

received a powerful reinforcement from on board a fleet of 350 ships, they advanced up the country, pillaged and burnt Canterbury, and, forcing their way up to London, first plundered, and then reduced that city likewise to ashes.\* Though defeated in a very bloody engagement at Okely, they were able to maintain their settlement on the isle of Thanet, which on the approach of winter they thought proper to exchange for the isle of Shepey.

The metropolis seems to have remained in a ruinous state, till the illustrious Alfred, justly surnamed the Great, having shaken off the Danish yoke, and reduced the whole kingdom to order and tranquillity, applied undivided attention to the arts of peace. He gave orders for the rebuilding of the cities which had been burnt down. London, in particular, he rebuilt, fortified, and embellished; and, as frequently since, she arose more glorious from her fall. The Danes, however, were rather checked and overawed than subdued. Alfred, with a forbearance and compassion which reflect the highest honour on his memory, made a generous effort to subdue the invaders of his kingdom by acts of kindness. Having defeated the Danes in a decisive battle near Eddington, he compelled the scattered remains of their army to surrender at discretion; but instead of glutting his resentment with their blood, he formed the benevolent design of making them good and happy, by incorporating them with his English subjects. For this purpose, he promised to spare their lives on the following conditions—that they should embrace the Christian religion, and assist him in preventing the further ravages of their countrymen; in consideration of which he would assign them lands, and take them under his protection. To this they thankfully acceded, were immediately baptized, and settled in East-Anglia and Northumberland, (A. D. 880).† But it afterwards appeared that their professions were insincere, and their dispositions unchanged.

Under this amiable and excellent prince, England now enjoyed a blest repose of thirteen years. London recovered her former greatness and opulence. Oxford reared her venerable head. Agriculture was encouraged, and commerce flowed in a thousand new channels. But it was not to be the destiny of England to exist in lasting tranquillity. London, in particular, was doomed to suffer a succession of the most disastrous events; for hardly had she risen out of the embers of wilful fire, kindled by the hands of ferocious Danes, and recovered more than pristine splendour by the munificence of Alfred, and under the government of Ethelred, earl of Mercia, who had espoused Ethelfleda his beloved daughter, when accidental

fire



fire again laid her glory in the dust. An incursion of the Danes, this same year too (A. D. 893), more formidable than all which preceded it, threatened not only the peace of the country, but the very existence of the monarchy. A prodigious force, under the command of the renowned Hastings, had desolated the northern provinces of France, and by their wanton ravages reduced not the inhabitants only, but themselves also, to the danger of perishing by famine. The adjoining shores of the British island promised them an immediate and a rich supply. Thither accordingly they directed their course, in a fleet of no less than 330 ships, and landed at Apuldore, on the south-east extremity of Kent. The commander in chief himself, with eighty vessels, boldly entered the Thames, and forced his way up to Milton, where he landed, and entrenched himself, within forty miles of the capital.\* The news of this terrible descent reached Alfred while he was engaged in settling the affairs of his Danish subjects settled in East-Anglia and Northumberland. As the case required dispatch, he exacted a renewal of the oaths which they had formerly taken to continue steadfast in their faith and allegiance, demanded an additional number of hostages, and, under this security, hastened to the relief of the capital and the banks of the Thames. The main body of the Danish army, meanwhile, had abandoned their fortified camp at Apuldore, with a design to pass the Thames, and to pursue their ravages into Essex. They were intercepted by the king's army near Farnham, and totally defeated. Hastings, at the same time, decamped from Milton, and proceeded up to Beamflete, now South-Beamflete, which he fortified, and where he was presently after joined by the fugitives from the battle of Farnham. As the king was preparing to force their entrenchments, he received the disagreeable intelligence, that the Danes settled in East-Anglia and Northumberland, forgetful of his clemency, and of their solemn obligations, had revolted, and were laying siege to Exeter. Leaving, therefore, a small body of troops in London for the protection of that city, he marched with all expedition into the west, and arrived in time to save Exeter. The enemy was taken by surprise, routed and dispersed.† The Danes encamped at Beamflete, in the mean time, emboldened by the absence of Alfred, ventured out on plundering expeditions, (A. D. 895), leaving their wives and children, with the booty, under the protection of a strong guard. The London garrison apprised of this, and being joined by a body of gallant citizens inflamed with resentment against the destroyers of their city, marched out with the utmost secrecy, came upon the enemy's camp by surprise, cut the guard to pieces,

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 90.

† Id. *ibid.*

made a great number of prisoners, and spoiled their spoil. Among the captives were the wife and two sons of Hastings the Danish general. The British king, as formerly, used his advantage with extreme moderation, and restored his family to Hastings, on condition of his withdrawing from England with his followers.\* The part which the inhabitants of the capital had acted, at this trying crisis, must have been highly grateful to their generous prince, as the peace which now ensued, till the end of his glorious reign, (A. D. 901), must have been highly favourable to the extension of her trade. Not that all fear of the Danes was extinguished, for a powerful body, which had remained in the isle of Mearsey, at the mouth of the river Colne, from which the town of Colchester takes its name, to wait the issue of the expedition under Hastings, finding it necessary, as winter approached, to look out for a place of greater safety, sailed up the Thames to where the Lea falls into it, and towed their light vessels up this last river as far as the town of Ware, between which and Hertford they strongly fortified themselves.† The city was greatly and justly alarmed at having such a cloud of locusts hanging over it, and deliberated on the means of dispersing them. The citizens, under the banners of their darling sovereign, and reinforced by a powerful body of auxiliaries, were able to take the field early in the spring, and had the boldness to attack the enemy in their very entrenchments. They were repulsed, however, with considerable loss, which induced Alfred to adopt the more prudent measure of forcing the Danes to decamp, by cutting off their supplies. He accordingly posted his troops so as to command all the passes which led to the Danish fortresses; and as the course of the Lea is through a flat and marshy country, it was no difficult matter to divert it into different channels, and thereby to diminish the depth of water. This produced the desired effect. The Danes finding their ships rendered totally useless, and themselves threatened with famine, hastily broke up their camp, leaving it and their shipping a prey to the Londoners and their allies, who immediately demolished the fortifications, and, having restored the river to its ancient channel, brought the most valuable of the Danish vessels round to the port of London, and destroyed the rest. Some fragments of those demolished vessels are said to have been discovered in digging for a foundation to the present bridge at Stansted. The spot then occupied by the Danes, and which filled London with so great and so just an

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 92.

† A. D. 895—896. Chron. Saxon.



alarm, is now one of the principal sources of her comfort, for there that precious stream the New River takes its rise.

The all-accomplished Alfred, the theme on which the pen of every English historian dwells with delight, survived this event only five years. His valuable life terminated, in the zenith of its glory, the 28th of October, A. D. 901, in the 53d year of his age, and 30th of his reign.\* As our metropolis stands so highly indebted to this most excellent prince, the reader, perhaps, will not be displeased at the insertion of the concise character given of him, in the inscription under his bust, in the temple of British worthies, one of the ornaments of that splendid assemblage of classic elegance and patriotic virtue, Stow Gardens.

### KING ALFRED,

The mildest, justest, and most beneficent of Kings:  
who drove out the Danes, secured the Seas, protected Learning,  
established Juries, crushed Corruption, guarded Liberty, and was  
the Founder of the English Constitution.

Not only the art of traffic, but that of war, seems, at this period, to have been very successfully cultivated by the citizens of London. The frequently repeated depredations of the Danes had no doubt excited and kept alive the martial spirit of our ancestors. In the reign of Athelstan, (A. D. 938,) when England was invaded by a powerful confederacy, formed by Constantine king of the Scots, with the petty princes of the north of England, the London troops contributed not a little toward repelling the invasion. The armies met at a place called *Brunanburgh* by ancient historians, but the real situation of this spot it is now impossible to ascertain. An obstinate and bloody engagement immediately ensued, distinguished in the Saxon Chronicle by the name of *the great battle*, which terminated in the total defeat of the confederated powers; five of the allied princes and twelve chieftains were left dead on the field; Constantine and Anlaff of Northumberland with difficulty made their escape. This celebrated victory is ascribed chiefly to the bravery of the Londoners, by far the best troops in the English army, led on by their gallant commander *Turketul*.†

This appears to have been a brilliant era of glory and prosperity to the capital. It had completely recovered from the ravages of the Danes, and honourably contri-

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 99.

† Ingulf. Hist.

• buted towards repelling the northern invasion. We find it, the very next year, (A. D. 939), receiving a very honourable distinction in a law of Athelstan's respecting the coinage. This privilege was conferred on the principal cities of the kingdom, in a settled proportion. Eight coiners each were fixed as the rate for London and Canterbury, which was considerably superior to that of any other place. The king had his residence in the heart of the city, and communicated to it his own, the name which it retains to this day. From *Athelstan*, or *Adlestan*, it was called Addle-street, and is described in ancient records by the designation of King Addle-street. This prince has likewise the reputation of having founded the church of St. Albans, Wood-street, in honour of the first British martyr of that name, who is said to have suffered about the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, and transmitted his name to the town of St. Albans, anciently Verulamium.

Edmund, the amiable brother and successor of Athelstan, convoked a Wittenagemot, or great council, at London, (A. D. 945),\* the time and attention of which was devoted principally to the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs,† but of these few or no memorials have been transmitted to us: a loss, perhaps, not very deeply to be regretted. This excellent and most promising prince perished by the dagger of a ruffian, in the very bloom of youth, during the solemnity of a festival, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.‡

\* Brompt. Chron.

† It may be of importance, however, to present the reader with a specimen of the religious spirit of the times. Odo, bishop of Sherburn, eminent for his piety and learning, and not less so on account of his martial prowess, for he had accompanied Athelstan to the field, and greatly contributed to the victory gained in *the great battle* of Brunanburgh, was, as the reward of his merit, on the death of Wulphelm, elevated to the primacy. In this high station, though his religious zeal continued to be fervent and sincere, yet his bold and aspiring genius, emancipated from all restraint, prompted him to act the primate with a very high hand. This appeared in the whole of his conduct, but more especially in his famous pastoral letter to the clergy and people of his province, commonly called *the constitutions of Odo*, and published A. D. 943, where he expresses himself in this lofty and magisterial language: "I strictly command and charge that no man presume to lay any tax on the possessions of the clergy, for they are the sons of God, and the sons of God ought to be free from all taxes in every kingdom. If any one dares to violate the discipline of the church, in this particular, he is more wicked and impudent than the soldiers who crucified Christ. I command the king, the princes, and all in authority, to obey, with all humility, the archbishops and bishops; for they hold the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Several of the canons of the great council of London held two years after, A. D. 945, breathe the same spirit, and were probably dictated by the same voice. Such was the rapid progress making toward that papal domination which for many centuries kept all Christendom in bondage.

‡ W. Malmf. lib. ii. cap. 7.



The church which Sebert had reared, A. D. 610, on Thorney island, and dedicated to St. Peter, was, from its situation relatively to St. Paul's, denominated the West Minster, the Saxon word for ecclesiastical fraternity, or the place of their habitation, and gave its name to the great and beautiful city which now constitutes one half of the metropolis. That church had been destroyed not long after it was reared, in the first incursions of the Danes, and seems to have remained in a ruinous state to the reign of king Edgar, recorded in history under the honourable appellations of *the glory and delight of the English nation*, and *Edgar the peaceable*. This prince, at the request of Dunstal, bishop of London, ordered St. Peter's church to be rebuilt, (A. D. 958), and established in its cloisters a college of twelve monks, with a suitable provision. He is indebted for much of his celebrity to his partiality in favour of that order, who were the only historians of those times, and who set no bounds to the expression of their gratitude or resentment, according as they were encouraged or opposed. His attention was not limited, however, to the building and endowment of churches; the chief glory of his reign was vigorous and unremitting application to maritime affairs, by means of which he rendered his navy so powerful, and put it under regulations so excellent, that it effectually secured the coasts of his kingdom from every insult, and commanded the respect of neighbouring states and princes; this reign, therefore, may be considered as one of the periods of London's prosperity, though it was by no means exempted from calamity, for in one and the same year, (A. D. 961), the cathedral church of St. Paul was destroyed by fire, and a malignant fever carried off a prodigious number of the inhabitants. The wife and patriotic Edgar was likewise carried off in the prime of life, in his thirty-third year, and the seventeenth of his reign, (A. D. 975.) About this time the princes of Wales had become tributary to the kings of England, for, by the laws of Howel-Dha, the king of Aberfraw, or the chief king of Wales, is appointed to pay a fine of sixty-three pounds of silver, on receiving the kingdom from the hand of the English king, and a stipulated number of dogs, hawks, and horses annually.

Edward, the elder son of Edgar, was, after a violent dispute about the succession, elevated to the throne.\* His short reign was an uninterrupted scene of ecclesiastical contention, and he fell a victim to the ambition of his unrelenting step-mother, the infamous Elfrida, who basely murdered him at the gate of her own castle, whither he had come to pay her a visit of respect.† The placidity of his disposition,

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 100. †

† W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 9.

disposition, and the inoffensiveness of his manners, together with the violent circumstances of his death, procured him the surname of *the Martyr*, though religion had nothing to do in the case. The succession of her son Ethelred to his brother's crown, screened the murderers from the punishment due to a crime so horrid. This event took place, A. D. 979.

Ethelred neither inherited his father's spirit and wisdom, nor succeeded to his brother's virtues. His reign proved one of the most calamitous which ever oppressed England. From his irresolute and timid conduct, historians have distinguished him by the descriptive appellation of *the Unready*, and his well-known character, abroad as well as at home, proved a source of woes innumerable to his unfortunate kingdom. In the fourth year of this long and inglorious reign, London was again almost entirely consumed by fire, and had hardly recovered from the consequences of that grievous disaster, when another Danish invasion threatened to desolate the whole country. A succession of wise, vigorous, and gallant princes, during more than half a century, had tended greatly to promote the internal peace and improvement of England, and to extend her commerce. The plundering piratical Danes were checked and overawed. But the restraint was now removed, and a more tempting object presented itself to a spirit of rapine. A dastardly boy filled the throne, and monkish counsels directed the government. Multitudes, of Danish extraction, had settled in the kingdom, but had never cordially incorporated with their English neighbours; neither had they forgotten their ancient propensities and habits of pilfering. Great numbers had made good a settlement in the northern provinces of France, who well recollected the successes of their ancestors on this island, who knew they had many of their friends and countrymen in it, ready to join them the moment they landed, and who now meditated not a transient visit, but a permanent residence. From this quarter, therefore, their first attempts were made. In 981 a small party of adventurers stole over and plundered Southampton; they immediately re-embarked with their booty, and gained the coast of Normandy.\* Their success emboldened themselves and others to repeat those predatory visits. They daily became more frequent and more formidable. In 991, an English army was routed near Maldon, and their commander Duke Brithnot slain in battle by a powerful party of those plundering banditti. Instead of rousing the country to arms to repel such insults, Ethelred adopted the mean and absurd policy of purchasing the absence of the invaders.†

By

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 125.

† W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 10.



By the pusillanimous advice of a monkish archbishop, he bribed the Danes to depart, by a present of ten thousand pounds. It required very little sagacity to foretel the consequence of this childish policy. To be paid a large sum for going away, was receiving an invitation to return. The very next year, accordingly, another Danish fleet appeared on the coasts of England, and put into various ports in hope of being bought off in the same manner.

Ethelred, at length awakened from his timid indolence, called a council of all the principal men of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, by whom it was resolved to collect the whole naval force of the country to the port of London, and either give battle to the Danes, or attempt to block them up in the harbours which they occupied. But this wise and vigorous measure was rendered abortive, through the treachery of one of the commanders of the English fleet, Ealfric, duke of Mercia, who apprized the enemy of their danger, which gave them an opportunity of making their escape, with the loss of only a single ship. Ealfric determined not to be a traitor by halves, went over to the Danes, when pursued by the English navy, and thereby prevented their utter destruction.

These, however, were but the beginnings of sorrow. The attempts hitherto made on the British shores were by armaments of mere piratical adventurers; but the time was now come that England was to be seriously invaded, and miserably oppressed, by the Danish powers. In 993, the two allied kings of the north, Swein of Denmark, and Olave of Norway, entered the Humber with a numerous and well-appointed fleet and army, landed their troops, and ravaged the country on both sides of that river. They then marched northward into Northumberland, where, instead of meeting with opposition, they were received and caressed by the inhabitants, for they consisted chiefly, both commonalty and nobility, of families of Danish extraction. Having thus made good a settlement, and finding their quarters comfortable, they thought proper to winter among their friends. But as soon as spring returned (A. D. 994.) they again put to sea, boldly advanced up the Thames, and invested London, in hope, by the reduction of the capital, of securing the conquest of the whole kingdom. To the valour of her own undaunted citizens, not the wisdom of her inglorious sovereign, London, at this dangerous crisis, owed her preservation. She was now fortified on every side, particularly toward the river, and her walls were defended by her own intrepid sons. The Danes were repulsed in every assault, with considerable loss, and at length con-

strained to raise the siege. Irritated by this disappointment, they wreaked their vengeance on the defenceless adjacent country, and laid every thing waste by fire and sword. Ethelred, in hope of preventing the extension of those ravages, had recourse, a second time, to the wretched expedient of purchasing respite, and tendered a bribe of sixteen thousand pounds to the two kings of the north, on condition that they would withdraw from the kingdom. Disappointed in their great object, the subjugation of England, tired of committing unprofitable mischief, and conscious it was in their power to return whenever they pleased, the Dane and Norwegian found it convenient to accept of Ethelred's money, and departed with a resolution to employ it in preparations for a future expedition. They accordingly passed an easy winter at Southampton, and retired to their respective homes in the spring of 995.\*

These repeated invasions of the Danes, from the enormous sums necessary to procure the means of repelling them, or to purchase their absence, became dreadfully oppressive to the English nation. They occasioned the imposition of a tax well-known, long and severely felt, and loudly execrated by the country; it was called *Danegelt*, from the purposes to which it was applied, and consisted of a heavy imposition on all the lands and other property in England. As the metropolis, at every period, and under all governments, has contributed her large proportion of the public burthens, there is little room to doubt that of this odious tax she supported a heavy share.† It continued long a grievance after the occasion had ceased, and

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 128. Hen. Hunt. l. v. p. 205.

† As we have certain information respecting the nature, quantity, and proportional assessment of this ancient tax, it may be acceptable to detail a few of the leading particulars. \* Even then the king could not impose and levy it by a mere act of authority: the consent of the Wittena-gemot, or great council, was first obtained. The original imposition was one Saxon shilling on each hide of land in the kingdom. As the whole was computed to be 243,600 hides, the produce of the tax, at one shilling, was 12,180 Saxon pounds, equal in quantity of silver to about 36,540*l.* sterling; and equivalent in efficiency to near 400,000*l.* according to the present value of money. It was successively raised from one up to seven shillings the hide of land. While the Danish visits were annually repeated, the Saxon sovereign of England could put little into his coffers of the surplus of the tax, as the whole, and sometimes more, was expended in fighting or bribing the invaders. But when the government of the country became Danish, Danegelt became one of the principal sources of revenue to the crown. It was raised so high, and levied so rigorously by Canute, (A. D. 1018,) as to produce the enormous sum of 71,000*l.* Saxon, besides 11,000*l.* the assessment at which the city of London was rated. Those who had money to pay this intolerable imposition were compelled to it; and such had as none, were subjected to the confiscation of lands and possessions. Houses in towns were assessed to the tax, and a house of such a value, or rent, paid the same rate as a hide of land. From the sum levied on London, some judgment may be formed



and retained nevertheless the same offensive name. Stephen, to ingratiate himself with the people, and to support a tottering throne, promised a remission of it, but was not able to keep his word. It was at last abolished under the reign of Henry II. as shall be mentioned in its place.

The tranquillity restored to England by the departure of the two kings, was of very short duration. The tempest fell next on the western provinces of the kingdom. In 997 and 998, formidable hosts of Danes landed and desolated the country, and in 999, shifting the scene of their depredations, they sailed up the Thames and Medway at once, defeated an army of Kentishmen near Rochester, excited universal trepidation, and again threatened the capital. Ethelred, roused into a momentary exertion, collected a fleet and raised an army; but both were so wretchedly conducted, that they served no purpose but that of impoverishing his subjects, and of ministering fuel to the insolence of his foes. A third time, therefore, he had recourse to the old pitiful expedient of buying peace. The Danes, who now by experience knew their man, rose in their demands, and refused to sell for less than 24,000*l*. Thus ingloriously for England terminated the tenth century.

The commencement of the next was neither more honourable nor more auspicious. The English monarch now thought of resorting to the policy of securing the peace of his dominions by marriage. In this view he tendered his hand to the beautiful Emma, sister to Richard II. duke of Normandy, a lady of Danish extraction and connections, which was accepted; and the princess arrived in England, A. D. 1002. The marriage was consummated, and thereby the foundation was laid of a future invasion and conquest of the kingdom. The effect of this political experiment unfortunately was not waited for, but completely counteracted by one of a very opposite nature. Sunday the 13th of November of that year was stained with the murder of a great part of the Danes resident in the island, who were inhumanly massacred in cold blood. Among the multitudes, who were made the victims of this violent and sanguinary measure, was Gunilda, sister to Swein, king

formed of its size and population at that period. The tax rose and fell according to the exigencies of government, or rather according to the rapacity or generosity of the reigning prince. It was at length wholly remitted, about seventy years after the Norman Conquest. (*Henry's History of Great Britain*, vol. ii. p. 260, &c.)

of Denmark, with her husband and children.\* Even at this remote period, the blood runs cold on contemplating such a scene of horror, and the dreadful retaliation which it provoked. Some Danish youths, who were so fortunate as to escape the general slaughter of their countrymen in London, made their way with all speed to the court of Denmark, carrying with them the dismal tidings of this disastrous event. It is easy to conceive the emotions which the tale would excite in the breast of a warlike and ferocious prince. He vented the first ebullitions of his rage in the most dreadful denunciations of vengeance on the whole English nation, and proceeded without delay to prepare for putting them into execution. He accordingly, early in the spring of next year (A. D. 1003), landed a powerful army in the west of England, took Exeter by assault, and made that city, and the adjacent country, one vast field of carnage and desolation.† The rage of war is indiscriminating at the best: what then must have been the devastation committed in a war conducted by the spirit of revenge!

England, at this fatal period, was oppressed with almost every species of national calamity. The throne was filled by a weak and irresolute prince; a foreign, enraged, and victorious enemy was tearing her bowels, and the treachery of her own degenerate sons filled up the measure of her woe. The infamous Ealfric, duke of Mercia, had been again imprudently trusted, and raised to the command of the army; and again betrayed his trust. The hoary traitor feigned sickness, just as his troops were preparing to attack the enemy. This diffused an universal spirit of dejection, and the army disbanded without striking a blow.‡ Nor was

\* The fate of this princess was peculiarly severe and affecting. She had embraced Christianity, and was married to the English earl Palling, by whom she had a numerous and beautiful offspring. As cowards are always cruel, Ethelred was easily persuaded to adopt the barbarous policy of the Danish massacre; and, contrary to every dictate of wisdom, justice, and humanity, by the advice of Edric, earl of Wilts, seized, condemned, and caused to be executed the lady Gunilda, after she had suffered the dreadful spectacle of her husband and children butchered before her eyes. In the bitterness of her soul she predicted that her death would speedily be avenged by the total destruction of the English nation; and never was prediction more awfully accomplished, nor did inhuman policy ever fall more heavily on the authors of it.

Certain historians inform us, that the name *Lurdane*, or *Lord Dane*, to denote an idle, lazy, dissipated fellow, who lives at the expense of another, is derived from the character of the Danes of that period, which was peculiarly offensive to the English, and stimulated the populace to adopt the vindictive plan of the court to exterminate the Danish name; but which eventually confirmed the power of that people, and riveted their chains around the necks of those who had employed means so unjustifiable to shake them off.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 33.

‡ Hen. Hunt. l. vi.



the country more fortunate in the choice of his successor in the supreme command. This was the still more infamous Ædric Streon, who, from the ill-judged partiality of the king, obtained, on the demise of Ealfric, both the dukedom of Mercia, and the post of commander in chief. This wretch had been elevated by Ethelred, from the lowest station in human life, to the highest honours of the state; he had even obtained the king's own sister in marriage. But no ties of duty or of gratitude could preserve his fidelity to his country and sovereign. He discovered all the counsels of government to the enemy, and rendered abortive every scheme formed for the defence of the kingdom.\*

It would be a painful task to detail the miseries which this unhappy country endured, for ten successive years. Exeter, Norwich, Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, and all the other considerable cities, towns, and villages, were reduced to ashes, and the forlorn inhabitants buried under their ruins. St. Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury, and the greatest part of his clergy, were butchered before their altars. All ranks of men were dispirited; no possession being secure, agriculture was neglected, and a dreadful famine was the consequence, which devoured what the sword had spared. At length the mean-spirited Ethelred formed the resolution of abandoning a throne which he had obtained at the price of a brother's blood, and which he filled so ingloriously to himself, and so ruinously to his people. Having sent his queen and two sons before him, he retired himself into Normandy, (A. D. 1013), leaving all to the mercy of the conqueror. London, thus deserted of her monarch, and destitute of all regular government, was reduced to the dire necessity of opening her gates to the victorious Dane, and England might now be considered as again completely subjected to a foreign yoke.†

The king of Denmark did not live long to enjoy this important conquest. He died suddenly at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, February 3, A. D. 1014; but never having been crowned, though in actual possession of the whole kingdom, he does not rank among the sovereigns of England.‡ The death of Swein revived the drooping spirits of the English, who still fondly cherished the remembrance of their native prince, with all his imperfections on his head, and determined them to invite his return to assume the government, and to assist in the generous attempt of recovering the independence of his country. Ethelred readily accepted

\* W. Malmf. l. ii. c. 10.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 133—144.

‡ W. Malmf. l. ii. c. 10.

the invitation, and sent his son Edward before him, with assurances to the nobility, clergy, and people of the realm, of his resolution to correct all the errors of his preceding administration. On his arrival he found a numerous army ready to place him at their head, and to execute his orders. Catching a momentary flame from the ardour of his troops, he suddenly attacked the Danes as they were plundering the country about Gainsborough, put a great number of them to the sword, and constrained the rest, with their young king Canute, to re-embark, and consult their safety by flight.\*

But this fit of exertion was transient. Habits of indolence are not to be subdued, and even experience is insufficient to teach a fool wisdom. Ethelred quickly relapsed into sloth and apathy, and into a puerile and blind confidence in the traitor Ædric, who misguided, betrayed, and, at length, utterly ruined him. It would be painful to narrate, and to peruse, the particulars of this monster's treachery, cruelty, and ingratitude. Besides, the detail belongs to the province of general history. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that by his abominable intrigues, the most distinguished of the English nobility were assassinated, the torch of discord kindled in the royal family, all confidence between prince and people destroyed, a foreign enemy invited back into the kingdom, and their hands strengthened.† The gallant Edmund, eldest son to the king, was, in this desperate state of affairs, the last remaining hope of his country. This prince had assembled a considerable army in the north, to act in concert with his brother-in-law Ædric, and the troops of Mercia, against the common foe: but at the moment of their junction, he received intelligence that this unnatural relation had formed a plot against his liberty and life. This laid him under the necessity of retiring, with his division of the army; on which Ædric threw off the mask, and openly went over to Canute, king of Denmark, carrying with him forty ships of the English navy, the crews of which he had corrupted. Edmund, though mortified, was not disheartened. With a body of loyal English he followed Canute into Warwickshire; but his little army, disappointed in their expectation of being joined by the London troops, deserted their standards, in despite of all the intreaties, remonstrances, and commands of their intrepid leader.‡ As London always presented the most alluring bait to an enemy, and was now become a place of considerable strength, it is not to be wondered at, if her soldiery was detained for her own defence. The young

\* W. Malmesb. 1. ii. c. 10.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 146, 147.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

prince,



prince, however, not yet giving all up as lost, had the diligence and address to collect another army, which was at length joined by his father at the head of the Londoners. But that weak and ill-advised monarch, surrounded by faithless and corrupt counsellors, suffered his ear to be poisoned with groundless suspicions of the fidelity and attachment of his English subjects, and, disregarding all the prayers and persuasion of his brave son, withdrew from the army, and hastened back to London. This was the last fatal step he was permitted to make. The army, abandoned of the sovereign, again dispersed, and Edmund saw himself reduced to the painful necessity of quitting the field, and of following the unhappy king to London, as a last refuge. He found his father in the arms of death, and happy would it have been for his country had he never been born. Ethelred *the Unready* expired in the metropolis, April 23d, 1016, after a long, inglorious, and unhallowed reign of thirty-five years, leaving his family and kingdom in a situation the most disastrous that can be imagined. His body was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral.\*

The brave Edmund, who from his intrepid valour obtained the appellation of *Ironside*, the eldest son of the deceased monarch, was immediately crowned at London, by Livignus, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of a few of the nobility and clergy, amidst the joyful acclamations of the loyal and patriotic citizens, who looked fondly forward to a new state of things, under a prince of approved courage and ability. This is the first coronation ceremony, performed in the metropolis, which English history records. By far the greater part, however, of the noblesse and clergy supported the claim of Canute, and crowned him king of England at Southampton. Nothing now remained to the rival princes but to decide the possession of the golden prize by the edge of the sword. Edmund was endowed, perhaps, with sufficient ability to have prevented matters from coming to this dangerous crisis, but it is doubtful whether any talents were equal to the task of retrieving the errors and calamities of the preceding reign. Immediately on his accession he made a progress into the west, where his influence was most considerable; and Canute seized the advantage of his absence to lay siege to the capital. But the intrepidity of its gallant citizens baffled every effort of the enemy, and Edmund, with the force he had collected, flew to their relief. Canute, thus obliged to desist from his enterprize, resolved to settle the contest in the field.

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 146, 147. W. Malmes. l. ii. c. 10.

The two royal armies at length met near Gillingham, in Dorsetshire, and a bloody battle ensued, which terminated rather in favour of the English. But this served only as a prelude to greater carnage. The year 1016 descends to posterity delineated in crimson characters. Thrice, in the course of it, was London besieged by the Dane,\* and as often relieved by the zeal and bravery of her native prince. Five obstinately disputed battles were fought, with an incredible effusion of blood on both sides, and yet the fate of England remained in suspense. On the eve of a sixth engagement, which was, by one desperate exertion, to procure for one of the parties an undisputed crown, the nobility in both armies, trembling for the consequence, prevailed on their respective sovereigns to accept a compromise. Both being tired of the contest, after a short negotiation, it was agreed that the kingdoms of Mercia (of which London was the capital) and Northumberland, which were inhabited chiefly by Danes, should be allotted to Canute, and the rest of England to Edmund. He did not long survive this amicable composition, for he was barbarously murdered at Oxford, Nov. 30th, that same year, by the contrivance, it is more than suspected, of the arch-traitor Ædric Streon.† That our page may be no more stained with the name of this reproach of human nature, it will yield satisfaction to the reader to be informed, that the shameless Ædric having dared, one day in council, to upbraid Canute with his services, particularly for having removed out of the way his rival Edmund, the high-minded Dane, who hated the traitor, though he had availed himself of the treason, commanded him to be instantly put to death, on his own confession of treason and murder,‡ and his body to be thrown into the Thames; a late, but well-merited, recompense of his multiplied acts of perfidy and rebellion.

The death of Edmund left Canute in quiet possession of an undivided throne; and he determined to make his new subjects feel the weight of his authority.

\* In one of those sieges, Canute, it is said, intending to attack the city on the side of the river, found his advances obstructed by the bridge over the Thames, which was strongly fortified and well defended. This is the first time we hear of such a bridge; but when, and by whom it was constructed, history is totally silent. Disappointed of bringing his ships to bear a part in the siege, he diverted the course of the Thames into a new channel, through the marshes on the Surry side, by which he carried round many vessels, to act against the city above bridge, but without effect; for the bravery of the citizens counteracted all his efforts, and their champion Edmund coming seasonably to their support, the Dane thought it advisable to desist from his purpose. Afterward, however, London paid severely for her loyalty and valour.

† Hen. Hunt. l. vi. p. 208.

‡ W. Malmes. l. ii. c. 11:



The odious tax called Danegelt, originally imposed for the purpose of resisting the Danish power, was still continued to support it. The king found it necessary to secure the attachment of the Danish chieftains, and to conciliate the affections of the English nobility, by acts of royal munificence; but they were performed at the expense of the people. The tax was increased from one shilling to seven, the hide of land; and, to mark the royal resentment against the citizens of London, for their loyalty to their native princes, and their repugnance to receive a foreign yoke, that city was assessed to a full seventh part of the whole imposition on the kingdom: a proof of her increased opulence, as well as of her obnoxiousness to the new court. It is but justice, however, to the memory of this prince to relate, that he gradually abated this severity. He endeavoured to reconcile his English subjects to the government, by the justice and impartiality of his administration. He sent home as many of his Danish retainers as he could, consistently with his own safety. In a general assembly of the states, held at London, the Saxon laws and usages were restored. In dispensing justice, no distinction of Dane and Englishman was regarded, and by a strict execution of the law, the lives and property of the subject were indiscriminately guarded from violation. By these means the two nations imperceptibly coalesced, and the kingdom enjoyed for a season the blessings of internal tranquillity.\*

From the facts already adduced, it is evident that the metropolis had, at this period, risen to a very high degree of distinction in the arts of both peace and war. But foreign commerce was, from the beginning to this day, to be the grand source of her greatness. It is of importance, therefore, to inquire how the case stood at this era of her history. Even during the turbulent and calamitous reign of Ethelred the Unready, it appears that the trade of the port of London, and of the kingdom in general, had been protected and extended; for when it was found necessary to turn the public attention to the natural bulwark of the country, its navy, a law was made, obliging every proprietor of an estate of 310 hides of land, to furnish a ship for the public service. This speedily produced a fleet of near eight hundred sail.† This is a satisfying proof that, amidst all the miseries of their country, the English merchants were successfully cultivating foreign trade; for a commercial country alone could have made such a wonderful exertion in so short a time. Several wise and humane regulations were adopted for the security of

\* Hume, chap. iii.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 136.

persons, vessels, and other mercantile property, on being put into English harbours, or in case of shipwreck on the coast: a demonstration that it was a maxim of government to encourage foreign trade. By other laws, enacted in a great council held at Wantage, the rates of the customs payable at the wharf of Billingsgate, the very spot where the Custom-house now stands, on foreign commodities imported, were adjusted and settled.\* From these ancient statutes it likewise appears, that there was then already established in London, a company of German merchants, known by the name of *the Emperor's Men*, who annually paid the king, in acknowledgment of his protection, two pieces of grey cloth, and one piece of brown; ten pounds of pepper; five pair of gloves, and two casks of wine.† Canute, on his accession to the throne of the whole kingdom, while he attempted to annihilate the pretensions of every competitor, and to efface, if possible, the very name and memory of his English predecessor, was careful to maintain all the laws enacted in the preceding reign which were favourable to trade. History has preserved a curious document to this purpose, which it may be proper here to insert. This great prince, infected with the superstition of his age, not only built many churches, endowed monasteries, and enriched ecclesiastics of every order, but even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, most probably in the view of purchasing quiet to his conscience, labouring under the remorse of having been accessory to so much bloodshed. In the midst of his penitence, however, he was not unmindful of the temporal interests of his subjects, but negotiated commercial arrangements in their behalf with the several potentates through whose dominions he passed in the course of his peregrination. From Rome he thus writes to the persons entrusted with the administration of the government of England during his absence: “ I have conversed with the pope, the emperor, and all the  
 “ princes whom I found here, respecting the grievances imposed on my subjects,  
 “ whether English or Danes, on visiting their several states; and have insisted  
 “ that in future they shall be treated more favourably, and exempted from the  
 “ tolls, and exactions of various kinds, with which they have been hitherto  
 “ harassed. The emperor, king Rhodolphus, and the other sovereigns, have  
 “ accordingly listened to my remonstrances, and have assured me, that henceforth no  
 “ subject of mine, whether merchant or pilgrim, passing through their territories,  
 “ shall meet with any obstruction, or be made liable to the payment of any impost

\* Anderson's *Hist. Commerce*, vol. i. p. 52.

† *Id. Ibid.*

“ what-



“ Whatever.”\*—Under the protection of this spirited and powerful prince, the trade of England flourished beyond all former example, and the English merchants, especially those of London, acquired a weight and an influence in the national councils hitherto unknown, as will presently appear. Thus an event, which almost extinguished the ancient royal family, and thinned the English nobility, became highly beneficial to the nation at large, by procuring domestic peace, the security and advancement of trade, and respectability among foreign nations.

A monarch so powerful as Canute, the supreme lord of the three mighty kingdoms of England, Denmark, and Norway, could hardly escape the adulation of the courtly sycophants of a dark age. The attributes of Deity himself were fulsomely ascribed to him. He had discernment to perceive the grossness of such flattery, and the spirit to repel it, in the following manner: he commanded his chair of state to be placed on the beach, as the tide was flowing, and with an air of authority forbade the water to advance, or to touch the feet of the great master of the sea and of the dry land. The waves, regardless of the royal inhibition, continued to rise and swell, till the king, driven from his position, retired with this sensible and pious reproof to his flatterers: That every created being was impotent and dependent; that power resided with Him alone who could controul the elements, and say to the sea, “ Hitherto shalt thou come but no farther, and “ here shall thy waves be stayed,” and who could level with a nod the loftiest fabrics of human pride and ambition.†

The latter years of the life and reign of this illustrious prince passed in profound tranquillity to himself and kingdoms. But just as man is beginning to enjoy life, he is under the necessity of resigning it. He died at Shaftsbury the 12th of November, A. D. 1035,‡ leaving England exposed to all the miseries of a disputed succession to the crown.

Canute left three sons; Swein, by a concubine; Harold, by his first wife; and Hardicanute, by Emma, the queen-dowager of his predecessor Ethelred. The last of these three, in terms of the marriage settlement of his parents, ought to have succeeded to the English crown. But Harold, who was upon the spot, Hardicanute being then in Denmark, stepped into the vacant throne, and took possession of the royal treasury. His pretensions were supported by all the

\* W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 11.

† Anglia Sacra. vol. i. p. 232.

‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 134.

northern part of the kingdom, but particularly by the citizens of London, who had now obtained admission into the great council of the nation, and considerably influenced the deliberations of that assembly. The generality of the English, however, with the potent earl Godwin at their head, favoured the son of Emma, and the nation was again threatened with the horrors of a civil war. Happily, instead of having immediate recourse to arms, to settle the difference, the wisdom of the nation was called forth, and successfully interposed. A Wittena-gemot was held at Oxford (A. D. 1036), in which earl Leofric, and almost all the Thanes of the north, and the representatives of London,\* declared for Harold: but the dispute terminated in an amicable partition of the kingdom between the two brothers: it being agreed that Harold should keep possession of London, and of all the provinces north of the Thames; and that those on the south of this boundary should be ceded to Hardicanute, and that till his arrival to assume the government, the administration should be delegated to his mother Emma, who accordingly came over from Normandy for this purpose, and fixed her residence at Winchester.† Finding herself possessed of power and splendour, she was desirous that her children by Ethelred should partake of the advantages of their mother's situation, and invited them to her court. The young princes, Alfred and Edward, having recently lost their uncle and protector, Robert of Normandy, were easily persuaded to join the queen, and arrived with a magnificent retinue. This visit proved fatal to the elder of the two. Harold, suspecting that Alfred had come to assert his title to the crown of England, by every expression of cordiality allured him to pass

\* They are, in the Saxon Chronicle, denominated the *Seamen* of London. This descriptive character seems to apply to such merchants as had made three voyages beyond seas, in ships of their own, and had thereby attained a legal title to the rank and dignity of Thanes. It is very fanciful to suppose, as some have done, that the term *seaman* is equivalent to that of *pilot*, and to be taken in a figurative sense, as denoting the rulers or magistrates of London. We read of no charter of incorporation, of a date so ancient as the reign of Canute; but it seems highly probably that, by this time, not London only, but cities and towns of much inferior consequence, had acquired a right to assist in the national councils, by whatever name distinguished; and this could only be from their being enfranchised, and formed into corporate bodies, whereby they became constituent members of the legislature, and were raised to all the privileges of citizenship. Of these a voice in the enacting of laws, and in granting supplies to the crown, was naturally considered as among the chief, and would be first claimed. Besides, as the power and influence of the higher nobility increased, it was natural for the sovereign to look for a counterbalance, by conferring franchises on opulent and populous communities, and admitting them to a share of the legislation.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 154.



some time in his court at London, but on his way thither, he and his train were intercepted at Guilford, by earl Godwin, and a powerful body of his retainers. The greatest part of the prince's attendants were barbarously murdered; he himself was carried first to Gillingham, where his eyes were put out, and afterwards was confined in the monastery of Ely; here he languished a little while, and died of a broken heart.\* The news of this deplorable event put his mother and brother to flight. Emma fled for refuge to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and Edward returned to Normandy. Harold upon this took possession of the whole kingdom, (A. D. 1037), but did not long enjoy the fruits of his cruel and criminal ambition. He died unregretted, April 14th, 1039.† His personal agility, and speed in walking and running, procured him the surname of *Harefoot*, by which he is distinguished in history.

Hardicanute was then with his mother at Bruges, in Flanders, meditating a descent on England, to recover his lost half of the kingdom, when he received a cordial invitation from the nobility to take possession of the whole. He sailed immediately for London, where he was received joyfully, and acknowledged as king without any opposition. During this reign, history transmits no facts particularly relative to the metropolis. Hardicanute was a prince of a ferocious, revengeful character, of great bodily vigour, but with a feeble mind. He fell a victim to intemperance, to which he was shamefully addicted, and died of a surfeit at Lambeth, June 8th, 1041, amidst the excesses of the wedding feast of a Danish nobleman, who stood high in his favour;‡ and with him expired the line of the Danish sovereigns of England.

The two last princes had filled their high station so abominably, that the name of Dane was rendered more odious than ever to the English nation, and they determined as one man to restore the family of their native sovereigns, “with all their imperfections on their head.” Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, was the undoubted heir of the crown; but he had lived in exile at the court of Hungary from his infancy, and, being unseen and unknown, was scarcely thought of on the present occasion. Edward, the son of Emma, was within the kingdom, and attracted the eyes and wishes of the public. His timid and unambitious disposition, however, had nearly prevented his elevation to the throne. Dreading a violent

\* Alured, Beverl. l. viii. p. 58.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 151.

‡ Id. p. 157.

opposition on the part of the Danes, he was meditating a retreat into Normandy, when the mighty earl Godwin interposed, and engaged to maintain his title against all opposition, provided he would espouse his daughter, and protect him and his family in all their honours and estates.\* Men of every description, in all ages, have been governed by their interests, or their predominant passions: and the veil of patriotism has ever been employed to conceal the nakedness of pretensions which shrunk from the eye of the world. Godwin could not be a king, but ambition stimulated him to attempt to be at least the father of a queen: and Edward, resolved to be a king by the power of another, which he had neither the merit nor the title to be of himself, consented to the compromise; and took the lady rather than forego the crown.† And thus whole nations have been made the sorry dupes of private ambition, and millions have been sacrificed to the ill-assorted union of persons who knew not, or who hated, each other. In the present case, all the parties were disappointed. The ill-fated Edgitha was made the unoffending victim of a father's ambition, and of a cold husband's neglect. The king was a poor, whining monk, who, under the pretence of a vow of chastity, acted a very unkind part to a very amiable woman; and the lofty-minded earl Godwin, instead of a zealous, political son-in-law, determined at all events to support a family interest, found a superstitious, grovelling, irresolute priest, disposed to seek salvation by the building and endowing of churches. To this passion we owe, but no thanks to the principle, the rebuilding of the venerable pile of St. Peter's, Westminster, which was now restored in a style of superior magnificence, was munificently endowed, and, by a papal decree, invested with all the privileges of a royal and monastic institution. And thus, after all, the world profits, in one shape or another, of the folly, and even of the vices of mankind. The abbey now serves, among other purposes, as the grand public receptacle of the remains of departed worth, or of surviving vanity, as the scene of royal pride at coronations, and of royal humiliation at interments.

Confederacies, not founded in virtue, can neither be sincere nor permanent. The king, educated from a child in Normandy, had imbibed a predilection in favour of the men and manners of that country. Now, therefore, that he was possessed of power, and influenced by the prejudices of friendship as well as of religion, it is not to be greatly wondered at, if ecclesiastical preferments at least,

\* W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 13.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 157. A. D. 1043.



then the richest of all others, were conferred, not according to the wisdom and interest of the prince, but conformably to the partiality and affection of the man. The highest ecclesiastical dignity, accordingly, the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the chief administration of public affairs, were bestowed on one Robert,\* a Norman monk, a man indeed of learning and ability, but, for his very good qualities, highly obnoxious to an ancient, hereditary nobility. The haughty Godwin, in particular, could ill brook the interposition of a foreign priest between himself and the prince, whom he had seated upon the throne, and bound to his views, by the strongest ties of affinity.

When the minds of men are in a state of mutual irritation, “trifles light as air” blow the spark into a conflagration. A drunken quarrel between the townsmen of Dover, and the retinue of Eustace of Boulogne, who had married the king’s sister, set fire to the train. Edward, in an evil hour, espoused the cause of his brother-in-law, and, in the moment of wrath, commanded earl Godwin to inflict exemplary vengeance on the inhabitants of Dover.† The earl, already incensed at Edward’s declared partiality in favour of strangers, and, perhaps, feeling it his duty to support the cause of men under his immediate protection, who were adjudged to punishment, without being heard in their own defence, was in no haste to execute the king’s rigorous and precipitate orders. Princes bear with more impatience the neglect of their real interests than of their passions. Edward *the Confessor* had powerful feelings of at least one kind; he flew off in a rage, and Godwin calmly retired to prosecute a business which he had much more at heart.

It was, in the nature of things, impossible that matters should long remain in this state between sovereign and subject. Edward prepared to chastise an insolent and disobedient servant, and Godwin, with his high-minded sons, prepared to resist the tyranny of an unreasonable master. The ancient nobility had sufficient influence with the king, to prevent a determination of the controversy by force of arms. A great council was summoned to London,‡ which was attended by all the grandees of the kingdom, with their numerous retainers, who had all the appearance of a great army. Before this assembly earl Godwin and his sons were cited to appear, to answer for their conduct. They refused to comply unless

\* Ingulf. Hist. Hen. Hunt. l. vi.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 163.

‡ W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 13.

hostages were given for the safety of their persons. This being denied, judgment was passed on them in their absence. Swein, the eldest son, was declared an outlaw, and the rest were commanded to surrender themselves, or leave the kingdom within five days. They preferred exile, to waiting the issue of a trial before judges so partial. The immense possessions of this family, the most powerful that England ever knew, were confiscated, their places of trust and honour were lavished on Norman favourites, and the queen herself, fair and innocent as she was, shared in the ruin of the illustrious house from which she sprung. Her ungenerous lord stripped her of every thing, and thrust her into a nunnery.\* Thus the greatness of the potent Godwin, once the envy of all his fellow subjects, and the terror of his sovereign, seemed for ever levelled to the dust.

William of Normandy seized the opportunity of Godwin's banishment, to visit his kinsman the king of England, by whom he was cordially received, and loaded with many rich presents, in acknowledgment of the protection afforded him by duke Robert, in the days of his adversity. The Norman archbishop likewise availed himself of the occasion, to suggest to Edward the settlement of the succession to the crown in favour of William; a suggestion to which the king discovered no great aversion, which William greedily devoured, and of which he never lost sight till it was actually realized.†

The spirit of the Godwin family was meanwhile at work to recover their lost dignity, and to avenge themselves of their enemies. They still possessed many friends and much treasure, by a vigorous use of which, they found themselves in a condition to invade England with a powerful fleet, collected in the ports of Flanders, early in the summer of 1052. The English fleet had been put under the command of two Norman earls, through whose ignorance, carelessness, or mismanagement, Godwin was permitted to form a junction with a squadron from Ireland, commanded by his son Harold. This enabled him to impress the ships and seamen of the several ports into his service. Being now complete master of the seas, he boldly sailed up the Thames, and appeared before London, where Edward then held his court. The king seemed disposed, at first, at the instigation of his Norman counsellors, to try the last extremity; but, the English nobility interposing, a negotiation was set on foot, which speedily terminated in a peace, of which the following were the leading conditions—that earl Godwin, his sons, and their

\* W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 13.

† Wau. Hist. con: p. 448.

retainers,



retainers, should be re-instated in all their honours and possessions; that they should deliver hostages to the king, as a pledge of their loyalty in time to come; and that the Norman favourites, the cause of all these dissensions, should immediately withdraw from the kingdom. This pacification was ratified the very next day in a great council held at London; in which Godwin and his sons were acquitted of the crimes laid to their charge, and publicly admitted to the royal presence and favour. Queen Edgitha was of course released from her confinement, and resumed her former rank.\* By one of the revolutions so common in human affairs, the power of the thane was thus re-established on the ruins of the royal authority. The great earl did not long survive the restitution of his domestic and public dignities. He died suddenly, while sitting at table with the king, April 15th, 1053, leaving his eldest surviving son, Harold, heir to his honours and high offices; and four younger sons, all by his only wife Githa, the daughter of Canute the Great, possessed of immense power and wealth.†

It belongs not to the history of London to detail the intrigues which now took place for settling the succession to the throne, on the demise of *the Confessor*. That prince was childless, and likely so to remain. His own mind fluctuated between the contending principles of justice and of affection. A sense of justice pointed out to him his nephew Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, whose title indeed superseded his own; partial affection inclined to William the Norman, who was nearer at hand, and possessed of greater power to repress the unfounded pretensions of Harold, whom he cordially hated. After much hesitation, he was determined, at length, to act the just and honourable part; and Aldred, bishop of Worcester, was dispatched to the court of Hungary, to conduct Edward and his family into England. This unfortunate prince landed on his native shore, (A. D. 1057), after living about forty years in exile, and died within a month from his arrival, leaving an infant son named *Edgar Atheling*; and two daughters, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Christina, who assumed the veil.‡ The title of the infant Edgar was indisputable; but the prize was to be contended for by champions in the prime of life, and in the plenitude of power. Without entering into the claims of the two rivals, and the preparations made by each to maintain his own; it is sufficient for our purpose to say, that matters were at last

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 165.

† Id. p. 166.

‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 169. W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 13.

brought to a final issue by the death of Edward the Confessor, January the 5th, 1066. He was interred, with great funeral pomp, the day after, in his newly-finished church of St. Peter's, Westminster, the body being attended to the grave by all the members of a great council, whom he had summoned to assist at the solemnity of the dedication of that cathedral.\*

The brief abstract, given of this reign, may be closed with informing the reader, that the Confessor was the first English king who touched for the Evil. His reputation for superior sanctity made the belief of this miracle pass current with the people. As princes are unwilling to relinquish a single iota of either their real or supposed superiority, his successors continued to take advantage of this popular delusion, as if the sacred tact had been transmitted with the sceptre. The farce was carried on to the beginning of the present century; for the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson,† who laboured under this disorder, was carried, when an infant, by his mother, from Lichfield to London, to be cured of it by a touch of queen Anne's fair hand, but, as all the world knows, without success. All the princes of the present royal family have, however, had the good sense to drop the pretension, finding it could no longer impose even on the vulgar, and was laughed to scorn by all men of understanding.

England on this day beheld a double spectacle, unexampled perhaps in the annals of pageantry, a royal funeral and a coronation. The procession moved from St. Peter's, Westminster, to St. Paul's, London, where earl Harold, now in the zenith of his power and popularity, was crowned king of England by Aldred, by this time promoted to the archbishopric of York, with as much quietness and unanimity as if his title to the crown had been clear and indisputable.‡ Harold's claim was, most undoubtedly, to the last degree defective, and he owed his elevation to the throne entirely to the national aversion to the Norman name, to his great personal power and wealth, to his extensive family connections, to the influence of the clergy, to the favour of the citizens of London, to his own general popularity, and, above all, to the absence of every formidable competitor; for though Edgar Atheling, the real heir, was upon the spot, he was lost in the blaze of Harold's glory.§

\* Chron. Saxon: p. 171.

† Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i. p. 12.

‡ Ingulf. Hist:

§ Chron. Saxon. p. 172:



The new king's bitterest enemies were those of his own house. His brother Tosti, the banished earl of Northumberland, stung with rage and envy at Harold's exaltation, flew like a tempest from country to country to excite attempts to subvert his throne. He urged William, duke of Normandy, to hasten his preparations against their common foe. He incited the sovereigns of Denmark and Norway to renew their predatory incursions. He went in person to collect a naval force in Flanders, for the purpose of invading his native country, and of dethroning his own brother. Malcolm, king of Scots, was invited to join in the enterprise. At length a formidable impression was made on the eastern coast of England, and an English army, commanded by the earls Edwin and Morcar, was defeated by the invaders; who were, in their turn, completely defeated by the expedition, conduct, and valour of Harold, who surprised the combined forces of the enemy near Stanford-bridge, September 24th, slew Tosti and the king of Norway on the field, cut their whole army in pieces, seized their spoils, and forced them to re-embark the poor remains of their prodigious armament, on board a few straggling ships, and to consult their safety by flight.\*

This decisive victory set Harold's mind at rest respecting a great host of foes, domestic and foreign. But the most tremendous of all was advancing, unperceived, to swallow up at once the victor and the vanquished. William of Normandy had endeavoured to make the voice of reason to be heard from the mouth of his ambassador, requiring Harold to relinquish the throne; but having no prospect of succeeding by the arts of logic and rhetoric, he proceeded to adduce the more solid argument of 3000 ships, and 60,000 warriors, with whom he landed at Pevensey in Suffolk, September 25th, the very day after his competitor had effectually settled the dispute in the north, so much to his own advantage.† Harold was celebrating his victory at York when this important intelligence reached him; and Providence had selected the year 1066 to form another grand epoch in the British annals, the force of which is not yet expended after a revolution of almost seven centuries and a half.

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\* W. Malmes. l. ii. c. 13. Hoveden. Annal.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 172. W. Malmes. l. iii.

IN writing the history of the British metropolis, during a period so dark and remote, and in a state of manners and society so very different from the present, it will naturally be expected, that we should nevertheless endeavour to convey some general idea of the period which we have been running over, so as to enable the reader to state sundry important points of comparison between our ancestors and ourselves. It is a period, indeed, of no less than six hundred and seventeen years, and produced revolutions more frequent, more sudden, more violent, and more disastrous, than the subsequent period of seven hundred and thirty years, from the Norman conquest till now, presents. Seven petty governments had been consolidated into one powerful kingdom. The country had, however, long and grievously to labour under the miseries of civil discord, and of formidable foreign invasion. The death of almost every sovereign kindled a dispute about the succession, the feelings of nature were violated, and the dagger or the sword settled the controversy. The Saxon race was borne down and expelled by the Danish. The Danes were massacred, oppressed, expelled in their turn. Ferocious tyrants played the madman, and the people were the victims of their frenzy. This state of perpetual agitation could not be favourable to improvement of any kind. The language of the country continued rude and barbarous, the mixed jargon of various ill-assorted nations. Agriculture, the parent of all other arts, was neglected. Tyranny and slavery were established by a law. The seas swarmed with pirates, and the highways were infested with wolves and banditti. What a contrast to the present well-ordered state of society in Britain, where we now laugh to scorn the idea of invasion; where the tongue in parliamentary debates, and the pen in political pamphlets, are the only weapons of our warfare; every breath of the wind carries out, or brings home, exhaustless mines of treasure; the slave becomes free from his master the moment his foot alights on these hallowed shores; unnumbered palaces swell the cities and embellish the plains, and golden harvests wave on the lately barren waste!

From the admission of the Saxons, down to the Norman conquest, the state of *population* was extremely low in England. Of this we have the fullest evidence, and are enabled to assign the most satisfying reasons. The Scots and Picts had dreadfully depopulated the northern provinces, previously to the arrival of the Saxons,\* and those dangerous auxiliaries, becoming avowed enemies, partly

\* Gild. Hist. c. 11—26.



exterminated, partly enslaved, and partly chased away, the ancient inhabitants, to make way for the establishment of their seven principalities. The incessant, fierce, and bloody contentions which tore in pieces the heptarchy propagated the evil. On the union of the whole into one monarchy, a different spirit, but equally unfavourable to population, seized all ranks and degrees of mankind. A rage for building, endowing, and peopling monasteries, communicated itself from the prince to the peer, and from the peer to the people; and the land was devoured of useless, unproductive monks and nuns. The swarms which the Danish incursions brought over rather thinned than increased population. Commerce and manufactures were still in their infancy, and the neglect of agriculture was the occasion of frequent famines which destroyed more than the sword. The cities and towns were few in number, and those thinly peopled. Even towards the end of this period, if we except London and Winchester, no one city contained ten thousand inhabitants, and most of them only a few hundreds.\* York, the largest in the island, next to the two we have mentioned, contained only 1418 houses, of which 540 were uninhabited. Though this city was the seat of an archbishop, and the capital of a great province, which was not hitherto thoroughly united with the rest, its population amounted to no more than one thousand four hundred and eighteen families. It consisted of six wards, exclusive of the archiepiscopal palace, one of which wards was in a state of total ruin; the other five contained the families enumerated, which, at the rate of five persons to a family, amounts to a little above 7000 souls. The single parish of Hackney now contains upwards of three times that number of inhabitants. In Exeter there were only 315 houses, and in Warwick but 223.† Norwich contained 738 houses, Ipswich 538, Northampton 60, Hertford 146, Canterbury 262, Bath 64, Southampton 84. All these particulars are extracted from the record known by the name of Doomsday-book. On the whole, it appears extremely probable, that the total amount of the population of England, at no one point of this dismal period, greatly exceeded the number of inhabitants now contained in the cities of London and Westminster, and the villages in their vicinity.

The *fine arts* could not be said to be cultivated at all, and the *useful* continued in a very rude and imperfect state. The noble fortifications reared by the Romans,

\* Brady on Burghs.

† Id. p. 10.

for the defence of the country, were either violently demolished, or permitted to fall into decay. The little skill in architecture possessed by the nation was confined to the construction of churches, chapels, and convents. Alfred indeed exerted himself in promoting works both of decoration and of defence. He devoted much of his time, attention, and revenue, toward repairing the ruined walls of London in particular; and his daughter Elfleda, governess of Mercia, imbibed her father's spirit, and not only fought successfully against the Danes, but built many fortresses for the purpose of checking their incursions. But neither the authority nor the example of Alfred could stimulate a spiritless, indolent nobility to bestir themselves in their own defence, and that of their country; and, as he had no model, so he had no imitator.\*

The whole *commerce* of the country, foreign as well as domestic, centered in the port of London. Beda, our surest guide through this dark period, speaks precisely to this point. He tells us, that “the city of London, the capital of “the small kingdom of Essex, was a celebrated emporium, frequented by the “merchants of several nations, who came thither both by sea and land, for the “purposes of trade.”† This plainly intimates that London was the great centre of British commerce in those times; to which the Anglo-Saxon merchants, from the different nations of the heptarchy, resorted with their several commodities, and where they met with the foreign merchants, who had come from beyond seas to purchase those commodities, either with money, or with the goods which they had imported from the continent. In this manner, and in this port only, for no other is mentioned in history, the limited foreign trade of England was carried on till about the middle of the eighth century. But what was the trade of the eighth, and of several following centuries? The traffic of a few sorry pedlars, who frequently attempted to reconcile God and mammon. Under pretence of religious pilgrimages, which by papal decrees were in every country exempted from toll, custom, and tribute, they contrived to transport various sorts of merchandize over the kingdoms of Europe, and to enrich themselves by eluding the payment of revenue to the princes through whose territories they travelled. Yet such was the comparative importance of commerce, even in those times of ignorance, that by a law of king Athelstan, already mentioned, a merchant who had made three foreign voyages, on his own bottom, became entitled to the quality and privileges of

\* *Affer. de reb. gest. Alfredi*, p. 17, 18.

† *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 3.*

thane :



thane : and we actually find the *seamen of London* assisting in the great council of the nation, on an occasion of no less importance than that of fixing the succession to the throne. But the point of comparison between modern and ancient London, in respect of commerce, is as infinity to nothing.

This prepares the way for a brief statement of the relative value and effect of *money*, and of other commodities, under the Anglo-Saxon government. Money is one of the earliest, as it is one of the happiest of human inventions. The more precious metals were employed as an instrument of commerce long before the times of the patriarch Abraham, (A. A. C. 1919), for we find him purchasing land with silver, “current money with the merchant,”\* a proof that bullion, if not coin, was then in common use. But long after this, *living money*, if so it may be called, was given in exchange for a great variety of commodities. Homer estimates the value of commodities by the number of oxen, sheep, goats, or other animals, which were given in purchase of them. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, in like manner, dealt largely in this species of money.† It consisted of slaves, and cattle of every kind, which had a specific value settled on them by law, and, according to that value, passed current in the payment of debts, and in the purchase of commodities of every description, and thus supplied the want of money properly so called. It was also very common in those times, in purchasing lands, to purchase, at the same time, all the living money upon them, that is, to take all the slaves, horses, and other animals on the estate, at the rate established by law. Mulcts of every kind, imposed by royal authority, or by the decisions of the courts of law, and penances enjoined by the church, might, in the option of the delinquent, be paid either in dead or living money, with this honourable exception in favour of the church, mercifully disposed to discourage the odious practice of slavery, that no slave should be tendered or accepted as a compensation for an ecclesiastical penance.‡

Whoever is desirous of seeing an ample discussion of the subject of coinage and money, may consult Dr. Henry’s History of England, book ii. chap. 6, on Commerce, &c. It is sufficient for the present purpose to copy from that valuable work two tables; the one, of the denominations of money, and of real coins in use among the Anglo-Saxons; and the other, of the legal value of certain commodities, if paid in money.

\* Gen. xxiii. 16.

† Hist. Eliens. l. i. c. 10.

‡ Johnson’s Canons. can. vii.

TABLE I.

*Names of the Anglo-Saxon denominations of money, and of real coins; with the weight of each in grains Troy, and value in the present money of Great Britain.*

Names.	Weight in grains Troy.	Present Value.
Pound, - - - - -	5400 - -	£.2 16 3
Mark, - - - - -	3600 - -	1 17 9
Mancus of gold, - -	56 - -	0 7 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Mancus of silver, - -	675 - -	0 7 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ora, - - - - -	450 - -	0 4 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Greater shilling, - -	112 $\frac{1}{2}$ - -	0 1 2
Smaller shilling, - -	90 - -	0 0 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Thrimfa, - - - - -	67 $\frac{1}{2}$ - -	0 0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Penny and Sceata, - -	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ - -	0 0 2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Halfling, - - - - -	11 - -	0 0 1 and 3 half farthings.
Feorthling, - - - - -	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ - -	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Styca, a brads coin, -	— - -	0 0 0 3 half farthings.

TABLE II.

*Value of certain commodities fixed by law, during the reign of Ethelred the Unready, in Saxon, and in Sterling money.*

Price.	Saxon.	Sterling.
Of a man, or slave, - - -	£.1 0 0 - - -	£.2 16 3
a horse, - - - - -	0 30 0 - - -	1 15 2
a mare or colt, - - -	0 20 0 - - -	1 3 5
an afs or mule, - - -	0 12 0 - - -	0 14 1
an ox, - - - - -	0 6 0 - - -	0 7 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
a cow, - - - - -	0 5 4 - - -	0 5 6
a fow, - - - - -	0 1 3 - - -	0 1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
a sheep, - - - - -	0 1 0 - - -	0 1 2
a goat, - - - - -	0 0 2 - - -	0 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

What



What will still more astonish the modern reader is the price of land during the greater part of this period. Land of the very best quality sold currently for no more than sixteen Saxon pennies, or about four shillings of our money, the acre. It appears at this day almost incredible, that our ancestors, eight or nine hundred years ago, paid as much money for four sheep as for an acre of the best arable land.

I conclude this section with the following quotation from my ever affectionately-recollected friend, in a work to which I always resort with undiminished delight : History of Britain, vol. ii. page 514, 515.

“ From the above table it plainly appears, that an Anglo-Saxon, in the reign  
“ of king Ethelred, could have purchased twenty horses, or mares, or mules, or  
“ oxen, or cows, or swine, or sheep, or goats, to say nothing of men, for the  
“ same quantity of silver that an Englishman must now pay for a single one of  
“ those animals of the middle sort. This seems to be as near as possible the true  
“ proportion between the value of money in the present times, and of those  
“ which we are now examining, in the purchase of these most necessary and  
“ useful animals, and of all kinds of provisions, except in times of famine.  
“ In some other things, however, the proportion was very different. In the  
“ purchase of land, for example, money was several hundred times more valuable  
“ than it is at present; but in the purchase of books, it was not really of so  
“ great value as it is at this moment. So much hath the value of the former  
“ increased by the improvements of agriculture, and the increase of trade and  
“ population, and so much hath the pecuniary value of the latter decreased by  
“ the most useful inventions of paper and printing, by which books are multiplied  
“ almost *ad infinitum*. Such of our readers as are desirous to see a more full and  
“ minute enumeration of the prices of animals, and of all their members, in this  
“ period, (from the head of a king to the tail of a cat) may consult *Leges*  
“ *Wallicæ*, p. 230—279, which will suggest a thousand reflections concerning  
“ the different estimations of things, and the different tastes and desires of man-  
“ kind in different circumstances. How much, for example, must we be surprised  
“ to see, that by the established laws of one part of this island, and most probably  
“ the whole, the price of a hawk, or of a greyhound, was once the very same  
“ with the price of a man; and that there was a time, when the robbing a  
“ hawk’s nest, was as great a crime in the eye of the law, and as severely  
“ punished, as the murder of a Christian.”

## SECTION III.

*The History of London, from the Descent of William the Norman, A. D. 1066,  
to the Death of King John, A. D. 1216.*

THE triumph of king Harold over his brother Tosti, and the king of Norway, was dreadfully overclouded by the news of William's landing with a power so formidable, to contend with him for the crown of England. But though justly alarmed he was by no means intimidated. He immediately interrupted his rejoicings at York, and turned his face toward the capital. Upon his reaching London he found his forces considerably reduced, by the loss of men in the battle of Stanford-bridge, and by the desertion of multitudes, from discontent at being deprived of their share of the plunder gained by their victory on that occasion. In this situation of affairs he was advised by his brother Gurth, and his wiser counsellors, to remain in London till his army should be refreshed and recruited; and, above all things, not to risk his own person, with a force so greatly inferior. But these prudent remonstrances were treated with disdain by a young prince elated with recent success, and eager to demonstrate himself worthy of filling the throne which he had acquired. He hurried down toward Hastings, where he arrived October 13th, and pitched his camp near to that of the Normans.\*

Both parties being equally eager to come to a decision, the very next day determined the possession of the English throne. But the two armies came into action by no means upon equal terms. The Normans had enjoyed more than a fortnight's undisturbed repose. They were commanded by bold and hardy adventurers, who had every thing to hope from success, and every thing to fear from defeat; and, like his leader, every man in the ranks knew that no alternative was left but victory or death. The English army, on the contrary, was harassed and exhausted with a hurried and fatiguing march of three hundred miles, in the fall of the year; was still bleeding from the fierce encounter of the north; was thinned by desertion; and the remainder were led on by chiefs who themselves acted reluctantly, because their counsel had not been followed. The engagement,

\* W. Malmes. l. iii. p. 57.



however, was long, and obstinately supported on both sides, till the setting of the sun; when Harold fell by an arrow, which, entering by his eye, penetrated into the brain. His two brothers, likewise, after performing prodigies of valour, were both slain; and the royal standard being taken, the rout became general, and the victorious Normans pursued their flying enemies, till night put an end to the carnage.\* This battle, perhaps the most bloody in itself, and undoubtedly the most important in its consequences, that ever stained the soil of England, cost the Norman fifteen thousand of his best troops, who were left dead on the field: but it placed him and his posterity on a throne which they have now filled more than seven hundred and thirty years, and which is, at this moment, more firmly established than at any preceding period. The loss on the side of the English must have been much more considerable, and became decisively fatal from its involving that of the king, of his brothers, and of the flower of the ancient nobility.†

The duke of Normandy, whatever his pretensions to the crown might be, discovered much wisdom and moderation in following up his victory, as he had displayed singularly good conduct and persevering intrepidity in achieving it. He returned solemn thanks to God, on the field of battle, for the success of his arms; he permitted the vanquished to bury their dead without the slightest interruption; he dismissed from his presence, with marks of the highest displeasure, a soldier who had presumed to mangle the dead body of Harold; and sent the corpse to his mother Githa, to receive the honours of sepulture, but refused to accept the proffered ransom.‡ This temperate exercise of power probably contributed more toward his elevation to royalty, than a series of victories could have done.

But all difficulty was by no means removed. The rightful heir to the crown was still living, and his claim supported by the English clergy and surviving nobility, particularly the potent earls Edwin and Morcar, who had made their escape from the fatal field of Hastings; the city of London, a kingdom within itself, discovered no inclination to submit to the conqueror, and its garrison was now reinforced by the collected remains of the action of the 14th of October. William's army, on the other hand, was diminished by fully a fourth part,

\* Hen. Hunt. p. 211.

† W. Gimetuin, c. 36.

‡ W. Malmesb. l. iii. p. 58.

actually slain in battle: a considerable proportion must have been rendered unfit for immediate service, from the consequences of that battle; and the sound part of it was attacked by the dysentery, which detained him a full week at Dover. But the consternation excited by the recent defeat, the insignificant character of Edgar Atheling, and the want of union in the councils held at London, counterbalanced all the disadvantages of the duke's situation, and he soon found himself in a condition to put his army in motion toward the capital, of the importance of gaining which, in the present urgency of affairs, he was perfectly aware. Upon his approach the citizens shut their gates, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They had even the courage to sally forth, in a considerable body, but were repulsed with loss, and constrained to seek shelter within their walls.\* This ill-advised and unsuccessful attempt settled the dispute for ever. The city became one vast scene of confusion and discord, a gigantic body without a head, feeble from its strength, dangerous and hurtful to itself, but deprived of the power of annoying the enemy.

The terror raised in the city, by the slaughter of the party who had ventured out to attack the Normans, was increased into a panic by the sight of the adjoining town of Southwark in flames, which was reduced to ashes to serve as a warning to London, and it completely produced the effect; for the earls of Mercia and Northumberland immediately withdrew into the north, with their numerous retainers, to wait the event, leaving the citizens to their own counsels; and the victorious army having crossed the Thames at Wallingford, approached the capital on the side which was not defended by the river. This put an end to all deliberation, and hastened the resolution of surrendering at discretion. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, Aldred, archbishop of York, and two other prelates, five of the principal men of London, several of the nobility, and even Edgar Atheling himself, went out to meet the conqueror, and made their submissions to him at Berkhamstead.† Their example was speedily followed by the rest of the nobility; and having no idea of any form of government but the monarchical, they unanimously invited William to fill the vacant throne. Though this was the avowed object of his visit to England, he affected scruples, which it was not difficult to remove, and his Norman followers joining earnestly in the request, he suffered himself to be persuaded.‡

\* Orderic. Vital. p. 503.

† Hoveden. Annal. p. 258.

‡ W. Picotavin. p. 205.



The gates of London were now thrown open for his reception ; but he did not deem it prudent to trust his person in a place governed by tumultuary counsels, and whose submission to him he well knew to be the effect of constraint, not of benevolence. He detached a part of his army, therefore, to take possession of the city, with orders to erect a fortress in it, on purpose to overawe the inhabitants, and to serve as a retreat in case of any sudden commotion. This is the origin of what is now called the White Tower, but it was not finished till twelve years afterward, under the inspection of Gundulphus, bishop of Rochester. Nothing now remained but to make preparations for the ceremony of his coronation, which he appointed to be performed in Westminster-abbey on Christmas day of that same year.

As the primate did not enjoy the good graces of William, he was not permitted to officiate in the coronation service. He had intruded into the archiepiscopal chair on the expulsion of Robert the Norman ; and, besides, possessed more influence and authority over the minds of the English than was agreeable to the jealous spirit of a recently established monarch, who was therefore resolved to mortify him by a public mark of disrespect ; but as men, especially princes, are not always disposed to avow their real motives, Stigand was passed by under pretence that he had obtained the pall in an irregular manner, from pope Benedict IX. who was himself an usurper. The honour of consecrating the sovereign to his high office, was conferred on Aldred, archbishop of York, assisted by Goisfred, bishop of Constance. The English prelate, who is celebrated for his eloquence, addressed an oration to his countrymen in their own language, and concluded with demanding if they chose William for their king, and wished him to be crowned. They expressed their assent by loud and repeated acclamations. Goisfred put the same question to the Norman part of the assembly in their language, and received a similar answer, expressed in the same manner. Upon this the archbishop administered the oath, which had been taken by the Anglo-Saxon princes at their coronation, with the insertion of a clause or two adapted to the circumstances of the case, to the following purport—That he would protect the church, administer justice, repress violence, and govern both his English and Norman subjects by equal laws. The king was then seated on the throne, and the crown placed on his head amidst successive and universal bursts of applause.\*

\* W. Pictavin, p. 206.

These demonstrations of joy were, however, productive of very serious and disagreeable consequences. The Norman soldiers placed on guard around the abbey, hearing reiterated shouts in accents which they did not understand, hastily took it for granted that the English were offering violence to their prince and his foreign attendants; and, without making further inquiry, in a transport of rage set fire to the adjoining buildings, which, consisting mostly of wood, kindled instantly into a blaze. This excited equal alarm and apprehension within the abbey, and occasioned many accidents from the violence of the press of a great multitude, who measured their dangers by their fears. The two parties were filled with mutual jealousy and suspicion; the king conceived unkind surmises of his English subjects which time was unable to efface, and superstition, the prevailing spirit of the times, considered this incident as a melancholy omen of a turbulent and calamitous reign.\*

William, thus elevated to the throne by a pretended destination of Edward, and an irregular election of the people, but in reality by the power of the sword, proceeded to the exercise of his authority with firmness directed by wisdom. The tumult at Westminster had roused apprehensions which would not permit him to fix his residence in London, as the fortification, which he had ordered to be constructed in that city for his security, was not yet completed. He retired, therefore, to Barking, in Essex, where he received the submission of the great earls Edwin and Morcar, and of almost all the rest of the ancient nobility. He then made a progress through various parts of his kingdom, in which he conducted himself with so much affability, and regard to justice and the laws, that he disarmed all resentment, and conciliated general affection.† There cannot be a more satisfying proof of his prudent and equitable administration than that he found himself, at the end of a very few months, in perfect safety to leave England, and pay a visit to his possessions on the continent. Nor did his confidence deceive him. He used the precaution, indeed, of carrying with him Stigand the archbishop, Edgar Atheling, the earls Edwin and Morcar, and all the English nobility whose influence he knew to be great, and whose fidelity he suspected, under pretence of putting a mark of distinction on them, but in truth to detain them as hostages to secure the loyalty of their adherents during his absence. So uneasily sits a crown acquired by violence on the head of him who wears it. He embarked

\* Orderic Vital. p. 503.

† W. Pictavin. p. 208.



with a splendid retinue at Pevensey, where he landed six months before, toward the end of March, A. D. 1067.\*

The regents to whom he had delegated his authority in England, made an improper use of it. A spirit of discontent was excited, which in several parts broke out into acts of violence and rebellion. The news of these awakened William from the ostentatious dissipation of his Norman court, and recalled him to execute the functions of royalty in person. He sailed from the port of Dieppe the 6th December, landed at Winchelsea the day following, and proceeded directly to London, of which he took possession with great state and magnificence, and there passed the festivity of the Christmas holidays.† This sagacious prince, well aware of the growing importance of his capital, and desirous of being on good terms with the citizens, found it expedient to distinguish them by sundry acts of grace, and, in particular, at the request of William, bishop of London, by birth a Norman, he granted a charter to the city, in the language of the country, an uncommon token of favour at a time when Norman French engrossed every deed and every conversation. This ancient instrument is carefully preserved among the archives of the corporation. Both the writing and the impression of the seal are said to be perfectly distinct and legible. As both the style and purport of the charter throw considerable light on the character of that remote age, the reader will probably be gratified with perusing a translation of it into modern English :

“ William the king, in friendship, greets William the bishop, and Godfrey  
 “ the portreeve, and all the burgessees within London, both French and English :  
 “ and I declare, that I grant you to be all law-worthy as ye were in the days of  
 “ king Edward ; and I grant that every child shall be his father’s heir, after his  
 “ father’s days ; and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep  
 “ you.”

It is evident from this deed that London was under a regular municipal government previous to the conquest, for William addresses his letters of protection to the portreeve, as to an officer in trust for his fellow-citizens, already known to, and acknowledged by, the government of the country. It is farther evident that the citizens of London had been in the possession of peculiar privileges and immunities at least so far back as the reign of king Edward, for they are hereby ratified and confirmed. But what must have been the state of the country at large, when

\* W. Pictavin. p. 208.

† Orderic Vital. p. 509.

it was deemed a very high privilege to have the benefit and protection of the law, and that a man's property should descend to his own children after his death? The truth is, by far the greatest part of the nation was still, and for several ages afterwards, in a state of the most abject slavery. The great lords had and exercised an unquestioned right over the life, person, and property of their vassals, and whole cities were subjected to this inglorious servitude. London has the honour of being among the earliest, the most strenuous, and the most persevering assertors of liberty.

Early in the spring of 1068, Matilda, the king's royal consort, arrived in England, and the nation was amused with another coronation. She was crowned at Westminster on Whitsunday, by Aldred, archbishop of York, and before the end of that year was happily delivered of her fourth son, who was named Henry. He afterwards mounted the throne of England on the death of his brother William Rufus.\*

The king seemed now to have arrived at the pinnacle of human glory and felicity. His government was apparently firmly established, his family numerous and flourishing, himself in the prime of life and the zenith of respectability. But a throne obtained by violence, and supported by despotism, continues long in an unsettled state. The submission of the two potent northern earls was but feigned, and they waited only an opportunity and a pretext to withdraw their allegiance; and, unhappily for himself and his kingdom, William furnished them with one. Conscious of the power and influence of the brothers, he had endeavoured to secure their attachment by all the arts of insinuation and address; and, in particular, had promised to give Edwin his own daughter in marriage. But when this young nobleman claimed the accomplishment of his promise, he received a flat denial; on which he withdrew in a rage, and fomented a spirit of rebellion among his numerous retainers and neighbours in the north. Though the king had the good fortune to suppress it without the effusion of much blood, he plainly perceived that though he had enforced obedience, he had by no means gained the affections of his English subjects. He felt himself, therefore, under the necessity of providing for his security by building castles, and planting garrisons in the chief towns of the discontented provinces. York, accordingly, had the honour of a castle and a Norman garrison, to teach her inhabitants good breeding. A similar mark of

\* J. Bromt. col. 963.



royal favour was conferred on Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. And that London might not consider herself as neglected, the Tower was strengthened by additional fortifications.\* By this time, too, a considerable part of the lands of England had, by endless forfeitures and confiscations, been transferred to Normans. They exclusively possessed the king's confidence, and, consequently, every place of power and profit. The degraded, impoverished noble families, finding themselves exposed to the resentment of a suspicious monarch, and the rapacity of foreign favourites, and many of them disdaining the idea of being governed by a bastard, retired with the wreck of their fortunes into foreign countries. Edgar Atheling, among others, with his sisters Margaret and Christina, earl Cospatrick, and several noblemen of the first rank, made their escape into Scotland, where they were most graciously received by king Malcolm, who married the lady Margaret, and bestowed grants of land on her respectable attendants.†

It belongs not to our subject to detail the internal commotions, and foreign attacks, which desolated England for a series of unhappy years from this time. In order to reduce the kingdom to subjection, William adopted the barbarous policy of reducing it to a desert. The gloomy, unfeeling, feudal government was digested into system, and established by a law. Renouncing every idea of ruling by love, a government all terror was unrelentingly exercised. But the tyrant perceives not that while he is twisting the chain round the slave's heel, he rivets the other end of it about his own neck. William's own family, his pride and his glory, became a source of torment to him. The man who knows he is feared and hated becomes himself the victim of fear and hatred; and he who deems the walls of a castle necessary to his safety, bewrays an apprehension that even there he is insecure. While the king was busied in the construction of his fortress in the Tower, the city suffered greatly by accidental fire (A. D. 1077). The only other historical facts which occur respecting our metropolis about this period, relate to two ecclesiastical councils held in it, the one at Easter, and the other at Whitsuntide, 1072, in presence of the king, the queen, (who is said to have been a very learned woman) and all the court, wherein was debated at great length, and with much warmth, the important question of the precedency of the two archbishops; which was at length finally decided in favour of Canterbury, to the great triumph of the

\* Sim. Dunelm. col. 203.

† M. Paris, p. 4.

one prelate and equal mortification of his brother.\* Another council was held at London (A. D. 1075), by the eighth canon of which it is decreed: "That the bones of dead animals shall not be hung up, to drive away the pestilence from cattle; and that forcery, soothsaying, divination, and such works of the devil, shall not be practised." The celibacy of the clergy had been enjoined by canon upon canon, but hitherto without effect; so feeble and inefficient are the efforts of man to counteract the laws of nature! By one of the canons of a council held next year (A. D. 1076), the secular clergy, already married, were permitted to retain their wives; but such as had none are prohibited to marry; and bishops are forbidden to confer priests' orders on a married man.†

London was again severely visited (A. D. 1086) with a conflagration which laid a considerable part of it in ashes, in which the cathedral church of St. Paul was involved; but only to rise in greater splendor and magnificence than had hitherto been seen in England, under the inspection, and by the exertions, of Maurice bishop of the diocese. About this time, likewise, was completed an undertaking which reflects no little honour on the memory of William. It was a survey of the kingdom, made by commissioners, who took information upon oath, in each county, respecting the following particulars: The name of every city, town, and village;—by whom held in the reign of King Edward;—by whom now occupied;—the number of freemen, villains, and cottagers, which it contained;—of how many hides of land each manor consisted;—how many of these were in the royal demesne;—what proportion of woodland, pasture, and arable;—the amount of the taxes it paid in the Confessor's days;—the present assessment;—the number of mills, fishponds, &c. and, in many places, they were still more minute and particular, and took an account of the number of horses, black cattle, swine, sheep, and bee-hives.‡ The reports of the several commissioners were collected and carefully deposited in the exchequer, where they remain to this day. They form two volumes, known by the name of *Doomsday-book*, and contain a world of curious, interesting, and useful information. From this survey, the king obtained an accurate knowledge of what belonged to the crown, to the church, to the nobility, to communities, and to land-holders in general; of the number, rank, quality, and possessions of all his subjects: and the present age has acquired

\* W. Malmesb. p. 117.

† Johnson's *Canons*, vol. II.

‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 186.



the certain knowledge of many important particulars relating to their country and ancestors more than seven hundred years ago.

During the progress of this great work, William was called over to his foreign dominions by an event which levels every human distinction. His beloved and only consort Matilda had resided some time in Normandy, where she fell into a lingering illness, of which she died November 2d, 1083. This lady is reported to have been of an amiable person and engaging manners, and, for the age in which she lived, of a well-cultivated understanding. She lived in much conjugal harmony with her husband for thirty-three years, and brought him a fine family of four sons and five daughters. William is said to have laid the queen's death so much to heart as henceforward to relinquish every species of amusement. But he himself was now considerably advanced in life, and a relish for pleasure was greatly abated; a sense of the severity, not to say cruelty, which he had exercised upon his English subjects, and the state of incessant terror, alarm, and danger, in which he was kept to his dying hour, sufficiently account for his abstinence from amusement.

Toward the close of this reign was built the parish church of St. Mary in Cheapside, and, being the first structure of the kind in London supported by arches of stone, it was distinguished, in the Latin of the times, by the name of *St. Mary de Arcubus*, and translated into Norman-English *St. Mary-le-Bow*. The first arched stone-bridge over a branch of the Lea at Stratford, three miles east from London, for the same reason, gave the name of *Stratford-le-Bow* to that village; and now, almost from time immemorial, that part of the village which is nearer to London retains the name of Bow, and the farther that of Stratford.

The Conqueror's career was now drawing to a period, and death overtook him in the execution of a deliberate purpose of revenge, for the offence given him by a witticism of the king of France. William had of late years become rather corpulent, and having been confined with sickness for a few weeks in his Norman capital, Philip merrily expressed a hope that his brother of England would in due time get rid of his great belly, and be able to appear abroad again. This being reported to William, he swore by a most tremendous oath, that he would light up so many candles at Notre Dame, in honour of his recovery, as would set all Paris in a blaze. The jests and the resentment of kings are serious things. William did not break his word; but in the very beginning of harvest, when the precious fruits of the earth were just ripe for the sickle, he broke into France at

the head of a powerful army, wasting and destroying as he went, till he reached the town of Mante, which he took by assault, set on fire, and reduced to ashes. Here Providence checked his dreadful progress. The heat of the weather increased by the flames of his own kindling, the ardor of an irritated mind, and an injury received in his belly from a stroke on the pommel of his saddle, threw him into a fever, of which he died at the abbey of St. Gervois near Rouen, September 9th, A. D. 1087, in the sixty-third year of his age, and twenty-first of his reign as king of England.\* His mental powers were not deranged by his indisposition. He bequeathed his continental possessions to his eldest son Robert, the crown of England to his second son William, and a large sum of money to Prince Henry the youngest. To appease the remonstrances of his conscience for the cruelties with which it charged him, he gave orders for the enlargement of all state prisoners, lavished abundance of treasure on churches and monasteries, and practised all the arts of the superstition of his age. He is likewise said to have addressed very serious exhortations to his attendants on the vanity of worldly greatness, of which they to a man gave a complete demonstration, by abandoning his remains the moment he expired.†

Among these was his own son William, surnamed Rufus, from the red colour of his hair, and his successor in the throne of England, who, having got possession of his nomination to the crown, accompanied with a letter of recommendation to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, without waiting to perform the last duties of nature to his affectionate and dying parent, posted with all possible expedition to secure the prize. His claim being warmly supported by that primate, whose pupil and knight he had been in early life, it was recognized, and the young king was solemnly crowned at Westminster, September 27th, by his venerable preceptor, assisted by the archbishop of York, eight other bishops, and the chief of the nobility.‡

This reign affords few, if any, materials for a history of London.§ Like the preceding, it was turbulent, violent, and oppressive; but heaven permitted it not to

\* Orderic. Vital. p. 655.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ W. Malmesb. l. iv. p. 68.

§ Certain miscellaneous facts, however, have been transmitted relative to this period; but, being of doubtful authority, it was considered as more proper to throw them into a note than to weave them into the body of the narration. A dreadful hurricane is said to have attacked the city in November 1091, which demolished upwards of 600 houses in London, as well as several churches, and considerably damaged



to be protracted to a very great length. William Rufus fell a victim to his inordinate passion for hunting. When engaged in this exercise in the new forest, he happened to be attended, among others, by one Tyrrel a Frenchman, noted for his skill in archery. Eager to approve his dexterity, Tyrrel let fly an arrow at a stag which suddenly started before him; but, missing his aim, if the stag really was his aim, he shot the king to the heart, who instantly dropped down dead, August 2d, A. D. 1100, in the 13th year of his reign, and 40th year of his age.\* The monuments which remain of this prince in England, are the tower of London, which he extended, and strengthened with additional fortifications, London-bridge, which he rebuilt at an enormous expence; and Westminster-hall, one of the most respectable specimens of the architecture of those times, and, to this hour, the venerable seat of the administration of justice, and, once every reign, the splendid scene of a coronation festivity.

Had it been competent for William Rufus to dispose of the crown at his pleasure, the suddenness of his death prevented the possibility of making a will, and no destination had hitherto been declared. His younger brother Henry, being of the party which proved so fatal to the king, got intelligence of his death an hour or two after the accident. Actuated by the family ambition, he instantly resolved

damaged the hardly finished tower of William the Conqueror. The roof of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheap-side, was carried off in one piece, and fell at a considerable distance, with such violence, that four main rafters, of twenty six feet in length, were forced into the ground to the depth of twenty feet. This they pretend to account for from the unpaved state of the London streets and the marshy quality of the soil. The same storm, and the agitation which it excited in the river, are supposed to have swept away the bridge.

Two years after (A. D. 1093), a great part of the city was consumed by fire, an evil which was dreadfully aggravated to the citizens, by the enormous sums levied upon them, and upon the whole kingdom, towards the reparation and enlargement of the tower, the construction of Westminster-hall, and the restoration of London bridge.

Finally, we are told, that by an extraordinary flux of the Thames, A. D. 1099, several towns and villages were completely inundated, so as never to emerge; and that a great part of the Kentish coast, formerly the property of the illustrious Godwin family, was swallowed up of the watery element, and to this day forms those dangerous shallows, well-known to mariners by the name of Godwin's sands. If these things were so, it is easy to conjecture the judgments which superstition perceived, and applied to the prince on the throne, and which his untimely and violent death seemed to justify.

\* Chron. Saxon, p. 207.

to avail himself of the advantage of the ground, and to assume the government. Knowing that in cases of this kind dispatch was every thing, he hastened to Winchester, laid hold of the royal treasury, proceeded directly forward to London, and made such good use of his time, money, and address, that, within three days from his brother's death, he was actually crowned king of England, at Westminster, by Maurice bishop of London, on Sunday August 5th, the last year of the eleventh century.

Henry was abundantly sensible, that, though he had taken the nation by surprize, and anticipated the juster title of his elder brother, it was impossible for him to maintain his ground without the support of the people; he therefore put in practice every popular art which could ingratiate him with the nobility, the clergy, and the citizens. Princes are very seldom gratuitously generous. The liberal grants of this prince, therefore, to all orders of men in the kingdom, by no means merit unreserved commendation. But, whatever was the motive which dictated them, they certainly were subservient to the extension of liberty, and the scale of the people acquired increasing weight. Henry published a royal charter, containing the most gracious assurances of his firm determination to redress all the grievances of the two preceding reigns, to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor, and to grant every immunity which the warmest friend of liberty and of his country could desire. He seized and threw into prison Flambard bishop of Durham, the detested instrument of his brother's oppression. He paid particular attention to the known inclinations of his English subjects, who had not kindly coalesced with their Norman guests, by taking in marriage the princess Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the late king of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling. He liberated many state prisoners, and remitted many debts due to the crown.\* But, what falls more immediately within our subject, he actually formed the constitution of the corporation of the city of London; for what is called the charter of William the Conqueror is a letter of protection merely, and in one point of view is to be considered rather as a badge of slavery than as a grant of freedom. As this instrument is in truth a charter, conveying real privileges, and the first granted to our metropolis, the insertion of it in this place will doubtless be acceptable to the present race of citizens.

“ Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, to the bishop of Canterbury, and to the bishops and abbots, earls and barons, justices and sheriffs, and to all his

\* M. Paris, p. 38, 39.



“ faithful subjects of England, French and English, greeting. Know ye, that  
“ I have granted to my citizens of London, to hold Middlesex to farm for three  
“ hundred pounds, upon account to them and their heirs; so that the said  
“ citizens shall place as sheriff whom they will of themselves; and shall place  
“ whomsoever, or such a one as they will of themselves, for keeping of the pleas  
“ of the crown, and of the pleadings of the same, and none other shall be justice  
“ over the said men of London; and the citizens of London shall not plead  
“ without the walls of London for any plea. And be they free from scot and  
“ lot, and Danegelt, and of all murder, and none of them shall wage battle:  
“ and if any one of the citizens shall be impleaded concerning the pleas of the  
“ crown, the man of London shall discharge himself by his oath, which shall be  
“ adjudged within the city; and none shall lodge within the walls, neither of my  
“ household, nor any other, nor lodging delivered by force.

“ And all the men of London shall be quit and free, and all their goods,  
“ throughout England, and the ports of the sea, of and from all toll and passage  
“ and lastage, and all other customs; and the churches, and barons, and citizens,  
“ shall and may peaceably and quietly have and hold their fokes with all their  
“ customs; so that the strangers that shall be lodged in the fokes shall give custom  
“ to none but him to whom the foke appertains, or to his officer whom he shall  
“ there put: and a man of London shall not be adjudged in amerciaments of  
“ money, but of one hundred shillings (I speak of the pleas which appertain to  
“ money); and further, there shall be no more miskenning in the hustings, nor  
“ in the folkemote, nor in any other pleas within the city; and the hustings may  
“ sit once in a week, that is to say, on Monday: and I will cause my citizens to  
“ have their lands, promises, bonds, and debts, within the city and without; and  
“ I will do them right by the law of the city, of the lands of which they shall  
“ complain to me: and if any shall take toll or custom of any citizen of London,  
“ the citizens of London in the city shall take of the borough or town, where  
“ toll or custom was so taken, so much as the man of London gave for toll, and  
“ as he received damage thereby: And all debtors, which do owe debts to the  
“ citizens of London, shall pay them in London, or else discharge themselves in  
“ London, that they owe none; but, if they will not pay the same, neither come  
“ to clear themselves that they owe none, the citizens of London, to whom the  
“ debts shall be due, may take their goods in the city of London, of the borough

“ or town, or of the county, wherein he remains who shall owe the debt: And  
“ the citizens of London may have their chaces to hunt, as well and fully as  
“ their ancestors have had, that is to say, in the Chiltre, and in Middlefex and  
“ Surry,

“ Witnefs the bishop of Winchester, and Robert, fon of Richard,  
“ and Hugh Piggot, and Almer of Totnefs, and William of  
“ Albs-prima, and Hubert Roger, chamberlain, and William de  
“ Mountfichett, and Hangul Taney, and John Ballet, and Robert,  
“ fon of Steward, of Weft.”

By this charter the city was relieved of fundry grievous impositions, inconsistent with a state of freedom, and highly prejudicial to commerce. The offensive tax called Danegelt was remitted; the power of electing their own sheriffs was granted to the citizens; they were exempted from the absurd law of settling disputes by single combat, a practice which was transmitted down to the time of Charles I.; they were delivered from the arbitrary prerogative formerly exercised by the portreeve, who was still nominated by the crown, of quartering the king's domestics upon the inhabitants; the restraints laid on trade were removed, and the mode of recovering debts rendered simple and easy; the municipal government of the city was defined and confirmed; even the amusements of the people are guarded and secured as chartered rights. Who is not disposed to overlook the defect in Henry's title, in contemplating such a progress toward the attainment of general liberty?

The privileges of the corporation being thus ascertained and established, instead of being regulated by the caprice of a prince or his favourite, the citizens began to form themselves into various associations or guilds, according to their several occupation, trade, or profession; and their municipal usages, which hitherto claimed no higher authority than common practice, were now reduced into writing, and acquired the force of law.

The civil and military transactions of this long and busy reign, though interesting and important to a very high degree, being foreign to the history of London, must be left to the general historian. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that Henry was able, not only to maintain himself on the throne of England to a good old age, in the face of all the pretensions of his elder brother, but to invade Normandy in his turn, to make the complete conquest of it, and to annex that



dutchy with several other provinces in France, to his English dominions. And thus, in the space of forty years, England, which had received a master from a petty French dukedom, was in a condition to make ample retaliation, by imposing the yoke on the neck of her conquerors.

The papal power, meanwhile, was advancing by gigantic strides to universal domination, and England was doomed to suffer her share of ecclesiastical tyranny. The king was not of a temper to submit patiently to usurpation of any kind, and pope Pascal was fully as tenacious of his assumed rights as Henry could be. Their mutual claims and encroachments produced frequent embassies, negotiations, alterations, councils. Of these some were held in London, some in Westminster, without producing any good effect. The king was at length wearied out into a compromise. On the 1st of August, 1107, a great council was held at the royal palace in London, consisting of the sovereign himself, the bishops, abbots, and nobility, in which, after warm debates for four days, it was determined that the king, and other lay patrons, should for the future relinquish the right which they had hitherto claimed of investing ecclesiastics, by delivering a pastoral staff and ring, on condition that the clergy, without exception, should do homage to the king on their admission to ecclesiastical benefices.\*

Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, had ever been a declared enemy to the marriage of the clergy, and it was by his influence that the severe canons, in condemnation of it, had passed in the council of London A. D. 1102. But these canons, being a violent outrage to the most powerful feelings of humanity, had been but indifferently observed, or rather openly violated, during the disputes between the king and the pope, relative to the right of investiture, and while the archbishop was in exile; but on the termination of those disputes, and the restoration of that prelate, he procured the calling of another council at London, in Whitsuntide, 1108, to deliberate upon and determine his favourite object.† In this council, at which the king and the nobility assisted, as well as the clergy, no fewer than ten canons were made to enforce the celibacy, and to prevent, or dissolve, the marriages of ecclesiastics. By these canons, all priests, of whatever order, are strictly enjoined—to put away their wives immediately—to prevent their residing on any lands which were the property of the church—to abstain from all personal communication with them, except in cases of extreme necessity,

\* Spelman. Concil. t. ii. p. 27.

† Eadmer, p. 94.

and in presence of two or more witnesses—such as put away their wives were commanded to refrain from saying mass for forty days, and to submit to whatever penance their bishop might prescribe—but such as refused were to be treated as the vilest of criminals; they were to be instantly deposed and excommunicated, and all their goods, and the persons and goods of the women, as in the case of adultery, were to be forfeited to the bishop of the diocese.\* What a view of clerical tyranny, and what a proof of the impossibility of restraining\* by human laws the honest propensities of nature!

But the policy of the court of Rome did not stop here. One of the most specious and successful engines which she employed to subject Christendom to her dominion, was the mission of legates into the various countries of Europe, with a commission to hold national councils in the name, and by the authority, of the pope. Henry had long, strenuously, and successfully, resisted the admission of a power into England so dangerous to the royal authority; but at length an opportunity presented itself, and was eagerly seized. In 1125, the king being involved in a dangerous war on the continent, toward the happy termination of which the favour of the papal court was of material importance, Honorius II. availed himself of this advantage, and granted a commission to cardinal John de Crema to act as his legate in England and Scotland. Henry was then in Normandy, and the cardinal found it of importance to be strengthened with the royal permission to execute his high office. Nothing but the necessity of the times could have extorted this from a prince so jealous of his prerogative; but granted it was, and the legate proceeded to London to open his commission. Here he had an opportunity of gratifying to the full the churchman's darling passions, pride and avarice. A national council was summoned to meet at Westminster the 9th September, A. D. 1126, in which the cardinal of course presided. Both the archbishops, twenty bishops, forty abbots, and an innumerable multitude of both clergy and laity were present.† Here no less than seventeen canons were passed, or rather promulgated, in the name, and by the authority, of the pope alone. The canons enjoining celibacy on the clergy, even those of the lowest order, were confirmed and extended. No priest was to admit a female into his house, except it were a sister, an aunt, or some other relation of unsuspected consanguinity. The cardinal, in a public oration, declared it to be an unpardonable enormity, that a priest should presume to conse-

\* Spelman, Concil. t. ii. p. 29.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 33.



crate and touch the body of Christ immediately on rising from the side of a strumpet; for this indecent appellation did the representative of his holiness apply to the modest wives of the English clergy. The very next night, however, the officers of justice, in visiting a house of ill fame, detected this very mirror of purity in the arms of a courtesan. The fact was so undeniable, and the inconsistency so glaring, that John, unable to meet the ridicule, stole out of the kingdom;\* the honest clergy retained their wives, and the canons sunk into merited neglect and contempt.

The next year, nevertheless, 1127, the archbishop of Canterbury was weak enough to accept the pope's commission to act as his legate in England, under the authority of which he convoked a national synod at Westminster, May 17th, where the same ridiculous game was played over again; the marriage of the clergy was declared to be the plague of the church; the poor wives were banished out of the parishes where their husbands officiated; all intercourse was prohibited, under pain of being subjected to ecclesiastical discipline, and of being reduced to servitude at the discretion of the bishop; and the thunder of excommunication was levelled at the head of every one, great and small, who should dare to interpose for the deliverance of the miserable victims.† But over-severe statutes of every kind defeat themselves, and prevent execution. Marriage still continued to be the plague of the church, though the primate thought proper a second time to exercise his legatine authority, by convening another council at London, which met on Monday, Sept. 29th, 1129, and continued its sittings till Friday, October 3d. It was resolved in this assembly, in order to give full effect to the canons of the church against clerical marriages, that the execution of them should be committed to the king. This, however, proved as ineffectual as every other attempt of the kind. Henry, indeed, accepted the trust, but instead of employing his authority in compelling the clergy to dismiss their wives, he thought it more adviseable to impose a tax on such as were disposed to retain them. This expedient, it is said, brought a very considerable sum into the royal treasury.‡

One of the last acts of Henry's administration was to declare his daughter, and only surviving legitimate child, Matilda, his successor to the throne; and having brought her with him to England for the purpose, about Midsummer 1131, had

\* Pen. Hunt. l. vii. p. 219. Hoveden, p. 274.

† Wilkin, Concil. t. i. p. 413.

‡ Hen. Hunt. l. vii. p. 220.

her title recognized in a great council of the prelates and nobility, and engaged them all to renew their oaths of fealty to her, as the only undoubted heir to the crown. Having accomplished this darling object of his heart, he gave himself entirely up to the indulgence of parental tenderness, which received a high gratification from the news of her happy delivery of a son, at Le Mans, in March, 1132. He celebrated this event at Oxford with much festivity, caused the nobility once more to swear fealty to his daughter, and his little grandson named Henry; and, impatient to behold those beloved objects of all his vows, he sailed for Normandy, August 7th, of the same year, from whence he returned no more to this island. He had the felicity of seeing Matilda the mother of a second son in 1134, and of a third the year after. This accession to his domestic bliss he did not long survive. After a hard day's hunting in the forest of Lyons, and a plentiful supper on lampreys, of which he was excessively fond, he was seized with a fever in the night, of which he died on Sunday, December 1st, 1135, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign.\*

All the anxious pains employed by the sagacious and political monarch, to secure the succession to his daughter and her children proved abortive. He himself had daringly usurped a throne which was the birthright of another, and a righteous Providence returned the violence on the head of his posterity. Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, had married Stephen, count of Blois, and brought him several sons; the two youngest of whom, Stephen and Henry, had been invited over into England by the late king their uncle, and loaded with honours and preferments. Henry was made abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester, that is, he was promoted to two of the richest ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom. To Stephen he was still more liberal. He married this favourite nephew to Matilda, daughter and sole heir to Eustace, count of Boulogne, and who, besides that valuable fief in France, brought her husband an immense landed property in England, the lavish gift of the conqueror to the family of Boulogne. By this marriage Stephen likewise acquired another splendid connection with the royal families of both England and Scotland; as Mary, his wife's mother, was sister to David, the reigning king of Scotland, and to Matilda, Henry's first consort, and mother to the empress. In aggrandizing his nephew, Henry imagined he was strengthening the interests of his own family, and ensuring a quiet succession to

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 237.



his daughter. He proceeded, accordingly, to enrich him farther with\* the two valuable forfeitures of Mallet in England, and of the earl of Mortagne in Normandy. The gratitude and attachment of Stephen seemed to keep pace with his uncle's generosity. When the barons assembled to swear fealty to Matilda, as successor to her father, Stephen pressed forward with officious zeal to tender this mark of duty and allegiance.\* "But all was false and hollow." His increasing greatness served only to inflame ambition, which nothing less than the crown of England could satisfy. He possessed many accomplishments calculated to procure the favour of various classes of people. By his bravery, activity, and vigour, he gained the esteem of the higher ranks; his high birth and powerful alliances dazzled the multitude, while his liberality, and the affability of his deportment, a rare quality in the great of those times, gained their hearts. He had contrived to ingratiate himself, in a particular manner, with the citizens of London, whose support he knew to be of material importance to the design which he had formed. The boldness and impudence of an attempt sometimes contribute to its success.†

Without the shadow of a title, then, Stephen, the moment he heard of the king's death, hastened from Boulogne to England, with a declared intention to mount the throne. Though refused admission at Dover first, and afterwards at Canterbury, he proceeded forward undismayed to the metropolis, where his popularity was at the height, and where, of course, he was received with loud acclamations, and saluted king.‡ The next point was to gain the clergy; for, in a superstitious age, the ceremony of coronation was considered as all in all. It was no difficult task to obtain the suffrage of his own brother, Henry bishop of Winchester. The primate was a well-meaning, weak man, and was duped into compliance by a piece of the grossest perjury: and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, chief justiciary and regent of the kingdom, a man of insatiable avarice and of unbounded ambition, was allured by promises addressed to these two all-commanding passions. Thus four men, on whom Henry had delighted to confer riches, power, and honour, concurred to defeat all the sagacious views and fond wishes of their benefactor, and Stephen was solemnly anointed and consecrated king, by the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster, December 22d, within three weeks from the death of his uncle.§

\* W. Malmesbury. Hist. Novel. l. i.

† Gesta Stephani apud Duchesne, p. 928.

‡ Annal. Waverley, p. 152.

§ W. Malmesbury. Hist. Novel. l. i.

The partizans of the late king's daughter Matilda, thunderstruck with the suddenness and rapidity of these movements, and destitute of union among themselves, remained in a state of total inaction. This afforded leisure to the usurper, which he did not fail to improve for strengthening the foundations of the throne which he had mounted. By the assistance of his brother the bishop of Winchester, he got possession of the immense treasure which Henry had amassed, and deposited in that city, as an additional security to the destined succession, amounting to no less than a hundred thousand pounds, equivalent in effect to at least three millions, at the present value of money, besides plate and jewels to an incredible amount. Thus all the provisions of Henry's sagacity and affection to his family were turned directly against them. His money enabled Stephen to make an effectual impression on the court of Rome, and procured from his holiness a confirmation of his election. The holy father was well pleased that an appeal should be made to his authority in the disposal of a crown: it might afterwards be quoted with advantage as a precedent. The example of the pope was argument sufficient to bring over the clergy of every degree. To the secular nobility he refused nothing that they thought proper to ask, and, in particular, permitted them all to fortify their castles: a most pernicious concession for the country, as the sequel demonstrated. With the commonalty and citizens of London he maintained his influence, by the urbanity of his manners, and a condescending familiarity and good humour, which delighted them, and proved of infinite service to him.\* But that he might leave nothing undone which could contribute toward the support of his government, he contrived to purchase the neutrality of David, king of Scotland, who had begun to bestir himself in behalf of his niece; and, having full coffers, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Brittany and Flanders, great numbers of those bravoës or disorderly soldiers, with whom every country of Europe was then overrun, by reason of the general defectiveness of police and fluctuation of power. Notwithstanding, however, all these prudent, political, and violent precautions, this daring usurpation involved the author of it, his family and friends, and, worse than all, his country, in woes innumerable; and it proved particularly calamitous to the city of London, which had declared at first in favour of Stephen, and adhered to him in all the variety of fortune which he experienced.

\* W. Malmes. Hist. Novel. 4. 4.



Besides the miseries of a turbulent and unsettled state of civil government, London, doomed to be the periodical victim of wilful or accidental fire, had to suffer grievously from this devouring element, the year after, A. D. 1136. Different accounts are given by our annalists of the progress and extent of this conflagration. According to some, the fire broke out at the bridge, and consumed, in a westerly direction, every thing in its way to the church of St. Clement's Danes. But the laboriously accurate Stow\* describes it as commencing at the house of a citizen named Ailward, near London Stone, and burning in various directions, eastward as far as Aldgate, and west to St. Erkenwald's shrine in St. Paul's cathedral, which it destroyed; and, forcing its way toward the river, at length caught the bridge, which was still of wood, and loaded with combustible buildings, and reduced the whole to ashes.

By the charter of king Henry the citizens had been invested, among other privileges, with the right of electing sheriffs for their own city and county of Middlesex; greatly as they had contributed, nevertheless, to Stephen's elevation to the throne, and severely as they had suffered by the late dreadful fire, that prince squeezed a hundred marks of silver out of them (A. D. 1139), for a renewal of this privilege, which they had never forfeited.† The next year the city was dreadfully alarmed by a natural phenomenon, which was, in those days of ignorance, considered as the certain prognostic of some national judgment, but which is now contemplated with delight by every order of mankind. It was a total eclipse of the sun, which happened about noon, March 20th, 1140.‡

Those who regarded the eclipse as a denunciation of approaching evil were, however, most awfully justified by events, for this year proved one of the most disastrous that England had ever seen. War, in every horrid form, raged from one end of the kingdom to another. The castles which not only the great barons, but every petty lordling, had been suffered to build over the face of the whole country, were become, through the dissolution of government, so many dens of robbers, or, as an ancient chronicle denominates them, of devils, who issued forth in bands to waste and to destroy without discrimination and without mercy. The smoke of burning towns, villages, monasteries, churches, filled the land. Commerce ceased; the plough and harrow lay unoccupied, and a dreadful famine ensued, of which many thousands perished. All was one scene of carnage and desolation, a predatory, remorse-

\* Annal. Eng.

† Mad. Hist. Exch.

‡ W. Malmes. Hist. Nov.

less, fruitless contention, in which torrents of the noblest blood of England were lavished to no end.\*

These sanguinary skirmishes at last brought on a decisive engagement between the partisans of Matilda and Stephen, near the city of Lincoln, February 2d, 1141, in which the king's army was completely routed, and himself taken prisoner, with many of his brave followers, who were too generous to desert their master in the hour of his distress. Matilda, thus restored to her hereditary prospects and possessions, instead of attempting to reconcile the disaffected by acts of grace and condescension, resolved to make all who had favoured the pretensions of her rival feel the weight of her resentment. London was devoted, among the first, by this haughty and imperious woman, to all the virulence and vindictiveness of recently acquired power and authority. The charter granted to the citizens by her father she commanded to be revoked, and granted to Geoffry, earl of Essex, all the possessions which his grandfather, father, or himself had held of the crown, in lands, tenements, castles, and bailliwicks; among which were the tower of London, and the sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex, at a fee-farm rent of 300*l.* a year, as held by his grandfather; being the same terms on which they had been granted by Henry to the city. As a farther mortification to the citizens of London, she bestowed on the said Geoffry the office of justiciary of their city, and of the county of Middlesex; by which all persons whatever were precluded from holding pleas, either in the city or the county, without his special permission. This convention was ratified by the queen upon oath, and attested by many of the first nobility; and, for the greater security, hostages of noble birth, both English and Norman, were interchanged by the parties, and the whole clergy of England were declared guarantees of this cruel, arbitrary, and unjust compact.† Thus was our metropolis stripped, with all “the insolence of office,” of her boasted privileges and immunities, and the first city and county of the kingdom were subjected to the caprice of a family-proud earl. But it is somewhat honourable to fall under the displeasure of a despot so rash and inconsiderate; and it is easy to foresee that power thus violently exercised cannot possibly be of long duration.

Henry, bishop of Winchester, was, by this time, armed with all the authority of the pope's legate, who, with a versatility which the world imputes to the clerical character, now turned with the tide, abandoned his captive brother, and

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 238, 239.

† Mad. Hist. Exch.



warmly espoused the cause of Matilda, on a promise of being entrusted with the chief management of public affairs. In virtue of his high office, and in consequence of his convention with the queen, the legate summoned a great council of the prelates, abbots, and principal clergy, with the deputies of the city of London, to assemble at Winchester, April 7th. This assembly he opened with an artful and florid harangue, the substance of which is preserved to us by an excellent contemporary historian,\* who was present, and listened to it with earnest attention. He began with passing a high encomium on the felicities of his uncle Henry's reign; he reminded his reverend auditors of the solemn oaths which they had repeatedly taken to support the succession of his cousin Matilda, their only rightful sovereign; he expatiated on the errors of his brother's government, and particularly on the dreadful enormity of imprisoning bishops, and oppressing the church. "For these crimes," continued the legate, "God hath rejected him, and delivered him into the hands of his enemies. And now, that the kingdom may not remain destitute of a ruler, we the clergy of England, to whom it properly appertains to elect and ordain princes, having previously deliberated on this important question in private, and implored the direction of the Holy Spirit, did, and hereby do, elect and constitute the daughter of the pacific, opulent, gracious, glorious, incomparable king Henry, to be our queen, and promise her our allegiance and support." On the second day, the London deputies, the only laymen invited to this council, being introduced, bluntly alleged that they had not come thither to debate, but simply to demand the immediate liberation of their king, and that they made this demand in the name of the whole community of London, and of all the barons lately admitted into their city. The legate haughtily replied, that they had not been called to deliver an opinion, but to acquiesce in the decisions of the synod; and that it ill became the citizens of London, who were considered as noblemen of the realm, to take part with those barons who had basely forsaken their lord in battle, and presumed to pour contempt on holy church. The high tone assumed by the representatives of the city is to be accounted for from a fact related by an author of those times,† namely, that London could then bring into the field no less than fourscore thousand armed men.‡

The

\* William of Malmesbury.

† William Fitz-Stephen.

‡ Mr. Hume justly considers this computation as very highly exaggerated; for, says he, "were this account to be depended on, London must, at that time, have contained near 400,000 inhabitants,

" which

The earl of Gloucester, natural brother to the queen, and by far the wisest and best nobleman of his day, had the address and good fortune to soothe the Londoners into temper, and at length prevailed with them to admit Matilda. She accordingly entered the city in great state, a few days before Midsummer, and gave orders to prepare for her coronation. But now that every thing wore the most promising aspect, the native insolence of her spirit, inflamed by success, broke out to the disgust of all who approached her, and produced another sudden and surprising revolution of affairs. She treated with contempt the prudent counsels tendered to her by her uncle David king of Scotland, who had come to pay her a visit, and by her brother Gloucester, who was the soul of her cause. She confiscated the estates of all who did not instantly acknowledge his authority. She revoked all the grants made by Stephen, those to the church not excepted. The citizens of London humbly petitioned for some abatement of their taxes, and for the restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor; she upbraided them with their partiality to Stephen, and dismissed them with strong marks of displeasure. Irritated by insult added to injury, and dreading the government of a rash and violent woman, they concerted the means of seizing her person, which she discovered, and made her escape to Oxford.\* The moment her departure was discovered, the populace assembled, and plundered her palace. She thence repaired to Winchester, attended by the king of Scotland, and the earl of Gloucester. The legate, whom it cost nothing to transfer his allegiance, had for some time been carrying on a correspondence with his brother Stephen's wife, about the means of procuring her husband's liberty; and now finding she was at the head of a considerable body of men in Kent, and that the London troops were under arms, he dispatched messengers to them, and to all the other friends of Stephen, to join him immediately. He was so exactly obeyed, that in a few days he found himself at the head of a powerful army, with which he invested the castle of Winchester where the queen held her court.† Matilda and the king of Scotland were so fortunate as to elude the vigilance of the besiegers, but the earl of Gloucester was taken prisoner, and on the 1st November

" which is above double the number it contained at the death of queen Elizabeth. But those loose calculations, or rather guesses," continues that author, " deserve very little credit. Peter of Blois, a contemporary writer, and a man of sense, says there were then only forty thousand inhabitants in London, which is much more likely. What Fitz-Stephen says of the prodigious riches, splendour, and commerce of London, proves only the great poverty of the other towns of the kingdom, and indeed of all the northern parts of Europe." (*History of England*, Vol. II.)

\* *Gesta Stephani*, p. 955.

† *Id. ibid.*



of this year, so prolific of sudden changes, was solemnly exchanged for king Stephen, who thus again obtained enlargement and the throne of England. And thus by the spirit and valour of the citizens of London, the nation was delivered from the pernicious rule of an imperious female tyrant, who was soon after compelled to leave the kingdom.

The legate, to make full proof of his versatility, convoked a great council of the clergy, at Westminster, December the 7th, in which every thing that had been said and done at Winchester, eight months before, was unsaid and undone, with an additional volley of anathemas and excommunications against all who dared to adhere to the countess of Anjou; for so low was now reduced the haughty Matilda, who had been so long saluted by the lofty titles of empress, and of queen of England.\* But though Stephen was replaced on the throne, tranquillity was by no means restored to the country. The heart sickens, even at this distance of time, on reviewing the state of this kingdom, during a tedious and dismal period of more than twelve years. “All England, in the mean time,” says a contemporary historian,† “wore a face of misery and desolation. Multitudes abandoned their “beloved country, and went into voluntary exile; others, forsaking their own “houses, built wretched huts in the church-yards, in hope of finding protection “from the sacredness of the place. Whole families, after having found, for a “while, a miserable subsistence in roots and herbs, and in the flesh of dogs and “horses, at last perished of hunger. You might travel through many a pleasant “village, without seeing a single inhabitant of either sex.”—To finish this gloomy picture, the summer of 1150 proved so wet, that famine, accompanied by epidemical disease, ensued. This was followed by a winter uncommonly severe. The frost set in on the 9th of December, and continued with unremitting rigour till the middle of March. The Thames exhibited the spectacle of a great city on its indurated surface. Providence was at length pleased to mitigate these distresses, and to terminate this most inauspicious reign, which has furnished, alas! materials too abundant to the pen of the historian. Stephen was seized with the iliac passion, of which he died at Dover, the 25th October, 1154, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.‡

Henry Plantagenet, the eldest son of the empress Matilda, by Geoffry Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, had invaded England with a small army, the year before

\* W. Malmes. Hist. Novel. l. ii. p. 106.

† Gesta Stephani, p. 961.

‡ Chron. Gervas. col. 1376.

that in which Stephen died, to make one effort more for the recovery of his mother's right, and his own eventual succession to the throne. The barons of both parties, at last softened into compassion for their bleeding country, prevented a farther decision by the sword; and matters were compromised on the following conditions: that Stephen should keep possession of the crown during his life; that Henry should succeed to the throne on his death; that, to secure this succession, all the barons of Stephen's party should swear to support it; and that the most considerable fortresses should be put into the hands of Henry's friends. This accommodation, which diffused universal satisfaction over the kingdom, was ratified in a great council held at Winchester in November, 1153, and all the prelates and barons of both sides took the oath of fealty, and did homage to Henry as heir and successor, in another council held at Oxford the 13th January, 1154, on which that prince returned in full confidence to the continent.

The sudden and unexpected death of Stephen recalled him to England. He landed near Hurst-castle, December 8th, proceeded forward to London, and was, with his consort Eleanor, crowned at Westminster, the 19th of that month, by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of a numerous assembly of prelates and nobility, and with the joyful acclamations of the multitude. An end was now put to the irregularity of succession, and to the destructive civil wars which it had occasioned, whereby the country had, oftener than once, been brought to the brink of ruin.

The very first acts of Henry's government discovered much spirit and ability, were submitted to with alacrity, and inspired the hope, which events fully justified, of a prosperous reign. He immediately issued a proclamation commanding all the foreign mercenaries, who had committed such horrid depredations under Stephen's fluctuating administration, to quit the kingdom by a certain day, under pain of death. Knowing with whom they had to do, they disappeared as one man, before the time appointed. The numerous castles which had started up in every corner of the land, during the late internal convulsions, to the annoyance and distress of the community at large, he ordered to be levelled with the ground. In a parliament held at London, he voluntarily granted a charter of liberties, or rather renewed and confirmed that which had been granted by his grandfather Henry I. The coin, which had been shamefully adulterated under his predecessor, he restored to its standard purity; and by a strict and impartial execution of the laws, raised them



them to their proper vigour and respectability. In order to ensure the continuance of these blessings to his subjects, and to prevent, as far as human sagacity could do it, the calamities of a disputed succession, he caused all the prelates and barons to take the oaths to his eldest son William; and, failing him, to his second son Henry, who was born in March this year, 1155.\* Upon the whole, it may be with truth affirmed, that no king of England, since the days of Alfred, had done so much good, and made such progress in gaining the love of his people, in so short a time, as Henry II. did, the first year of his reign, though he had hardly attained the age of majority.

As the particular charter granted to the city of London is, with very little variation, a transcript of his grandfather's, it is unnecessary to repeat the contents; but we find, that at different periods, Henry made his good citizens pay smartly for every indulgence he shewed them. The sums which they advanced him he was indeed desirous to pass under the soft denomination of *dona*, voluntary gifts; but they were a real impost, which the corporation had not the power of resisting. In 1158 the composition exacted of the city amounted to a thousand and forty-three pounds, a very considerable sum, considering the value of money at that era of our history, and a satisfying proof of the rapidity with which London had recovered from the accumulated disasters of the preceding reign. This year is likewise remarkable, but we are not told at what season, for a singular deficiency of water in the Thames. The channel for several hours was left so empty, that many persons walked dry-shod from bank to bank. Next year, the citizens with Gervase de Cornhill, probably the sheriff, at their head, approached the throne with another donation of a thousand marks. The like sum was graciously accepted by his majesty in 1170, to help forward an expedition which he had undertaken against Ireland; and the corporation was sufficiently complaisant to repeat the dose two several times afterward, in 1172 and 1173.† Such was the good understanding which then subsisted between the court and the city.

With many improvements in the architecture, trade, and commerce of the city, its police appears to have been, at this period, in a most deplorable state.‡ The frequent absences of the king on foreign expeditions can alone account for the dreadful excesses which then disgraced our metropolis. The country barons had set the example of plundering their weaker neighbours, and now that, by the esta-

\* Gervas Chron. A. D. 1155.

† Mad. Hist. Exch.

‡ Stow. Sur. London, A. D. 1175.

blishment

blishment of regular government, their depredations were restrained, the trade was taken up by the mercantile barons of the city. During the violence of the feudal institutions, cities must have been few, and the population of these inconsiderable; and instances occur in history which evince, that though they are always the first seat of law and liberty, their internal police was relaxed and irregular, and exposed to the same disorders with those which infested the country. The citizens of London in 1797 will be astonished, and will blush for their ancestors of the age of Henry II. when they are told that it was usual in London, at that period, for a considerable number of persons, sometimes to the amount of more than a hundred, the sons and relations of the higher ranks of the inhabitants, to form themselves into a daring and licentious confederacy, for the purpose of breaking into and plundering the houses and stores of the opulent, of robbing and murdering passengers in the streets; and that such enormities were for a long time perpetrated with impunity. From the irresistible violence of those banditti, it was unsafe to walk abroad even in the day time; but, after sunset, a sober citizen dared no more to leave his habitation than if the city had been abandoned to the ravages of a public enemy. At length those abominable associations received a check. The brother of the earl of Ferrars\* had been murdered by one of the confederated nocturnal parties, in the earl's own house, afterwards converted into an inn, and at present a decent branch of Lombard-street called George Yard. To accomplish the death of a nobleman was, in those times, a crime of much deeper malignity than to sacrifice a thousand plebeian lives. Henry resented it accordingly, and swore he would avenge himself on the criminals, and look more strictly in future to the execution of the laws.

It was not long before an opportunity presented itself of employing the sword of justice, which affords a proof to what height of audacity these lawless combinations had advanced, and how openly their depredations were committed. A gang had attacked the house of a wealthy merchant, with a resolution to pillage it, and, armed with all the implements of forcible entry, had actually opened a passage for their admission through a wall of stone, and were entering sword in hand to seize the booty. The master of the house, supported by his domestics, was armed for defence, and struck off one of the hands of the first thief who entered. The alarm spread over the vicinity. The neighbours assembled to give relief, and

\* Stow, Anna. Eng.



the robbers were compelled to retreat. The ring-leader was easily detected by the want of his hand, and, by a promise of pardon, was induced to discover his accomplices. What was the public surprise and indignation when, among others, he delated one John Senex, reputed one of the richest and best-born men in the city? His conviction gave universal satisfaction. He offered the king five hundred marks to spare his life, which were very properly rejected, and he was ordered for execution. For many years, however, after this, the city continued to be infested with nightly riotous cabals. It appears from a statute under Edward I. that they were not even then suppressed; for it is there declared to be a punishable offence to go abroad after the curfew had tolled, (the evening bell, the signal for extinguishing hearth-fires) to carry an offensive weapon, or to walk without a light or lantern. In the preamble to this law it is stated, that both by night and by day there were continual affrays in the streets of London. What a contrast to the present tranquillity of a metropolis of more than six times the population, and a hundred times the opulence, committed to the protection of a handful of feeble old men armed with long poles and lanterns!

Under an administration so vigorous at home, and so much respected among foreign nations as that of Henry, the manufactures and trade of London made a rapid progress. One evidence of this was the voluntary associations now formed, of the various descriptions of artisans and tradesmen, according to their respective occupations. But as those fraternities had presumed to act in their corporate capacity, without waiting for the formality of a royal charter of incorporation, they were branded with the appellation of *adulterine guilds*, a severe fine was imposed on the persons who had taken upon them to act as presidents or masters, and in other official capacities, and the companies were compelled to purchase the king's letters patent by the payment of a good round sum. Among those guilds were the goldsmiths, glovers, curriers, butchers, and some others.\*

The foreign wars in which Henry engaged, the domestic feuds which disturbed the peace of his own family, and at length brought him to an untimely grave; the vexatious contention in which he was involved with the celebrated Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and which terminated in the premature death of that prelate by the hand of assassins, however interesting in themselves, belong not to the history of London. Whatever degree of criminality attached to the

\* Anderson, Hist. Com.

king on the score of Becket's murder, he found it necessary to temporize with the temper of the age, and with the ecclesiastical domination which over-awed Europe. The deceased primate had been canonized by the pope, and was esteemed the tutelary saint of the English nation. As an expression of penitence, therefore, or in order to wipe away suspicion, Henry having landed at Southampton, from a foreign expedition, in July 1174, instead of proceeding directly to London, took the road to Canterbury, where he passed a whole day and a night before the shrine of Saint Thomas, in prostration, fasting, and prayer, interrupted occasionally with a hearty mess of flagellation on his naked shoulders, from the pious hands of the monks, who probably did not spare their penitent, though a king, out of respect to the memory of their archbishop, who had died a martyr. Having been thus disciplined, Henry received absolution, and journeyed on to London, where he was completely indemnified for the mortification to which he had submitted at Canterbury: for he was awaked out of sleep the very next night with the agreeable intelligence that the king of Scotland was his prisoner, an event which annihilated a powerful confederacy formed against him, and which restored tranquillity to England. Aware of its importance, he leaped from his bed in an ecstasy, he shed tears of delight, he gave orders to call together his friends to rejoice with him, and to set all the bells in London a-ringing to announce the glad news to the public,\* and had gun-powder been then, no doubt, all the great guns would have been set a-roaring on such an occasion.

But there is an event in Henry's reign, of which our metropolis was the theatre, that reflects much higher lustre on his character. His name was no less respected all over Europe, for his wisdom and integrity as a judge, than for his valour as a foldier, and his greatness as a sovereign. Of this a rare, and therefore memorable, instance is given. Sanchez, king of Navarre, and Alphonso, king of Castile, had been engaged in a tedious contest which cost both parties rivulets of blood. They at length agreed to refer the points in dispute between them to the king of England's decision. In consequence of this, the two princes deputed the most learned and eloquent of their counsellors to support their respective pretensions. The cause was solemnly pleaded before Henry, in a great council held at London, March 13th, A. D. 1177, and was determined by him in a manner which gave

\* W. Neubrigen, l. ii. c. 23.



entire satisfaction to both.\* What is the glory of gaining one battle, compared to that of preventing many!

The rage of assuming the cross, the signal of marching to rescue the holy land out of the hands of infidels, was now coming to its height. Henry, among the rest, had put on that sacred badge, but it does not appear that he ever seriously intended to embark in so distant an expedition. As he ranked high, nevertheless, among the princes of Christendom, it was deemed of importance to stimulate his slumbering zeal. For this purpose no less a personage than Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, was dispatched to England to argue the matter with him. Being introduced, the patriarch prostrated himself at the king's feet, and addressed him in these pathetic terms: "The Lord Jesus Christ, O king! calls thee, and the  
" people of God beseech thee, to come to the defence of the holy land; and in  
" their name I present thee with the royal standard, with the keys of the city of  
" Jerusalem, and of the sepulchre of our Lord. Come, O great prince! and  
" rescue us out of the hands of our enemies; for in thee, under God, we place  
" all our hope and confidence."—The king raised the venerable man from the ground, and assured him he would without delay take the advice of his prelates and nobility on a subject of so much moment. A great council accordingly assembled in London, the first Sunday in Lent (A. D. 1185,) in which, after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that it concerned Henry more to remain at home, for the administration of his own affairs, than to risk his person in a croisade; that he should consult, however, with the king of France, on the subject, before he gave a final answer to the patriarch; but that such of the prelates, nobility, and others, as pleased, were at liberty to assume the cross.† A permission of which multitudes availed themselves.

Henry was doomed, in the decline of life, to undergo conflict after conflict with the worst of all infidels, unnatural, ungrateful, disobedient children. He had the affliction of surviving his two eldest sons, Henry and Geoffry; and the mortification of living to see the two younger, Richard and John, closely leagued with his bitterest enemies. The more his heart was disposed to kindness and parental affection, the more pungently he felt the barbarous return made by four undutiful sons, one after another, to all his tenderness. It preyed upon his spirits, embittered every comfort, and, at last, brought on a lingering fever which shortened his

\* Benedict. Abbas. l. i. p. 172.

† Diceto, col. 626.

days. He expired at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, July 6th, A. D. 1189, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. The day after, Richard came to visit the dead body of his father. The sight of the corpse awakened the feelings of nature; and it being observed by the attendants that the instant he approached the bed, blood gushed from the mouth and nostrils of the lifeless king, struck with remorse, and appalled by the superstition of the times, he burst into an agony of grief, accused himself as the murderer of his father, and deplored, too late, that ungracious behaviour which had brought a parent's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

Having paid the last honours to the remains of his illustrious father, and arranged the administration of his foreign dominions, Richard set out for England; he landed at Portsmouth, August 13th, and was crowned at Westminster Sept. 3d.\* The solemnity of this coronation furnished occasion for one of the most shameful riots which ever disgraced the annals of any country. It may be necessary to trace this up to its source. Two years before, that is, in the close of the year 1187, the melancholy news reached Europe that the Christian army in Palestine had been entirely defeated, and the city of Jerusalem, with the holy sepulchre, fallen a prey to Saladin, sultan of Egypt. This diffused universal consternation, and excited most Christian princes, and, among the rest, Richard Plantagenet, prince of England, to assume the cross, with a resolution to recover this valuable prize out of infidel hands.† From the moment he mounted the throne, the young king, impelled by the thirst of military glory, not a principle of religion, acted as if the sole object of his government had been the relief of the holy land, and to wrest Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens. The people, as is commonly the case, caught the zeal of their sovereign. Whatever bore the name of infidel was devoted to destruction, and the Jewish race stood foremost in those proscribed ranks. The city of London, from its increasing commerce, swarmed with persons of this description. They laboured under a twofold imputation. They were usurers as well as infidels, and, worse than all, the greatest part of the ready money in the kingdom had found its way into their coffers. Here, then, was a croisade at home, which promised an immediate and a plentiful harvest, and which required hardly any labour, and exposed to little, if any danger. Among the vast concourse which a coronation had attracted to the metropolis, many wealthy

\* Hoveden, p. 374.

† W. Neubrig. l. iii. c. 17.



Jews had flocked from every part of the kingdom, to consult with their friends in the city about presenting a liberal free-will offering to the king on his accession. Richard had issued a proclamation, prohibiting all persons of that nation to enter the abbey, or Westminster-hall, on the day that ceremony was performed. Some of them were, however, detected pressing among the crowd into the hall. This brought upon them, at first, a torrent of abusive language, which soon changed into the more formidable assault of dirt, and brickbats, and bludgeons. Perceiving too late their imprudence, and the danger in which it had involved them, the poor Jews endeavoured to make good their retreat into the city, pursued and pelted by a furious multitude. In this state of fermentation it was easy to give out, and as easily believed, that the king had issued orders to destroy all Jews. Never were real orders more promptly and more ferociously executed. Many of those unhappy creatures were inhumanly massacred in the streets; such as were able to escape to their habitations, or had staid at home, were not the more secure. Their houses were either broken into and plundered, or burnt over their heads. Those who were shut up perished in the flames; those who forced their way out fell by the sword. The tumult rapidly increased, and spread into every quarter of the city. Personal resentment, stimulated by a blind religious zeal, and an insatiable avarice, rendered the mob totally ungovernable; every attempt to quell them proved ineffectual, till at length the storm spent itself; weariness from violence of exertion, a surfeit of blood, and a booty too ponderous to be carried off and secured, terminated the horrors of the day. The king, justly incensed at the cruel stigma thus indelibly impressed on his name and government, executed summary justice on a few of the ringleaders of this horrible riot;\* but with shame we relate it, and with shame will it be read, when he gave orders to Glanville, his justiciary, to make a more particular inquiry into the causes, and the perpetrators of excesses so criminal, the numbers and quality of the guilty were found to be so considerable, that it appeared adviseable to desist from further prosecution. Atrocious as this violation was of all laws human and divine, it would have been happy had the mischief stopped in the capital; but the exterminating spirit flew like a pestilence over the whole kingdom. In York, five hundred of the posterity of Abraham, who had retired into the castle for safety, finding themselves unable to defend the place, in the madness of despair murdered their own wives and children, threw

\* M. Paris, p. 108.

the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, and then setting fire to the houses, were suffocated in the flames. The neighbouring gentry, who were all in debt to the Jews, repaired triumphantly to the cathedral, where their bonds were deposited, and made a burnt-offering of them before the great altar.\* Some of the annalists of those times express an impious exultation over the miserable victims of the most detestable of human passions. So far was our country still removed from the mild influence of real Christianity, and from the enjoyment of constitutional liberty and security.

The bailiff of London, for that was then the title of the chief magistrate, officiated, at this coronation, as chief butler of the kingdom. This dignity had no doubt been purchased with money by the good citizens, in some preceding reign, though no mention is made in history of such transaction. It seems to have been admitted on the present occasion as a prescriptive right, and was in some future reigns recognized as a matter no longer in dispute. The king, who had, from his accession to the throne, but one commanding object, the glory of being leader in a croisade, might have been disposed to acquiesce in the city's claim to a splendid feather, as it furnished him with a pretext to exact a solid contribution toward his favourite purpose. He accordingly addressed his orders to Henry de Cornhill, sheriff of London, to provide a certain proportion of military stores and accoutrements for his majesty's use. Early in this reign, the title of bailiff appears to have been changed into that of mayor, for in 1192 an order was made by the court of *mayor* and aldermen, Henry Fitz Alwine being then in the chair of the city, requiring that "All houses thereafter to be built in London and the liberties  
" thereof, should be of stone, with party walls of the same, and covered with  
" tiles or slates." Hitherto, a few public edifices excepted, London was a city of timber roofed with thatch, so closely arranged, that conflagration never stopped but by the failure of materials to devour. Yet with all their dreadful experience on the subject, our ancestors were with difficulty induced to submit to an order so wise and salutary, and it was found necessary farther to "Provide and ordain, in order  
" to prevent or compose differences between neighbours in the city, respecting  
" inclosure between land and land, that twelve men, aldermen of the city, should  
" be chosen in full hustings, and publicly sworn, to attend, on the mayor's precept,  
" to execute all such business." These jurats were to regulate the dimensions of

\* Annals of Waverly. W. Neubrigen, l. iv. c. 7, 8, 9.



party-walls, the construction of girders, windows, and gutters, and the digging of wells, &c. So obstinately do private caprice, passion, or interest, obstruct public utility.

Richard's whole attention was now turned toward the great Asiatic enterprise, and the means of raising money for reducing it into effect. His father's treasury at Winchester was rich beyond all example, amounting, according to some historians, to the enormous sum of 900,000*l.* in gold and silver, besides plate and jewels. This was without hesitation devoted to his darling object. The royal castles, manors, parks, woods, and forests; nay, the highest honours, and the most important offices were next exposed to sale, for the same romantic purpose. The superiority of the crown of England over the kingdom of Scotland, which Henry II. prized so highly, he sold for the sum of ten thousand marks. When his more temperate ministers remonstrated against this profusion, and thoughtless alienation of the power and revenue of the crown, he calmly replied, that he would sell London itself could he but find a purchaser. Another piece of royal pleasantry, of the same date, has made its way into history. With all this zeal for the recovery of the holy land, Richard was a notorious profligate, to such a degree, that one Fulk, Curé of Neuilly, and a warm preacher of the croisade, took the liberty of recommending to him, as a preparation for this pious warfare, to part with his three favourite daughters, pride, avarice, and voluptuousness. "I like your advice," answered the king, "and accordingly dispose of the first to the knights templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my bishops." Having drained the kingdom of all the money he could raise by fair means and by foul, he left it to shift for itself, embarked at Dover, December the 11th, landed near Gravelines that same evening, and proceeded by way of Flanders into Normandy, where we shall leave him to swim through a sea of glory till he land in a dungeon in Germany.

The absence of a prince, whatever be his character, is always detrimental to the public, as well as to the affairs of the prince himself. It nourishes the spirit of intrigue, it embarrasses government, and holds out a temptation too powerful to delegated authority to carry itself with a hand too high. This was sufficiently evinced in the present case. While Richard was gathering unprofitable laurels in the east, his kingdom, drained of its nobility, its soldiery, its treasure, was suffering hardships intolerable from the insolence of a domestic minion. William Longchamp,

Longchamp, bishop of Ely, a man from the very dregs of the people, had risen to the summit of human greatness, and of the arrogance which in weak and bad minds ever attends it. Possessed of all power, ecclesiastical as well as civil, in virtue of a threefold commission, as chancellor, chief justiciary, and papal legate, he exercised his authority with more than the state and haughtiness of a king.\* All preferments in church and state were bestowed on his creatures and relations, and the revenues of the crown lavished with a profusion which would have disgraced royalty. He never appeared in public without a retinue of fifteen hundred horsemen; he insulted prince John, the king's own brother; he imprisoned Hugh de Pusey, bishop of Durham, and Geoffry, archbishop of York, for presuming to take that share in the government which their sovereign had assigned to them. A career so violent could not be lasting. A powerful party was formed against him headed by John; a meeting of the nobility, in which the city representatives assisted, was held at Reading, October 5th, in which it was resolved to call Longchamp to account. He saw the storm gathering, and fled for refuge to the Tower of London. Unable to maintain that fortress against an exasperated nation, he was constrained to submit, and to appear as a culprit before the prelates and noblesse, who stripped him of his two great offices of chancellor and chief justiciary, and excited such an apprehension of still more serious consequences of his mal-administration, that he found it expedient to steal out of the kingdom in disguise.†

The ready concurrence of the citizens, in adopting those public measures, gave so much satisfaction to the regency of the kingdom, that they swore to maintain all their privileges inviolate during the king's absence. The corporation, that they might not be outdone in complaisance, swore, in their turn, to continue faithful and true to king Richard and his heirs; and that, in the event of his dying without issue, they would acknowledge his brother, John, earl of Mortagne, as king, and pledged to him their fealty against every other pretender, saving that which they owed to their sovereign lord king Richard. This sufficiently demonstrates the influence which the city had by this time acquired; its weight, in all probability, turned the scale against a man in whom all the power of the crown had been lodged.

The expulsion of Longchamp, however, only made way for the intrigues of prince John, which issued, on hearing of Richard's detention and imprisonment

\* *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 701.

† *Id.* p. 707.



by the emperor Henry VI. in spreading a report that the king was dead. He came boldly to London, and required Walter, archbishop of Rouen, now at the head of the administration, and his associates in office, to swear fealty to him, and perform the ceremony of his coronation. His assertions, however, were discredited, and his requisition disregarded; he retracted his pretensions, and retired into Normandy.\* The king's manly and generous conduct forms a striking contrast to John's perfidy and ingratitude. Intrepid at the head of armies, moderate in the exercise of the most splendid victories, munificent in the disposal, as gallant in the conquest of kingdoms, Richard was equally respectable for his magnanimity in distress, and his generosity in forgiving injuries. On falling into the hands of the emperor, he was at first treated with great indignity; he was loaded with irons, and thrust into a dungeon, from whence no one had ever escaped with life; he was surrounded day and night by armed guards, yet his countenance preserved unruffled serenity, and his temper all its sweetness and pleasantry. Two English abbots, dispatched by the regency to attend him, met him guarded as a prisoner on the road to Worms, where a diet of the empire was going to be held. Among other articles of intelligence from England, John's base and treacherous conduct was detailed to him. He was shocked and looked grave, but presently recovering his good humour, he said with a smile; "My brother John is not made for conquering kingdoms."† He appeared with a calm and undaunted mien before all the princes and prelates of the Germanic body, July 13th, 1193, and made his defence, against the charges alleged by the emperor, with so much eloquence and good sense, as to convince that august assembly of his innocence, and to draw tears of commiseration from the eyes of many.‡

A negotiation was now opened for his liberation, which was concluded July 31st, and after many affected difficulties and delays, Richard was set at liberty at Mentz, February 4th, 1194, whence he proceeded to a port in the mouth of the Scheldt, where he embarked, and landed on the shore of his native kingdom, at Sandwich, March 20th, highly to the satisfaction of all ranks of people, having experienced almost every possible variety of fortune during an absence of four years, three months, and nine days. He was received at London, in particular, with demonstrations of great joy, and with a display of magnificence which astonished the German nobility, and drew from one of them this exclamation:

\* Chron. Gervas, 1581.

† Hoveden, p. 411. col. 2.

‡ M. Paris, p. 121.

“ Had the wealth of England, O king, been known to the emperor, your ransom would have been much dearer.”—Having regaled himself three days in the capital, he hastened to reduce his brother John’s castle of Nottingham, which surrendered at discretion, March 28th.\*

In order to efface the infamy of his captivity, he resolved to have the ceremony of his coronation repeated, which was accordingly performed, in great state, at Winchester, April 17th. The chief magistrate of London was now in use to officiate, at such solemnities, as chief butler to his majesty. This honour was disputed on the present occasion by the citizens of Winchester, but a well-timed present procured a confirmation of the office to the mayor of London and his successors in that dignity. Nor was this the only mark of royal favour to the city. The citizens had maintained an inviolable attachment to his interest all the time of his long absence, and contributed fifteen hundred marks toward his release. In consideration of such loyalty and affection, they received a new charter, confirming all their ancient privileges and immunities.

Unhappily for himself, and for his kingdom, Richard was recalled to the continent, to defend his foreign dominions from the depredations and insults of his rival and inveterate enemy, Philip, king of France. He, indeed, acquired military renown,† but it was at the expence of the blood and treasure, as well as of the internal tranquillity of his country. The police of London had always been defective and feeble, and neither the vigilance nor vigor of government had hitherto been interposed to reduce it to order and effect. What must it then have been, when the centre of government was removed to Normandy, and the metropolis left exposed to the combinations of desperate ruffians, restrained by no law, overawed by no authority, and incited by the most impetuous of human passions, lust and avarice? A particular instance, of undoubted authenticity, will instruct the present inhabitants of this great metropolis, in the value of a well-ordered state of

\* Hoveden, p. 114.

† Richard acquired, in those wars, not only the praise of valour, but of generosity, of moderation, and even of wit. Of this last a pleasant instance is preserved. In the battle of Beauvais, our hero had the good fortune to take prisoner a martial prelate, of the noble family of Dreux, and a near relation of the French king. Richard, who felt a particular animosity against this bishop, threw him into prison, and loaded him with irons. The pope thought proper to interfere, and demanded the prelate’s liberation, under the character of his son. The king, in reply, sent to his holiness the coat of mail, all besmeared with blood, which the bishop had worn in battle, with this sarcastic quotation from the history of the patriarch Jacob: “ This have we found: know now whether it be thy son’s coat or no.”



society, under the protection of legal restraints and regular government. About this time (A. D. 1196), one William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called *Long-beard*, a lawyer of profligate character, had, by his eloquence, insinuation, and address, acquired an unbounded influence over the minds of the lower orders of persons in the capital. He affected great commiseration of the oppressions under which the poor laboured; he inveighed against the luxury, pride, and selfishness of the rich; he declaimed vehemently, on all occasions, against the tyranny of the king's ministers, a topic in every age acceptable to the populace; and, by arts like these, had attracted to himself associates of the vilest description, to the number, as some historians pretend, of no less than fifty-two thousand, who entered into a solemn compact to stand by and support this unprincipled ruffian, and execute his orders whatever they might be. They attended him in bands wherever he went, and saluted him *Saviour of the people*. Murders innumerable were committed in the streets, in broad day-light, and the houses of the more respectable and opulent citizens were forcibly entered and pillaged by night. All civil rule was borne down and trampled under foot by a torrent of violence and anarchy. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and chief justiciary of the kingdom, summoned Long-beard to appear before the council, and to answer for his conduct. He obeyed, but came attended with such a retinue, that justice stood appalled, and the ring-leader and his train returned triumphant into the city. Hubert very prudently remained quiet for a season, but kept a watchful eye over his man, till, finding the popular frenzy on the decline, from want of employment, he ventured to send a party to seize the person of Fitz-Osbert. The daring demagogue made a desperate resistance, killed one of the party who attempted to apprehend him, escaped with his concubine and a few followers, took sanctuary in the adjoining church of St. Mary le Bow, and prepared to defend himself by force of arms, as well as by the sanctity of the place. The rights of sanctuary were, very properly, on such an occasion, disregarded. The culprit was dragged from the church, tried, condemned, and executed, before his adherents had time to recover from their astonishment, or to form a plan for his deliverance. Such, however, was the infatuation of the multitude, that they stole away the gibbet on which their idol was hanged, divided it into ten thousand fragments, which they preserved and worshipped as the most precious of relics, and as the means of operating miracles the most wonderful. But as the clergy, to whom Long-beard had shewn no great

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partiality,

partiality, did not sanction those pretended miracles, they quickly fell into disrepute, and nothing remained of William but the memory of his talents, and of his villanies.\*

In the following year, 1197, the navigation of the Thames having now become a great national object, Richard found it expedient to grant, and the city thought it worth while to purchase, at the price of fifteen hundred marks, a new charter, conveying to the incorporation an extended jurisdiction over both the stream and soil of the river. As this ancient instrument is the foundation of the right of conservancy of the Thames, to this day claimed and exercised by the city, it is inserted verbatim at the bottom of the page, for the information and amusement of such as may want leisure or opportunity to consult original records.†

As this charter, however, does not define the exact extent of the city's jurisdiction, but only transfers the power previously exercised by his majesty's keeper of the Tower, it would appear, that the right meant to be conveyed includes the whole of the river, from where it begins to assume the name of Thames, on the west, to where it falls into the north-sea, on the east. It has been found necessary, nevertheless, to ascertain with greater accuracy, by subsequent grants, the precise limits of the city's claim of conservancy; and it has for a long period of time

\* W. Neubrigen, l. v. c. 20, 21. Chron. Gervas. col. 1591.

† Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy, and earl of Anjou; to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, stewards, castle-keepers, constables, bailiffs, ministers, and all his faithful subjects, greeting. Know ye all, that we, for the health of our soul, and for the soul's health of our father, and all our ancestors' souls; and also for the commonweal of our city of London, and of all our realm, have granted and stedfastly commanded, that all *wears* (dams to obstruct the water-course) that are in the Thames be removed, wheresoever they shall be within the Thames: also we have quit-claimed all that which the keeper of our Tower of London was wont yearly to receive of the said wears. Wherefore we will, and stedfastly command, that no keeper of the said Tower, at any time hereafter, shall exact any thing of any one, neither molest or burden, or any demand make of any person, by reason of the said wears. For it is manifest to us, and by our right reverend father, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and other our faithful subjects, it is sufficiently given us to understand, that great detriment and discommodity hath grown to our said city of London, and also to the whole realm, by occasion of the said wears. Which thing, to the intent it may continue for ever firm and stable, we do fortify by the inscription of this present page, and the putting to of our seal: These being witnesses,

John of Worcester, Hugh of Coventry, bishops; John, earl of Mortagne, Ralph, earl of Chester, Robert, earl of Leicester, William, earl of Arundel, William of St. Mary's church, Peter, son of Hereb, Matthew his brother, Simon of Ryma, Scherio de Quincario. Given by the hand of Eustace, dean of Salisbury, vice-chancellor, then agent at the isle of Audlyer, the fourteenth day of July, in the eighth year of our reign.



been admitted to commence at Colne-Ditch, a little to the westward of Staines, and to terminate at Yenleet, below the village of Leigh in Essex, eastward, including part of the rivers Medway and Lea. The cognizance of the court of conservancy extends to the removing of all nuisances and obstructions in the river; to the prevention of all encroachments on either of its banks; to the preservation of the fishery, by the seizure of all unlawful nets, and by the punishment of fishermen found guilty of violating the regulations established by authority of the city. Eight of these courts are held every year in the four adjacent counties, Middlesex, Surry, Kent, and Essex, in which the lord mayor presides, and gives a charge to four juries, upon oath, to inquire into all offences committed on the river, and to bring the delinquents to justice. His lordship has likewise a constant deputy, denominated the water-bailiff, whose office it is to discover and prosecute offenders against the bye-laws of the city, respecting their interest in the river.

Another important regulation is referred to the close of this reign, the establishment of a standard of weights and measures for the whole kingdom. This important trust was very wisely committed to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex; and, by the king's command, Roger Blundell and Nicholas Ducket, who served the office (A. D. 1197), provided standard weights, iron rods, and measures, which were deposited in proper places through every county of England.

The next year, 1198, is memorable for two dreadful public calamities, famine and the pestilence. The former of these fore evils was occasioned by a series of cold and rainy seasons; and the famine speedily generated a plague, which raged with such violence during the space of six months, that there were hardly left in health a sufficient number of persons to tend the sick, and bury the dead. These were thrown into great pits the moment they expired.\* The monasteries alone escaped the ravages of both those scourges of the human race.† This must undoubtedly be ascribed to their sequestered and more wholesome situation, to the superior cleanliness of the monks, and to their sagacity in making a more ample provision of the necessaries of life: perhaps to a little skill in the science of medicine.

Richard, whose name is transmitted to posterity with the respectable addition of *Cœur de Lion*, or the *Lion-hearted*, an epithet which he earned no less by a generous magnanimity, than by undaunted military prowess, after having escaped ten thou-

\* Chron. Bromt. col. 1271.

† W. Neubrigen, l. v. c. 26.

and dangers at home and abroad, in combats the most sanguinary, at length fell a victim to his martial intrepidity, in the full vigour of life and glory. As he was reconnoitring, too near, the castle of Chalus near Limoges, belonging to one of his refractory vassals, with a view to making a general assault to take it by storm, he received a wound in the left shoulder, by an arrow from a cross-bow, aimed at him by Bertram de Gourdon, one of the garrison. He was so little disconcerted by this accident, that he remained some time on the spot, then mounted his horse, returned to his head-quarters, and gave orders for the assault. It proved successful, and, with a severity foreign to his gallant character, Richard commanded all who were found in the castle to be hanged immediately, De Gourdon excepted, for whom he probably intended a death still more cruel. The wound in his shoulder, which he had treated with neglect, through the unskilful management of his surgeon soon became dangerous, and in a few days proved mortal. When he found his latter end approaching, he commanded Bertram to be brought into his presence, and thus sternly addressed him: "Wretch, what have I done to thee, that thou shouldst make an attempt upon my life?"—What have you done?" replied the prisoner with unshaken firmness; "with your own hands you killed my father and my two brothers; and you had doomed myself to the infamous death which my brave companions have already suffered. I am now in your power, and challenge you to do your worst. I shall endure with pleasure the most cruel torments which vengeance can inflict, supported by the reflection of having delivered the world from such a destroyer of the human species."\*—Struck by the force of truth, and softened by feeling the symptoms of speedy dissolution, the king relented, and commanded De Gourdon to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him. This generous order was not obeyed. The unhappy man was seized, without the knowledge of the dying prince, flayed alive, and then strangled. Richard breathed his last April 6th, 1199, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age; leaving no issue behind him.†

At this period, from the spirit of chivalry, and the practice of croisades, the custom of using coats of arms was first introduced into Europe. The knights, cased up in complete steel, had no means of making themselves known and distinguished in battle, but by the devices on their shields. These were gradually adopted by their posterity and kindred, who accounted it their own glory thus to

\* Hoveden, p. 450. col. 1.

† Chron. Bromt. col. 1279.



perpetuate the memory of the pious and gallant achievements of their illustrious ancestors.

The value of commodities still continued nearly the same as at the time of the conquest. The general and stated price of an ox was four shillings; of a labouring horse, the same sum; of a sow, one shilling; of a sheep, with fine wool, ten pence; with coarse wool, six pence. In the 30th of Henry II. thirty-three cows and two bulls were sold for eight pounds seven shillings, of the money of those times; five hundred sheep were sold for twenty-two pounds ten shillings, somewhat under eleven pence a-piece; sixty-six oxen, for eighteen pounds three shillings; fifteen brood mares, for two pounds twelve shillings and six pence; and twenty-two hogs, for one pound two shillings. In the tenth year of Richard, the interest of money was ten *per cent.*; but the Jews frequently exacted an interest still more exorbitant.\*

John, earl of Mortagne, the only surviving brother of the late monarch, met with very little difficulty in his way to the throne of England, though in the fair order of succession there was a superior claimant of that splendid inheritance, Arthur, duke of Brittany, the only son of Geoffry, the third son of Henry II. and senior to both Richard and John. But the will of the deceased sovereign, and John's mature age, address, and powerful connections, easily bore down the title of a youth of twelve years old, unknown in the country, and unconnected with every rank of people in it. The new king exhibited a very early proof of his contempt for decency, and for every moral obligation. Captivated with the charms of the young and beautiful Isabel, the betrothed wife of Hugh le Brun, earl of La Marche, he repudiated his wife, the heiress of the earldom of Gloucester, with whom he had lived in wedlock ten years, to make way for the indulgence of this new flame. He prevailed upon the father himself of the bride to decoy her from the protection of her husband, and was joined in marriage to this lady by the archbishop of Bourdeaux.† He then conducted his youthful queen to England, and was, with her, solemnly crowned at Westminster, by the archbishop of Canterbury, October 8th, in the last year of the 12th century. Thus inauspiciously commenced a reign which proved throughout detestable and inglorious.

The remainder of this, and the spring of the following year, were passed in pomp and festivity, to which John was greatly addicted. In celebrating the feast

\* Mad. Formul. Anglic. p. 17.

† Hoveden, p. 457.

of Easter, the king and queen wore their crowns and royal robes, after the manner of the ancient sovereigns of England.\* He was roused from this fantastical vision by intelligence of the revolt of several of his discontented vassals on the continent; but in the very operations of war he contrived to gratify his inordinate appetite for pleasure. He was accompanied to Normandy by his queen, and attended by a brilliant retinue. Instead of seeking out, and either gaining or humbling, his haughty barons, he procured a gaudy interview with the king of France, received and accepted an invitation from that prince to visit him at his capital. Thither he repaired with his fair spouse, was lodged in the royal palace, and magnificently entertained; and all thoughts of the gathering storm in Guienne were drowned in the revellings at Paris. Awaked from this dream likewise, he put himself at the head of his army, and marched toward his duchy; but instead of prosecuting the war vigorously, he attempted to cajole the disaffected, by smooth words and fine promises; and thus purchased disgraceful leisure to retire to Rouen, to enjoy his uxorious propensities, and the dissipation of a court.†

Our metropolis, meanwhile, was gradually acquiring an increase of privileges, and of importance, and advancing toward that perfect liberty and universal commerce which exalt her above all other cities on the face of the globe. In the first year of his reign (A. D. 1199), John granted the city, but not without a valuable consideration, three successive charters; the first of which, purchased at the enormous price of three thousand marks, confirms to the corporation all their ancient rights, together with an exemption from the payment of all toll and lastage in the king's transmarine dominions. The second explains, ratifies, and extends the city's right of conservancy of the river Thames, including part of the Medway. By the third, which is dated only a few days posterior to the preceding, the fee-farm of the sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex was restored, at the old rent, paid previously to their being revoked by queen Matilda, together with the power of electing their own sheriffs. It has been observed by lawyers, that this is the first instrument on record which employs the technical terms *to have and to hold*, now deemed legally essential to all conveyances of property.

By the fourth charter, the weaver's guild or company is disfranchised, and expelled the city, apparently on the petition of the corporation, for they agree, in consideration of this grant, to pay the king two marks more annually than had

\* Diceto, col. 709.

† Gul. Breto. Phil. l. vi.



been paid by the company. It is impossible, at this distance of time, so much as to guess, at the reasons which could induce the government of London to purchase the excision of one of its limbs ; at the individual criminality which could draw down such signal vengeance on a whole community ; and at the peculiar circumstances which could influence a king of England, for the paltry sum of two marks annually, to go through all the pompous formality of a royal charter. The weavers, of John's days, must have been a very useless, profligate, or powerful description of mankind. The apprehensions under which the king laboured, from the well-founded pretensions of his nephew prince Arthur, and the attachment which the city discovered to John's person and government, to say nothing of their munificence, may, perhaps, in some measure, account for the profusion of chartered rights lavished upon it, at various periods of a reign so prolific of royal charters, and so renowned for regal violation of them.

Among other instances demonstrative of the increasing trade of London, we find one, referred to the third year of this reign. The rent of the Cambium, or Exchange, was then a branch of the royal revenue, and farmed by one Guy de Von, who in 1202 stood indebted to the crown in the sum of no less than one thousand and sixty-six pounds, eight shillings and four pence on that account, in terms of his lease for a certain number of years, as appears from the great roll of the exchequer, in the beginning of John's reign. The office of chamberlain of the city was likewise still vested in the crown. In 1204, William de St. Michael paid the king a fine of one hundred pounds on being inducted into it, beside an yearly rent of one hundred marks ; which proves it to have been a place of considerable trust and profit, at this period of our history.

The political intrigues and military efforts of John's administration are calculated to excite only indignation or contempt. The history of London is no farther involved in them than as that city, in common with the rest of the kingdom, felt the rapacity of a thoughtless and profuse prince, who had neither the wisdom to maintain peace, nor the spirit to prosecute honourable and just war. Engaged in one foolish quarrel, and one idle expedition after another, he was in perpetual want of money, and frequently procured it by means the most arbitrary and unjustifiable ; the city at all times bearing her full proportion of the burthen. In 1207, they made him a free gift of three hundred pounds, in addition to an impost of two hundred marks, in lieu of a fifteenth levied on merchants. But they were presently  
after

after called upon for a thousand pound more, toward an expedition he had planned against the Scots. Two years after, during a great dearth, the sheriffs had the spirit to resist the king's purveyor, who had purchased a great quantity of corn in the city, and was preparing to remove it. For this offence his majesty thought proper to address an order to the city council, which then consisted of thirty-five members, commanding them to degrade the sheriffs, and to commit them to prison. They had not the courage to disobey, but ventured to remonstrate in favour of their officers, that they had not acted from any disrespect to the royal authority, but merely to prevent a popular insurrection, which, as the case stood, might have proved of dangerous consequence to the king's affairs. John was, or pretended to be, satisfied, and granted permission to set the sheriffs at liberty, and restore them to their office.

All the king's enterprises, whether successful or otherwise, proved oppressive and ruinous to his people. Having returned with some degree of reputation from an attempt upon Ireland (A. D. 1210),<sup>\*</sup> the only one in which he did not incur disgrace, in order to recruit his exhausted coffers, he summoned a great council to meet him at his palace of St. Bride's, London,<sup>\*</sup> commanding likewise the attendance of all the abbots, abbesses, priors, and superiors of all the religious houses in and about the metropolis, and exacted of them the enormous sum of one hundred thousand pounds, with a threatening of detention till the money was paid.<sup>†</sup> This demand, exorbitant as it was, they presently complied with; exhibiting at once a proof of their own immense wealth, and of the king's rapacious despotism. The white friars alone contributed forty thousand pounds toward this violent assessment.

While John was squandering the blood and treasure of his kingdom in unprofitable excursions on the continent, to Scotland, to Ireland, to Wales, matters were hastening to an extremity between him and two potent adversaries, to both of whom he was at last obliged to submit with a very ill grace, the pope, and his own high-minded, incensed barons. His quarrel with the former originated in a claim, advanced by his holiness, Innocent III. to nominate to the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury on the present and every future vacancy. This the king strenu-

\* The present hospital of Bridewell, Blackfriars, stands on part of the ground then occupied by king John's palace.

† M. Paris, 160.



ously resisted, as an attempt to strip the crown of one of its brightest jewels. Innocent, abundantly sensible that an usurpation so flagrant would be resented and opposed, and sufficiently apprized of John's irresolute, indecisive character, endeavoured at first to cajole him into acquiescence. He wrote him a conciliatory letter, accompanied with a present of four gold rings, set with differently coloured precious stones, the value of which he artfully enhanced by an enumeration of the various mysteries and virtues which they contained. He requested the king seriously to attend to the *form* of the rings, their *number*, their *matter*, and their *colour*. The round form, he observed, was an emblem of eternity, which having neither beginning nor end, raised the mind from things temporal to those of everlasting duration. The number four represented a square or cube, and denoted mental steadiness, incapable of subversion by either prosperity or adversity, and resting on the sure foundation of the four cardinal virtues. The matter, being gold, the most solid and valuable of metals, represented wisdom, of all possessions the most highly to be prized, and, in the estimation of Solomon, far preferable to riches, power, honour, and every other external attainment. As to the colours, the blue of the sapphire signified Faith; the verdure of the emerald, Hope; the glowing red of the ruby, Charity; and the lustre of the topaz, Good Works.—Whether the pope himself annexed any importance to these ingenious conceits, certain it is they were much too abstract and refined for John's gross intellect. He fell into a violent rage, which vented itself on all who dared to support the nomination of his holiness; and acted a part so wild and extravagant, that Innocent quickly discerned his advantage, and prepared against him all the formidable thunder of ecclesiastical artillery. Of this there was a regular gradation to be employed as the obstinacy of the case might require; and they were all called forth on the present occasion. The pontiff, in the first instance, deputed the three bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to denounce to his majesty, that if he continued refractory, he, the pope, would be reduced to the necessity of laying the kingdom under an interdict. This was, in those days of darkness, a dreadful engine of vengeance and policy, employed by the court of Rome, for securing and extending her domination. The sentence was levelled at secular princes on the slightest offence, and a whole people became implicated in the guilt of an individual, which affected millions in their most serious, their eternal concerns. The execution of it

was clothed with every circumstance of horror that could affect weak and superstitious minds.

John, deaf to all entreaty, bid the pope defiance, opposed threat to threat, and prepared to maintain his prerogative with the whole strength of his kingdom. But the heart of the kingdom was no longer with him. All ranks and degrees of men were disgusted with his grievous misrule, and though they foresaw the consequences to themselves, of this unequal strife, they discovered no disposition to espouse his cause. The sagacious pontiff, whom this state of things could not escape, and who well knew that John must ultimately submit, at length launched the suspended thunder-bolt at his devoted head; and could it have smitten but one, who would have regretted it? But, as it was from the beginning, *delirant reges, plebsuntur Achivi* (kings play the madman, and the people pay the cost), so it was now. The papal interdict flew over John's head, but struck the people to the heart. The metropolis, more especially, the seat of life to the body politic, was thrown into a paralytic state. What must London have felt, at a period when there was a principle of religion in the country, however misguided, to hear her own bishop publish the stern decree? \* For by this decree, fulminated in the name of him before whom every knee must bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, the nation was, in a moment, despoiled of all the exterior exercise of religious worship. The churches were shut up, and the altars stripped of all their sacred furniture: the crucifixes, reliques, images, statues of the saints, were taken down and laid on the ground; and, as if the very air had been polluted, the priests covered them up carefully, even from their own inspection and adoration. No bell resounded from the consecrated towers; nay, the bells were removed, and, with the other hallowed utensils, deposited in the dust. Mass was celebrated with doors shut, and divested of every ornamental accompaniment; and the benefit of that solemn service was communicated to priests only. No religious rite was administered, except baptism to infants, and extreme unction to the dying. The dead were not interred in holy ground, but thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, without any funeral obsequies. The marriage service was performed in church-yards, and became a scene of mourning, not of festivity. And, that every thing might wear the dismal hue of the times, the people were prohibited the use of meat, as during the season of Lent. The

\* M. Paris, p. 157, and seq.



men were forbidden to shave their beards, and both sexes, to wear any ornamental article of dress, or to indulge in any manner of amusement. The whole kingdom discovered symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the gloomiest apprehension of impending judgments from heaven.\*

Innocent, having tried the effect of the interdict for two years, and the spirit of the king remaining still unsubdued, opened his second battery, and, in 1209, pronounced the dreadful sentence of excommunication against John, with orders to the three bishops above-mentioned, those of London, Ely, and Worcester, to publish it over all England. No one, however, had the courage to execute those commands, though the fact itself could not long remain a secret to any one. It produced, nevertheless, so very little detriment to the king's affairs, that the only successful enterprizes which he ever undertook, the one against Ireland, the other on Wales (A. D. 1211), were accomplished during the period he lay under this sentence; a proof that, had John possessed the popularity of either his father or brother, and stood but on decent terms with his nobility and people, the pope must have retracted, and shrunk from his usurpation.† As the kingdom was really suffering, from the prolongation of the dispute, overtures were this year made for an accommodation between the contending parties. Innocent, accordingly, sent two legates into England, Pandulph and Durand, who were admitted to an audience in a parliament assembled at Northampton. It presently excited a violent altercation between John and the papal legates; the latter insisting on unconditional submission to the pope's authority, in temporals as well as spirituals. This the king peremptorily refused; on which Pandulph had the audacity, in the face of parliament, to publish aloud the sentence of excommunication against him; to absolve all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; to degrade him from his royal dignity; and to declare that neither he, nor any of his posterity should ever sway the sceptre over England.§ To such an excessive height was clerical insolence carried, in those miserable times, when the most contemptible agents of the pope dared to insult the greatest princes with impunity.

The legates having returned to Rome, and reported to their principal, John's persevering and inflexible obstinacy, his holiness thought proper to have recourse to his third and last awful engine. He pronounced, with great solemnity (A. D. 1212), a sentence of deposition against the king of England; and of excommuni-

\* M. Paris, p. 159.

† Id. p. 160.

‡ Annal. Monast. t. i. p. 165, &c.

cation, against all who should acknowledge his authority, or presume to hold any intercourse with him whatever.\* In order to give effect to these sentences, the pope was pleased to commit the execution of them to Philip, king of France, and bribed his compliance with a promise of the pardon of all his sins, and a grant of the crown of England. This was a temptation which Philip had neither the sense nor the virtue to withstand. Instigated by a headstrong ambition, he submitted to be the tool of papal vengeance, at the expense of the common rights of princes. He forthwith levied a mighty army, and collected a powerful fleet, to proceed to the invasion and conquest of his new kingdom; not considering that the power which thus bestowed crowns could resume them at pleasure.

Had all been well at home, John might have laughed those mighty preparations to scorn. But the minds of his English subjects, of every description, were depressed with superstitious terrors, and their affections alienated from him, by his arbitrary, illegal, and oppressive government. A frantic enthusiast, called Peter the Hermit, arose about the same time, and went about, declaiming violently against the king's disobedience to the holy father, and predicting that by a certain day he would not be on the throne of England. These denunciations were believed by a credulous multitude, as if they had been a voice from heaven.† The united influence of these subdued the spirit of John into an ignominious surrender of his crown and kingdom into the hands of the pope, who having thus carried his great point, that of disposing of the crowns and sceptres of this world, as well as of seats in paradise, did not think it proper to prosecute his resentment against John any farther, and therefore countermanded Philip's expedition to England, under the terrors of the same anathema which induced him to engage in it.

The next step was to annul the sentence of excommunication pronounced upon king John. But in performing this act of grace, the pope receded not from an iota of his lofty pretensions; for Stephen Langton, whose promotion to the see of Canterbury, by dint of papal authority had kindled the dispute, was now sent over to England, to take possession of the archiepiscopal throne, and was the person empowered by his holiness to absolve his majesty, and to restore him to the communion of the faithful, and the bosom of holy church.‡ The interdict, however, was suffered to remain upon the kingdom, as a security for John's fulfilling the terms of his agreement with the court of Rome. This being done, by a

\* M. Paris, p. 161.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Epist. Innocent. p. 827.



renewal of submission on the part of the king, reinforced by a good round sum of money, toward which the city of London had contributed two thousand marks, the pope at length relented, and gave a commission, not to the archbishop, but to a legate specially appointed, to remove the interdict also. This important ceremony was accordingly performed, with much solemnity, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, June 29th, A. D. 1214, after a suppression of public worship over the whole nation, during a space of six years, three months, and fourteen days.\*

While John was engaged in making every inglorious concession to a foreign ecclesiastical despot, his authority was exercised at home in the most tyrannical and arbitrary manner, and every thing threatened an approaching rupture between him and his discontented barons. The city had fallen, among the rest, under the royal displeasure, which expressed itself in a removal of the exchequer from Westminster to Northampton. The citizens, about the same time, as an additional defence to the metropolis, in times so perilous, thought it expedient to encompass its walls with a spacious and deep ditch, two hundred feet wide; a work which required an incredible number of men, a vast quantity of money, and which employed upwards of two years. During the progress of this great undertaking, the recently finished stone bridge across the Thames, which united Southwark to London, received considerable damage by fire.† It broke out in the night of July 10th, in the vicinity of the church of our lady of the canons (*St. Mary Overy's*). Multitudes immediately rushed from the London side, to assist in extinguishing the flames; but the upper-works of the bridge being still of wood, and the wind blowing strongly from the south, the northern end caught fire, and intercepted the return of the immense crowd upon the bridge, while the conflagration spread with unbridled fury along the Surry side of the river. Thus surrounded with fire in all directions, numbers perished by suffocation, by mutual pressure and violence, or in making ineffectual efforts to escape by means of vessels which ventured to approach for their relief. Upward of three thousand lives are computed to have become the victims of this dreadful accident. The ruin of this first stone-bridge was completed about seventy years afterwards; five of the arches being swept away, by a sudden thaw and flood, after a long and severe frost.‡

\* M. Paris, p. 173.

† Howell, *Londinop*, p. 22.

‡ M. Paris, p. 160, col. 1:

A man who had ventured to quarrel with the Roman pontiff in the zenith of his priestly power and splendor, who set no bounds to oppressive exactions upon his own subjects, who disdained to observe any measures with a haughty, hereditary, warlike nobility, could hardly be supposed capable of an equitable and scrupulous conduct toward persons lying still more at his mercy. Among these were the Jews, whose wealth presented a tempting object to royal poverty and rapacity, while their unpopular name, character, and religion, left them exposed, without so much as the miserable consolation of being pitied, to the rod of power, and the wantonness of caprice. Those unhappy people were seized all over the kingdom, particularly in the capital, where they were most numerous and most opulent, and treated with the most unrelenting barbarity till they purchased their release at an exorbitant price. Sixty thousand marks were thus extorted from the wretched Israelites. The case of Abraham, a Jew of Bristol, was peculiarly severe. A demand of ten thousand marks was arbitrarily made upon him, which he had the courage to refuse. John thought proper to employ a very singular expedient to enforce compliance. He commanded a tooth to be extracted from the poor man's jaw, one day after another till the money was paid. He had the resolution to stand out a whole week, but the king being equally resolute, and much more at his ease, Abraham's patience failed, and he redeemed the remainder of his teeth at the enormous rate imposed upon him.\* Isaac, the Jew of Norwich, was adjudged to pay a fine of the like sum, equal in value and effect to one hundred thousand pounds of our money at present, to be paid at the rate of one mark a-day during life. A considerable part of the money was accordingly advanced by Isaac in his lifetime, and the residue by his heirs.†

At this period of violence and oppression, Robert Fitzwalter, castellan and standard bearer to the city, and one of the insulted barons, rather than give security for his allegiance to king John, went into voluntary exile, and retired to France. The impotent tyrant, unable to reach the man himself, vented his fury on the noble palace in London belonging to that gentleman, called Castle-Baynard, situated on the banks of the Thames, a little below Blackfriars, and utterly demolished it. This castle, in process of time, communicated its name to one of the respectable wards of the metropolis.

\* M. Paris, p. 160, col. i.

† Mad. Hist. Exch. c. vii.



All these acts of tyrannical violence, were defeating themselves, and sowing the seeds of liberty in every bosom, and in every corner of the land. The schemes which the English barons had been for some time forming, for the recovery and security of their privileges, being now ripe for execution, attended by their numerous retainers in arms, they came to London, January 6th, 1215, and demanded an audience of the king, in which they made a blunt enumeration of their grievances, and insisted on an immediate redress of them, with a confirmation of the liberties granted to their ancestors by the charter of Henry I., a copy of which they produced.\* John endeavoured partly by fair words to elude, partly by menaces to quash, this demand; but he felt himself so closely pressed, that he was under the necessity of promising to return an answer by the feast of Easter next ensuing; so little confidence, however, was reposed in his veracity, that the barons refused to retire, till the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and the earl of Pembroke, had become his majesty's security that he should keep his word. Instead of complying with a good grace, as in good policy and justice he ought, John meditated only the means of securing himself against the consequences of a refusal. For this purpose he exacted of all his subjects a renewal of their oaths of fealty; he used every art to ingratiate himself with the church; he assumed the cross for the recovery of the holy land; he dispatched ambassadors to his sovereign lord the pope, for the crown now held of him, with a loud complaint of his rebellious vassals, and to desire that the ecclesiastical thunder might be levelled against them.† From all this the barons plainly perceived that the arm of power alone could constrain a man of John's character, and therefore assembled in force at Stamford, in Easter week, from whence, in martial array, they proceeded, April 27th, to Brackley, near Oxford, where the king then resided.‡ Alarmed at this unexpected appearance, he sent the archbishop and the earl of Pembroke to inquire what were their specific demands. The barons delivered to them a schedule, containing the particular liberties and privileges which they claimed as their due. This being presented to the king, he rejected it with indignation, swearing he would never grant to subjects liberties which would reduce himself to the condition of a slave.

The tempest, however, was gathering so fast, and lowered so dreadfully, that John thought of making one effort more to gain the citizens: and to his fear, not his good-will, they are indebted for a fifth charter, by which not only all their

\* M. Paris, p. 176.

† Rymer, Fœd. p. 157.

‡ M. Paris.

ancient rights and immunities were acknowledged and confirmed, but a new and important privilege conferred, that of themselves electing their own chief magistrate, by the name of mayor, a term of Norman extraction, and an office which had hitherto been bestowed at the pleasure of the crown. To save the reader the trouble of searching for this instrument elsewhere, and because the force of it is not spent to this day, it is inserted in a smaller character at the bottom of the page.\*

The confederated nobility had advanced too far to retreat; they were conscious of the goodness of their cause, and confident in the strength of their arms. As soon, therefore, as the king's answer was reported to them, they chose Robert Fitzwalter, who had returned from exile, to assist in supporting his distressed country, to be their general, under the denomination of *Mareschal of the army of God and of Holy Church*; and they proceeded, without farther ceremony, to levy war upon the king. They lost fifteen days before the castle of Northampton, which they were not able to reduce; but, advancing to Bedford, William Beauchamp, the proprietor of its castle, threw open the gates to receive them. On May 24th they proceeded to Ware, where they held a conference with the principal citizens of London, and it was resolved, without the loss of a moment, to march directly to the capital. There they were received with every demonstration

\* John, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy, Aquitain, and earl of Anjou, to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, rulers, and to all his faithful subjects, greeting:

Know ye, that we have granted, and by this our present writing confirmed, to our barons of our city of London, that they may chuse to themselves every year a mayor, who to us may be faithful, discreet, and fit for government of the city, so as, when he shall be chosen, to be presented unto us, or our justice, (if we shall not be present); and he shall swear to be faithful to us; and that it shall be lawful to them, at the end of the year, to amove him, and to substitute another, if they will, or the same to retain, so as he be presented unto us, or our justice, if we shall not be present. We have granted to the same our barons, and by this our present charter confirmed, that they, well and in peace, freely, quietly, and wholly have all their liberties, which hitherto they have used, as well in the city of London as without, and as well by water as by land, and in all other places, saving to us our chamberlainship: Wherefore we will, and straitly command, that our aforesaid barons of our aforesaid city of London, may chuse unto themselves a mayor of themselves, in manner and form aforesaid; and that they may have all the aforesaid liberties, well and in peace, wholly and fully, with all things to the same liberties appertaining as is aforesaid.

Witness, the lords, P. of Winton, William of Worcester, William of Coventry, bishops; William Bridgward; Peter, son of Herbert; Godfrey de Lucy; and John, son of Hugh. Given by the hands of Mr. Richard Harrister, our chancellor, at the new Temple, London, the nineteenth day of May, in the sixteenth day of our reign.

of



of affection, and found their force so superior, that they were emboldened to issue proclamations, requiring the other barons to join them, under a menace, in case of refusal or delay, of destroying their castles and estates. As a sample of what their resentment might inflict, they made incursions into the vicinity surrounding London, and laid waste the royal palaces and parks; so that such of the barons as had hitherto assumed the semblance of attachment to the king's party, gladly seized the occasion of openly espousing the cause which they had always secretly favoured. The king was left almost alone at Odiham in Hampshire, with a poor retinue of only seven knights: and, after attempting a variety of pitiful expedients to divert the storm, he found himself obliged at last to submit at discretion.

In consequence of an arrangement made for the purpose, a conference was accordingly held between the king and the barons, June 15th, in an open place called Runnemede, between Windsor and Staines; a spot which has ever since been highly and justly celebrated as the scene of this most memorable transaction. The two parties encamped apart, with all the mutual vigilance and jealousy of declared enemies, and, after an ample discussion of the points in question, for several days together, John at length, with a facility which rather excited suspicion, formally executed the famous deed called *MAGNA CHARTA*, or the *GREAT CHARTER*, which either granted, or secured, very important liberties and privileges to every rank of men in the kingdom; to the clergy, to the nobility, to corporate bodies, and to the people.\* In order to give full effect to this charter, the palladium of English liberty, the jealous barons employed every precaution which suspicion could suggest. The great seal was not only appended to it, with all possible solemnity, but both the king and the barons bound themselves, by an explicit oath, to observe it in every particular, with good faith, and without dissimulation or mental reservation. The barons farther insisted upon, and obtained, the power of electing twenty-five of their own number to be conservators of the charter, armed with authority to compel the king and his ministers to fulfil the several stipulations assented to by the crown, and immediately to redress every infringement. To put it out of the king's power to violate his engagements, and to enable the lords conservators efficiently to discharge the trust committed to them, all foreign auxiliaries, the only remaining strength which John possessed, were forthwith sent out of the kingdom; the charter was deposited in the Tower of London, and that fortress

\* Blackstone, *Law Tracts*, vol. ii. *Introd.*

was delivered to the conservators.\* The original instrument is now part of the treasure of the British Museum; exact fac similes of it are in the possession of many; and the spirit of it, rectified and improved, is at length transfused through the whole fabric of the British constitution. But it was not till after a long, and many a violent, struggle, that the people of England, in the most enlarged sense of the word *People*, attained the perfect and peaceable enjoyment of the rights and liberties conveyed by the Great Charter of king John, and by similar charters granted by his successors. Through so many difficulties, in a progress so slow, and at the expense of such a profusion of blood and treasure, was the venerable pile reared. May it last as long as the sun, the pride and glory of those who live under it; the envy, the wonder, and the example of surrounding nations!

It would be impertinent to detail the particulars of *Magna Charta*, as the writing itself is in the hand of almost every Englishman, and its more prominent features are presented every day to the eye. But it would be unpardonable, on the other hand, to omit, in a history of London, the peculiar advantages which the metropolis derived from an event to which her counsels and her influence so greatly conduced, and which reciprocally contributed to her aggrandisement and prosperity.

The great barons, at this period, had very little knowledge of, and as little disposition to learn, the arts of commerce, which have since exalted their country to her envied distinction among the nations of the globe. The profession of a merchant was of mean account in the eyes of a haughty lord, accustomed to behold idle knights, by the score, revelling at his board, and gambolling in his train. The cities and towns of England, if we except London and a few others, were, for a century after the Conquest, very inconsiderable indeed, and most of their inhabitants were in a state of the most abject bondage and subjection to the king, or to the barons in whose domains they were situated. But, about the middle of the twelfth century, the trading towns began to acquire consequence, together with property. Many of them were erected into free, or royal burghs, by various charters of Henry II. of Richard, and of John: mercantile companies, guilds of handicraftsmen, and other fraternities, with new and extensive privileges and immunities, were established in them, which speedily attracted population, extended trade, and created opulence. The encroachments of the crown were as sensibly felt by the free towns, as by the barons, were as warmly resented, and as steadily

\* Blackstone, Law Tracts, vol. ii. Introd. p. 39.



opposed. We accordingly find them, toward the conclusion of John's reign, making a common cause of it, and entering with a warmth of interest into the views of the barons. The citizens of London, in particular, embraced their party with such an ardour of zeal, that the capital became the grand rendezvous of their councils and arms, and principally contributed to the success of the enterprise.\* This accounts for the attention paid in the Great Charter to the privileges of cities and towns, and to the interests of navigation, manufactures, and commerce.

By the thirteenth article of this charter it is provided, that the city of London, and all other cities, burghs, towns, and ports of the kingdom, should enjoy all their liberties, and free customs, both by land and water. A stipulation which evidently demonstrates, that, till then, the course of law and justice was obstructed and irregular, and the reason is obvious; till then, fines from cities and other corporate bodies, for license to exercise their legal rights and privileges, constituted a considerable branch of the royal revenue.† The incorporation and merchants of London most probably dictated the thirty-third article, which enjoins that all craves or wears, called, in the language of those times, *keydels*, shall be removed out of the Thames and Medway, and other rivers, because they were injurious to navigation; and we find an ordonnance precisely to this effect, issued twelve years afterward, strictly requiring that, “for the common utility of the city of London, “all keydels in the rivers Thames and Medway, particularly those near the Tower “of London, be forthwith removed.‡”—At their suggestion likewise, in all probability, the London measures of corn, wine, and ale, with an uniformity of weights, were ordered to be the standard for the whole kingdom. Taking interest for money was, at that period, deemed both illegal and antichristian. The business of money-lending was accordingly entirely engrossed by the Jews, and led directly to violent extortion. The citizens, who owed vast sums to the Jews, at a high interest, had the address to get a clause inserted in article tenth, that money owing to Jews by minors should bear no interest till the debtor came of age. Thus, in every stage of society, this strange people have been disposed to take advantage, and frequently forced to repay that advantage with usury.

A very impolitic and ungenerous prejudice against foreigners, particularly merchants, had hitherto disgraced the country; and indeed all the countries of Europe. Hence they were subjected to various restraints and disabilities. They were allowed

\* M. Paris, p. 117, col. i.

† Madox, Hist. Exch. c. 11, 12.

‡ Coke's Inst. part ii. p. 38.

to enter the kingdom only at certain seasons, and to remain in it not more than forty days at a time. They durst not expose their goods to sale, except at such and such fairs, and were obliged to pay much higher tolls and customs, on every commodity, than natives; and even for such meagre privileges they had, from time to time, to advance enormous fines to the crown for license to trade.\* Juster and more liberal notions now began to prevail. The London merchants perceived that it was their interest to be generous, and that an unrestrained commerce was beneficial to all parties. This, it is likely, suggested the forty-first article of the charter, which runs in these words: “All merchants shall be safe and secure in coming into Eng-  
 “land, and going out of England, and in continuing in, and travelling through  
 “England, as well by land as by water, to buy and to sell, without any unjust  
 “exaction, according to ancient and right usages, &c.”—This speaks for itself, and admits us at once to a distinct view of the spirit of the times.

Having pointed out the articles of the Great Charter which immediately refer to the history of London, we shall close the subject, by presenting to the reader a few clauses of a general nature, which will lead him to deplore the misery of his forefathers under the reign of despotism, and to rejoice in that liberty wherewith God and Nature, and the Laws of his country, have made him free. One of the most grievous oppressions of this, and of the immediately preceding period, was this—The mere will and arbitrary authority of the sovereign supplied the place of law, and superseded it. The subject was seized, imprisoned, stripped of his property, outlawed, banished, nay, put to death, without the shadow of a legal process. Instances of each of these tyrannical violations of all equity and justice might easily be adduced. Let one suffice; and the rather that it comprehends all the particulars of the above enumeration, and took place under the administration of by far the wisest, the best, the most moderate, and most popular of the Norman princes. Henry II. in the heat of his resentment against Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, who had opposed the measures of government, and, through fear of the king’s resentment, had made his escape out of the kingdom, apprehended all Becket’s relations, friends, dependents, to the number of four hundred persons, men, women, and children; confiscated all their goods and estates, and commanded them to leave the kingdom, in the very severity of winter, after exacting a solemn oath of the adults, that they would repair immediately to Sens, and present them-

\* Madox, Hist. Exch. c. 13.



selfes to the archbishop.\* Now all this was done, not only without any trial, but without a pretence of suspicion of guilt, or even the possibility of it, for many of the sufferers were infants, by the simple *sic volo, sic jubeo* of the king, on purpose to mortify and distress his opponent, by the sight of a multitude of unhappy creatures, allied to him by the ties of blood and friendship, reduced to ruin on his account. Was it not high time, then, to extort from the violent and perfidious son of Henry, from the unprincipled John, this declaration, which constitutes the thirty-ninth article of the Great Charter? “No free man shall be seized, or imprisoned, or disseized, or banished, or in any way destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.”—This is by far the most important concession in the charter, and continues to this hour, the grand security of the persons, the property, and the liberties of the people of this great realm, in which now, blessed be God! every man is a free man.

The kings of England had been in use not only to supersede the law of the land by acts of royal authority, but to obstruct the course of justice by a personal interference in judicial proceedings. This was done so avowedly, and with so little sense of shame, that the bribes thus tendered to, and accepted by, the crown, for this infamous violation of every principle of decency, truth, and justice, were regularly entered in the exchequer rolls, as so many articles of the royal revenue, and they amounted to a prodigious sum annually.† This grievance, too, called aloud for redress; and John was compelled to sign and seal to another important concess-

\* Vita S. Thomæ, l. ii. c. 14.

† It will undoubtedly be a gratification of curiosity to peruse a few extracts from the annals of those times, as they will exhibit the strange mixture of articles whereof the royal revenue consisted, and which arose not only from his majesty's interference in judicial proceedings, but in petty domestic differences, and the disputes of neighbours; for every transaction, of every kind, brought a present to the king, of some kind or other, from a hawk or a palfry up to twenty thousand pounds.

The barons of the exchequer, the first nobility of the kingdom, were not ashamed to insert, as an article in their records, that the county of Norfolk paid a sum that they might be fairly dealt with; the borough of Yarmouth, that the king's charters, which they have for their liberties, might not be violated; Richard, son of Gilbert, for the king's helping him to recover his debt from the Jews (he paid two hundred marks, a great sum in those days). Serlo, son of Terlavaston, that he might be permitted to make his defence, in case he were accused of a certain homicide; Walter de Burton, for free law, if accused of wounding another; Robert d'Essart, for having an inquest to find whether Roger the butcher, and Wace and Humphrey, accused him of robbery and theft out of envy and ill will, or not; William Buhurst, for having an inquest to find whether he were accused of the death of one Godwin, out of ill will,

concession, article fortieth of the Great Charter : “ To no man will we sell, to no man will we deny or delay right and justice.” What must have been the previous state of the country when regal corruption dared to hold up such an unblushing forehead to the light of the sun ?

We return to the history.—The wax of the seal appended to the Great Charter was hardly cold, when it repented John of his compliance, and he retired from Runnymede, in a state of fallen dejection, with a few of his confidants, to the isle of Wight ; there to brood over this eclipse of royal power and authority, and to devise the means of recovering his beclouded lustre. In this view he sent orders to all his governors of castles, to put them in a state of defence, and to lay in store of provisions. He sent agents to the continent to enlist a body of Brabançons, and other mercenaries, to be transported into England. He lodged an appeal against

will, or for just cause.—I have selected these few instances from a great number of a like kind, which Madox had selected from a still greater number preserved in the ancient rolls of the exchequer.

Sometimes the party litigant offered the king a certain portion, a half, a third, a fourth, payable out of the debts which he, as the executor of justice, should assist him in recovering. Theophania de Westland agreed to pay the half of two hundred and twelve marks, that she might recover that sum against James de Fughleston ; Solomon the Jew engaged to pay one mark out of every seven that he should recover against Hugh de la Huse ; Nicholas Morrel promised to pay sixty pounds, that the earl of Flanders might be distrained to pay him three hundred and forty-three pounds, which the earl had taken from him ; and these sixty pounds were to be paid out of the first money that Nicholas should recover from the earl. There were no profits so small as to be below the king’s attention. Henry, son of Arthur, gave ten dogs to have a recognition against the countess of Copland for one knight’s fee. Roger, son of Nicholas, gave twenty lampreys and twenty shads for an inquest, to find whether Gilbert, son of Alured, gave to Roger two hundred muttons to obtain his confirmation for certain lands, or whether Roger took them from him by violence ; Geoffrey Fitz-Pierre, the chief justiciary, gave two good Norway hawks, that Walter le Madine might have leave to export a hundred weight of cheese out of the king’s dominions.

It is really amusing to remark the strange business in which the king sometimes interfered, and never without a present : the wife of Hugh de Neville gave the king two hundred hens, that she might sleep with her husband one night ; and she brought with her two sureties, who answered each for a hundred hens. It is probable that her husband was a prisoner, which debarred her from having access to him. The abbot of Rucford paid ten marks for leave to erect houses and place men upon his land near Walhang, in order to secure his wood there from being stolen : Hugh, archdeacon of Wells, gave one tun of wine for leave to carry six hundred summs of corn whither he would : Peter de Peraris gave twenty marks for leave to salt fishes as Peter Chevalier used to do.

It was usual to pay high fines, in order to gain the king’s good-will, or mitigate his anger. In the reign of Henry II. Gilbert, the son of Fergus, fines in nine hundred and nineteen pounds nine shillings to obtain that prince’s favour ; William de Chataignes a thousand marks, that he would remit his displeasure. In the reign of Henry III. the city of London fines in no less a sum than 20,000 pounds on the same account. But of this, more than enough. (Hume, History of England, vol. ii. Appendix ii.)

his



his barons in the court of Rome, and solicited his now sworn friend and brother the pope, to interpose in his behalf. The last of these was the most easily accomplished. The king's ambassadors to his holiness were very graciously received, and having recited some of the most humiliating articles of the charter in his presence, he knit his sanctimonious brows, and swore by St. Peter, "That he would not suffer a king, who wore the cross, and was a vassal of the holy see, to be thus treated with impunity."\* And, as it cost him little to put his threats in execution, he issued one bull, August 24th, annulling the Great Charter, as being violently extorted from the king; and another, presently after, by which the barons and all their adherents were laid under sentence of excommunication.†

By the time that the papal bulls had found their way into England, John had acquired a very powerful support of a different kind, by the arrival of a great army of Brabanters, and other foreign hirelings, at Dover; which emboldened him to leave his retreat, to take the field, and lay siege to the castle of Rochester, one of the strong holds of the confederated barons. This was a dreadful blow upon those noblemen, who had presumed too much on John's passiveness and timidity, and were lulled into security by the quietness and retirement in which he kept himself. The castle was gallantly defended, but after a siege of two months was reduced, by a scarcity of provisions, to surrender at discretion, November 30th, 1215.‡

The next year, accordingly, opened with a very fair and flattering prospect to the royal cause. The king divided his forces, which were now become both numerous and powerful, and left one army, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, in the vicinity of London; and marched himself at the head of another into the north. The first of these greatly distressed the metropolis, and took several towns and castles in its neighbourhood. The other spread such terror and desolation as it advanced, that the barons of the northern counties abandoned their country, and fled for refuge into Scotland.§ The unrelenting John made 'a barbarous use of his superiority. The open country was mercilessly ravaged by fire and the sword. All the towns which presumed to oppose his progress, Morpeth, Alnwick, Berwick, Roxburgh. Dunbar, Haddington, were, one after another, reduced to ashes, in the course of the month of January, 1216.|| The thunders of

\* M. Paris, p. 184.

† Rymer. Fœd. tom. i. p. 204, &amp;c.

‡ M. Paris, p. 187.

§ Chron. Mailros, p. 190.

|| Id. ibid.

the Vatican immediately followed, and the pope's bull, which excommunicated all the confederated barons by name, and laid their lands under an interdict, was published in every part of the kingdom, except London.\*

In this extremity, a resolution dictated by despair was rashly formed and adopted. They were too well acquainted with the king's stern unforgiving character to think of softening him by submission; and, therefore, as an inferior evil, deputed their general, Robert Fitzwalter, and Saker, earl of Winton, to Philip, king of France, with a tender of the crown of England, to prince Louis his eldest son. This was done, at the same time, with such reluctance, that, in the bitterness of their soul, they cursed both the king and the pope, who had reduced them to a state of humiliation so degrading.† Their splendid offer was accepted with avidity by both the father and the son. An immediate reinforcement of seven thousand men was dispatched, and Louis, without losing a moment, prepared to follow these in person, with still more effectual support.

Matters were conducted with so much expedition and effect, that Louis was enabled to embark a considerable army, on board a fleet of six hundred ships, with which he arrived safely, at the isle of Thanet, and landed without opposition, at Sandwich, on the 23d of May. He marched directly toward London, where the strength of the confederacy lay; and having retaken the castle of Rochester on his way thither, May 30th, he entered the city, June 2d, in a species of triumph, amidst the loud acclamations of citizens, barons, and their numerous retainers, all pressing emulously forward to do him homage as their sovereign, and receiving in return, his promise and oath, that he would restore them to all their possessions, and protect them in all their privileges.‡

Thus in the course of a very few months all was reversed in England. King John, who carried every thing before him, and had well nigh crushed all opposition, was constrained to abandon his conquests, and a foreign prince was ready to step into his throne before his eyes. Louis, flushed with the cordiality and magnificence of his reception at London, and strengthened with all the remaining power of the barons, again took the field, and, in a few months more, reduced the whole Southern part of the kingdom to his obedience, the castle of Dover excepted. Here the current of his prosperity began to ebb in its turn. The castle was defended with a gallantry which baffled every effort of the besiegers, and which irritated the

\* M. Paris, p. 192.

† Id. p. 193.

‡ Id. p. 195.



French prince to such a degree, that he swore he would not desist from his enterprise till he had taken the fortresses and hanged every man of the garrison.\* This oath, however, he was unable to perform; and the threatening probably lost him the crown of England. While he was thus fruitlessly employed, John, having recruited his army, and fortified it with all the terrors of the pontifical artillery, rushed like a torrent into the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, and made dreadful havock on the estates of the revolted barons. Of these, several had by this time become sensible of their error, in courting the protection of a stranger who was likely to become their oppressor; for Louis was imprudent enough to avow his partiality to his countrymen, and his aversion to the English, whom he threatened to exterminate. This induced the earl of Salisbury, William Marschal, Walter Beauchamp, and others, to desert his party, and attempt to make their peace with the king. But John lived not to enjoy this gleam of prosperity. Marching at the head of his army, determined to hazard one great battle more for the preservation of his crown, from Lynn-Regis, in Norfolk, along the sands, into Lincolnshire, which are overflowed at high-water, and choosing an improper time of the tide, the rapidity of the flood swallowed up the rear of his forces, together with all his baggage, ammunition, and regalia. This disaster, the distressed state of his affairs in general, an irritable temper, and an ill conscience, conspired to throw him into a fever, which increased so fast, that with great difficulty he reached Newark upon Trent, where he expired October 19th, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. He is said to have received, in his last moments, letters from no less than forty of the relenting barons, tendering their submission. Though these arrived too late to minister to his personal comfort, they contributed greatly to facilitate the succession of his son.†

\* \* \* \* \*

Those periods of history which, as they passed, were the most turbulent and distressful, have frequently proved the most salutary in their effects and consequences. The darkest midnight of tyranny is, from the very nature of the thing, verging toward the dawn of liberty. The unbridled violence and oppression of king John produced *Magna Charta*, and the Great Charter, after undergoing a

\* M. Paris, p. 195.

† Id. 198, 199.

long and difficult process of filtration, at length refined into a transparent stream of constitutional freedom. The intolerable insolence and impudent usurpation of the court of Rome, carried during this reign to the last excess, in like manner awakened attention, and induced men to look into those pretensions, which, in the progress of things, led to detection, and excited indignation. And though England was still far, very far, from any just notion, much less any rational enjoyment, of religious liberty, yet the arrogant claims of a pope Innocent, and the dastardly submission of a king John, were preparing, at a distance, the minds of both princes and nations to examine, to resist, to reject, to despise papal authority, and we have lived to see it reduced, comparatively speaking, within the compass of a nut-shell. It is a fact founded in human nature, and confirmed by uniform experience, that when a man rigorously exacts more than his due, he is on the point of forfeiting a reasonable demand. Though it may seem a paradox, history will perhaps demonstrate, that benevolent and popular princes have made the greatest encroachments on liberty, and the most detestable despots proved the greatest foes of arbitrary power.

Our metropolis made a very considerable political and commercial progress during the reign of king John. Whether it were by her spirit, her power, or her wealth, certain it is, she asserted, acquired, or purchased, privileges and immunities of the most important nature; particularly the right of electing and removing her own magistrates, and the free navigation and right of conservancy of the rivers Thames, Medway, and Lea. Henry Fitz-Alwyn had filled the city chair for twenty-four years without interruption; that is, during the whole reign of Richard, up to the fourteenth year of king John, when the citizens were empowered, by a fifth charter from that prince, annually to choose their own mayor. Of the commercial progress of London, one striking proof is on record. The distracted state of the times had generated and kept up a desperate spirit of piracy, by which the navigation and trade of the river were dreadfully annoyed. The citizens bravely asserted their right, and exerted their power of conservancy, by fitting out a powerful fleet, which, in the course of a few months, scoured the seas of those vermin, having taken or destroyed no less than sixty-five of their ships,\* and thereby restored commerce to its former channel. Our ancient historians always express themselves in a strain of exultation, when they mention London as a centre of traffic.

\* Stow, Annal. Eng.



Her merchants enjoyed the rank and consideration of *barons*, and assisted in the national councils, as possessing a justly acquired nobility. “London,” says William of Malmesbury, “is only about twenty-five miles distant from Rochester. “It is a noble city, renowned for the opulence of its citizens, and crowded with “the merchants who resort thither, with their various commodities, from all “countries, especially from Germany.”\*—“In this city,” says Fitz-Stephen, in his description of London, “merchants from all nations under heaven reside, “for the benefit of commerce.”† The immense confluence of the Jews to this city, notwithstanding all the exactions and disabilities under which they laboured, is another proof of the increasing trade of the metropolis at this period. Whole streets were in the occupancy of those people;‡ and it is well known they never resort in a great number to any place but where trade is already established, or, at least, where there is a reasonable prospect of creating it.

It would swell this addition beyond due bounds to go into a detail of the imports and exports which constituted the commerce of London at this era of her history. Wool and leather are two of the most considerable natural productions of the country. We find accordingly, in 1199, Gervase of Aldermanbury, chamberlain of London, an officer, at that time, of the king's, not of the city's appointment, charging himself with 23*l.* 12*s.* received from sundry merchants, for leave to export those two articles.§ He farther accounts for 225 marks, arising from the sale of forty-five sacks of wool attempted to be smuggled out of the kingdom. The yarn and cloth of wool were likewise even then a considerable branch of English exports; for the chamberlain, in the tenth year of Richard, debits his accompt eleven marks, the produce of a seizure of woollen yarn, the property of John de Birchemstede, who was attempting to send it to Flanders, in violation of the privileges of the city of London.|| Sir Matthew Hale¶ assures us, “That “in the time of Henry II. and Richard I. the kingdom flourished greatly in the “art of manufacturing woollen cloth; but by the troublesome wars during the “reigns of king John and Henry III. and also of Edward I. and Edward II, “this manufacture was entirely lost.”

\* W. Malmesb. de Pontif. Angl. l. ii.

† W. Steph. Vit. T. Cant. p. 6.

‡ Stow, Survey, b. iii. p. 54.

§ Madox, Hist. Exch.

|| Id. ibid.

¶ Prim. Orig. of Mankind, p. 161.

Though the art of agriculture was still but indifferently cultivated, yet such is the natural fertility of the English soil, and such its peculiar adaptation to the production of corn, that even under all the oppression of the feudal system, the produce of the country, at times, far exceeded the home consumption, and left considerable quantities for exportation. “England might then be called,” says one of our ancient historians,\* “the storehouse of Ceres, out of which the whole world was supplied with corn.” There are many instances on record of fines paid to the king for license to export corn: but undoubtedly the importation of that necessary article was, upon the whole, greatly beyond the export: and this import trade seems to have been entirely engrossed by the London merchants, “who,” says William of Malmesbury, “had at all times granaries filled with corn in that city, from whence all parts of the kingdom were supplied.”

Lead and tin were likewise very considerable branches of the export trade of those times. Almost all the cathedral and abbey churches on the continent, besides palaces, convents, castles, without number, had their roofs and battlements covered with lead brought from England. Some idea may be formed of the immense quantity of tin exported, from an entry in the books of Henry de Castilun, chamberlain of London, who debits himself, A. D. 1198, with 379*l.* 18*s.* received in fines from the merchants of London, for liberty to export this commodity.† The royal revenues arising from the tin mines of Cornwall and Devonshire were valued at two thousand marks annually, equivalent to at least ten thousand pounds of our money, and in effect to four times that sum.

The chief articles of importation, during the period under review, were not only gold and silver, coined and in bullion, for the general balance of trade was greatly in favour of England, but a variety of commodities, partly necessary, partly useful, and partly ministering merely to luxury. As temperance was by no means the virtue of those ages, and as the climate of England is unfavourable to the cultivation of the vine, foreign wines, particularly those of France, constituted a considerable proportion of the imports, and the duties on these a considerable branch of the revenue. “The French,” says Fitz-Stephen,‡ “import their wines into London, which they expose to sale, both in their ships and in their cellars adjoining to the river.” The wine trade had become an object of so

\* Gul. Pistav. p. 210.

† Madox, Hist. Exch. p. 531.

‡ Descrip. Lond. p. 5, 6.



much importance in the beginning of John's reign, that the prices of all the different sorts were regulated by law, and special officers were appointed in each city, town, and burgh, to see to the execution of that law. "Hence," according to Hoveden,\* "the land was filled with drink and drunkards."

Spiceries and drugs of all kinds were imported in great quantities, for the purposes both of medicine and of luxury. "The Sabeans," says Fitz-Stephen, in the work already quoted, "import into London their frankincense and other spices; and from the rich country around Babylon they bring the oil of palms." Articles of this sort formed, at that time, such a branch of commerce, that the term *speciarius*, in the vulgar Latin of the period, denotes merchant in general.†

Precious stones of various kinds and costly silks were imported from Egypt, Arabia, and other eastern countries; but the use of them was more limited, as they were a luxury too costly for any thing short of royal or of religious magnificence.‡ The same observation applies to tapestry, fine linen and furs, which were imported from Flanders, Norway, Russia, and other northern countries, and served for the summer and winter furniture and clothing only of the very great and opulent. Some of those furs, particularly sables, bore a prodigious price, and came within the reach only of princes or prelates of the highest rank and affluence. Robert de Blois, bishop of Lincoln, made Henry I. the present of a cloak of fine cloth, lined with sables, which cost him a hundred pounds, equivalent to at least fifteen hundred of our money. But what was of infinitely more importance to the commerce of the country, for all this was a losing trade, Henry de Casteilun, the chamberlain, in 1197, charges himself in the sum of 96*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* received from certain merchants, for a license to import and sell woad,§ a plant used in dying many colours. This is a striking proof of the encouragement given to the woollen manufacture, which was one day to become the staple of England. The quantity imported by those merchants must have been very considerable, seeing they could afford to pay a sum equivalent to more than 1500*l.* of the present money of Britain, for permission to deal in that article.

The process of smelting iron, and of making steel, seems to have been hitherto unknown in England. Those precious commodities, which have since become to her an inexhaustible mine of wealth, and a tower of strength, were imported from

\* Annal. p. 453.

† Murator. Antiq. t. ii.

‡ Anglia Sacra.

§ Madox, p. 531.

Germany and other northern countries. A respectable company of German merchants, with peculiar privileges, had been long established in London, who, from the particular branch of commerce in which they dealt, were denominated *Merchants of the Steel-yard*, a noted wharf on the north bank of the Thames, a little above Fishmongers-hall, London-bridge, and, to this day, the great repository of iron imported.\*

There is one trait in the character and administration of John which considerably counterbalances the general infamy which attaches to them—he paid great attention to maritime and mercantile affairs. One of the first acts of his reign was the publication of the famous edict of Hastings, in which he asserts boldly his empire over the British seas, and commands all his captains to seize every ship that refused to strike her top-sails, to confiscate the cargo, and imprison the crew, though they might be subjects of an allied power.† Hence he was served with zeal and fidelity by his seafaring subjects, when almost all the rest, of other descriptions, had deserted him: and at a time when every thing on shore was in a most desperate state, his fleets destroyed the naval power of France, and sent no less than three hundred French prizes into the ports of England.‡ The merchants of the five trading towns on the coast of Kent and Suffex, called the *cinque-ports*, like those of London, were raised to the honourable distinction of barons, an appellation which their representatives in parliament enjoy to this day.§

The interest of money still continued enormously high, and it being against law in Christians to take any, the money-lending trade was engrossed by the Jews, who shewed no mercy, as they frequently received none. The famous Peter de Blois, among many others, had the misfortune to fall into their hands, and we may judge what severe creditors they were, from the pathetic appeal which that archdeacon makes in one of his letters to the compassion of his friend the bishop

\* The house, or hall, of those merchants is, in the Latin of their ancient charters, denominated *Gilbalda Teutonicorum*, the Guildhall of the Germans. A celebrated antiquarian and etymologist apprehends, that the word *Steel-yard*, or, as he calls it, *Staelhoff*, by which we denote their place of rendezvous in Upper-Thames-street, London, is merely a contraction, or rather corruption of *Stapelhoff*, that is, a general depository of merchandise, or public warehouse. This is far from being improbable, as iron, including steel, though a very considerable branch of their imports, was far from being an exclusive one. (*Anderson's History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 228.)

† Seld. Marc, clauf. l. ii. p. 265.

‡ Campbell's Admirals, vol. i. p. 146.

§ Spelman. Gloss. p. 71.



of Ely: "I am dragged to Canterbury, to be crucified by the stony-hearted  
 " Jews, amongst their other miserable debtors, whom they slay and torment with  
 " exorbitant usury. The like sufferings await me also at London, unless you  
 " mercifully interpose for my relief. I beseech you, therefore, most reverend  
 " father, and most loving friend, to become my surety to Sampson the Jew, for  
 " six pounds which I owe him, and thereby deliver me from that cross." This  
 accounts at once for their enormous wealth, for the public detestation in which  
 Jews were held, and for the frequent re-extortion of government.

The magnetic attraction, the soul of navigation and fountain of commerce, was  
 discovered about the beginning of the thirteenth century; but where, or by whom,  
 history is silent.

The manner of living of this Anglo-Norman period was as grossly luxurious,  
 as the hours of eating and drinking were, conformably to modern ideas, grossly  
 vulgar and unfashionable. Of the luxury of those times it will be sufficient to  
 produce a single instance. Fitz-Stephen, in his life of St. Thomas-à-Becket,  
 among other details of his princely magnificence, tells us, this prelate paid for a  
*single dish* of eels five pounds, amounting, according to the most moderate compu-  
 tation, to fourscore pounds of our money, but, in reality, to almost double that  
 sum. A prelate of the age of George III. who was foolish, or profuse enough, to  
 lay out 180*l.* upon a *whole supper*, would be, and justly, paragraphed to death  
 in fifty daily and monthly chronicles of the times. But the extravagance of the  
 entertainment was compensated, it will be said, by the soberness of the hours.  
 The time of dining, even at court, and in the families of the proudest barons, was  
 nine in the morning, and of supping, five in the afternoon. These hours were  
 considered not only as favourable to business, but as conducive to health. The  
 proverbial jingle of the day gives us a picture of the division of time in the  
 twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Lever à cinq, diner à neuf,  
 Souper à cinq, coucher à neuf,  
 Fait vivre ans nonante & neuf.

To rise at five and dine at nine,  
 To sup at five and bed at nine,  
 Lengthens life to ninety-nine.

But

But we must not tell posterity that those early suppers were frequently protracted, with abominable excess, far beyond midnight; and that the clergy, excluded from the virtuous pleasures of conjugal life, amply indemnified themselves, by rioting in concubinage, and the gross delights of the table. The monks of St. Swithin's, Winchester, lodged a formal complaint before Henry II. against their abbot, for curtailing their usual dinner three dishes out of thirteen. The monks of Canterbury were still more addicted to the gratification of the palate. Their daily meals consisted of seventeen dishes and a desert, and on feast days the allowance was doubled. These dishes were, besides, rendered poignant to the taste, and provoking to the appetite, by high-flavoured spices and rich sauces.\*

The theatrical amusements of the metropolis were a rude representation of Scripture histories, or of the legendary tales of the miracles and sufferings of confessors and martyrs. These representations were denominated *mysteries*, and the pieces were both composed and acted by the priests and their pupils. Geoffry, the sixteenth abbot of St. Albans, while a young man, and head of the school of Dunstable, composed, according to M. Paris, an interlude from the history of St. Catharine, and borrowed the sacred vestments from the sacristy of St. Albans to adorn his performers. Peter of Blois congratulates his brother William, who was an abbot, on the reputation which he had acquired by his tragedy of *Flaura and Marcus*, and by his other theological works.†

We have recited an instance or two of Richard's delicately satirical humor. His brother John's, like his manners, was more coarse, vulgar, and indecent. History has condescended to transmit one meagre example, which we transcribe, as a proof that his sallies of wit could neither have been frequent nor very brilliant. Having one day taken in hunting a very fine buck, he exclaimed: "How plump and well-fed this animal is! and yet I dare swear he never heard mass."—This passed as wit, for no imaginable reason but because it aims a stroke at priests and religion. But true wit is an accomplishment so rare, that we need not wonder at missing it in the catalogue of princely qualities.

The fever which shortened John's days is said to have been heightened, and rendered mortal, by eating immoderately of peaches, and drinking new ale. It is justly called in question whether that fruit had as yet found its way into England. Higden and Knighton, two historians of character, write *pears* instead of *peaches*.

\* Girald. Cambr. l. ii. c. 5.

† P. Blesens. Ep. 93.



They are probably right; and the similarity of the characters, which composed the two words, will easily account for a mistake in the transcription.\*

King John, it is generally allowed, was the first of English monarchs who coined what, in process of time, was denominated *sterling* money: the term is derived from *Easterling*, the descriptive appellation of our eastern continental neighbours, some of whom this prince invited over to assist in rectifying and regulating the silver coinage of the realm; for gold was not as yet reduced, in England, to a circulating medium of commerce in the form of coin.†

The medium price of wheat, during John's reign, was three shillings a quarter, or about nine shillings of our money. If every other necessary of life was in a similar proportion, an income of ten pounds a year would then have gone as far in housekeeping as one of a hundred and fifty would, in 1796. Rochelle wine sold for twenty shillings a ton. Wine of Anjou cost twenty-four shillings; and French wines, of the very best quality, were not above twenty-six shillings and eightpence a ton; or about fourscore shillings of our money.‡

As this was the age of superstition, it occasions no surprize to find religious foundations multiplied without end. From the Conquest to the death of John, a space of no more than a hundred and fifty years, there were not so few as 550 edifices, of this description, established or restored; that is, above five parts in seven of all the religious houses which were in England, at the time of their suppression, three hundred and thirty years afterward. This is to be accounted for, not only from the general proclivity of dark minds toward voluntary sacrifices, and a costly compromise with offended heaven; but from the frequent recurrence of personal motives, arising out of the peculiar complexion of the times. A zealous champion, in a flush of temper, had vowed to assume the cross, and embark in an expedition to the Holy Land: by and by his courage flags, or his health is impaired: he has only to found a monastery, and the accompt is balanced. Another returns safe and sound from Palestine, through many conflicts and much danger; up starts another monastery, to record his gratitude and assist his devotion. A third is on the eve of his departure to dispossess the insulting infidel. It is an enterprize of much difficulty and danger; but a portion of his estate bestowed on the church, will purchase protection, and cover his head in the day of battle. In a

\* Anderson's Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 199.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Id. ibid.

word, the terrors of purgatory, and the influence of the intercession of saints on earth below, and in heaven above, were so powerfully impressed, that to escape the one, and to obtain an interest in the other, was deemed to be more than an indemnification for every worldly surrender which a man could make, or any suffering which he could undergo.

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#### SECTION IV.

*The History of London, from the Death of King John, A. D. 1216, to the Elevation of the House of Lancaster, A. D. 1399.*

FORTUNATELY for the family of king John, and for the kingdom of England, William, earl of Pembroke, the most accomplished and most virtuous nobleman of his day, had adhered to the deceased monarch in the lowest ebb of his affairs; and employed the whole weight of his talents, his influence, and authority, in securing the succession of young Henry, a boy of nine years old, to the throne of his ancestors. By virtue of his office as marshal of England, he had the command of all the royal forces, and that, in a turbulent and military age, was to be at the head of the government. Though his opponents were both numerous and powerful, he was not dismayed, for his cause was good, and his conscience clear. Fully sensible that, conformably to the prejudices of the age, Henry would not be considered as a king till he was crowned, and consecrated, by the hands of a churchman, he carried his royal pupil to Gloucester, where those ceremonies were performed, October 28th, by the bishops of Bath and Winchester, in presence of Gualo the papal legate, several of the nobility, and a great concourse of people. London was probably, at this time, in the hands of prince Louis of France, and certainly still attached to his party; and the performance of the coronation solemnity, in another city, was perhaps an intentional mark of disrespect and resentment shewn to the metropolis. In order to give fuller effect, and a regular title, to the authority of Pembroke, in a great council held at Bristol, November 11th, he was unanimously elected Protector of the realm; a trust which he highly merited, and which he most wisely, diligently, and faithfully executed.\*

\* M. Paris, p. 205.



Whatever might have been the Protector's sentiments with respect to subjecting the imperial crown of England to the disposal of the bishop of Rome, the disgrace of the preceding reign, he deemed it prudent to strengthen Henry's tottering throne, by swearing fealty to the pope, and renewing that homage of which his father had set the example. One of the first acts of his administration was to grant a renewal of the Great Charter of liberties, the darling object of the English nation. This seasonable, prudent, and popular measure, produced a wonderful effect. It reconciled the hearts of every description of men to the royal cause. The republication of the charter was accompanied with conciliatory letters, to all the disaffected barons, entreating them to acknowledge the authority of the king, against whom they could not possibly have any ground of complaint, and promising complete indemnity for all offences past, with every security which they could demand, for the future undisturbed enjoyment of their liberties, honours, and estates.\* Some of the most powerful immediately declared in favour of Henry III., and many others only waited a favourable opportunity to follow the example.

This return of allegiance and affection to their native sovereign was considerably promoted, among the English nobility, by the imprudent and suspicious character of Louis, who discovered a general dislike and jealousy of them, and had given personal offence to several, particularly to Robert Fitzwalter, the very soul of the confederacy. Gualo, the legate, had likewise been persuaded to pronounce sentence of excommunication upon all who adhered to the French party, and this, in the turn which the public mind had taken, proved decisive; for it is easy to make a man believe that cause to be impious, which inclination or interest had predetermined him to abandon. On the return, therefore, of Louis from France, though with a considerable reinforcement, he found his force in England far more diminished, and in a state of gradual decay. While he was wasting his time and strength before Dover-castle, he received intelligence that his party had been completely routed by the Protector, May 19th, 1217, within the city of Lincoln. He immediately raised the siege, and hastened to London, which still espoused his interests, and prepared to defend the city. But his affairs were now in a desperate condition. The royal navy had taken and destroyed a French squadron which was bringing over fresh succours; and Pembroke, with his victorious army, was marching full

\* Rymer, vol. i. p. 216.

speed to the capital. This determined the Frenchman to enter into a negotiation with the Protector, which, from the moderation of that wise and good man, was speedily matured into a peace. Louis made little difficulty in relinquishing his claim to the throne of England, and satisfied himself with stipulating for an indemnity to his English partizans; which being readily granted, he soon after withdrew, with all that remained of his foreign power, into his own country.\* Thus was the young king delivered, for ever, from a very formidable rival, and the realm was preserved from the miseries of a civil war. And all this was effected, within the course of a few months, by the ability, diligence, and integrity of one man.

Every article of the treaty with the barons was executed with the strictest fidelity and honour. They were put into immediate and full possession of their honours and estates. Itinerant judges were sent into every part of the kingdom, to publish, and to perform, the various obligations of the Great Charter. The stipulation in favour of the citizens of London, who had persisted the longest in supporting the French prince, was maintained inviolable; and Henry, soon after the departure of his competitor, made his public entry into the capital, with every demonstration of mutual satisfaction; though the king's conduct afterward sufficiently evinced, that he entertained a deep and lasting resentment of the opposition made to him, from that quarter. No blame, however, on this, or any other account, attaches to the memory of the Lord Protector, who omitted nothing that could contribute to the true glory of his sovereign, and to the peace and prosperity of his country. But blessings so rare are seldom of long duration. These honourable and useful labours were interrupted by the stroke of death; and the good earl of Pembroke paid the debt of nature, about the middle of March, 1219, to the unspeakable loss of both prince and people.†

The second year of this reign, or rather of this protectorship (A. D. 1217), is remarkable for being the era of the earliest treaty of friendship and commerce, between England and foreign nations. Haguin, king of Norway, at that time a prince of considerable celebrity, made overtures, by one of his abbots, to the English government, for a treaty of peace, amity, and confederacy; which were accepted, and the merchants of the two countries were declared to have the mutual benefits of a free trade, in the one country and in the other.‡ In the same year, three good

\* Rymer, vol. i. p. 221.

† M. Paris, p. 210.

‡ Rymer, vol. i. p. 223.



horses, two asses, and a new cart, were valued at two pounds ten shillings, or about 7*l.* 10*s.* of our money ; but from a solitary article, or two, no certain conclusion can be drawn, relative to the general value of commodities.\*

On the death of the good earl of Pembroke, the principal management of public affairs devolved on Hubert de Burgh, as high justiciary ;† but, unhappily for the nation, he possessed neither the wisdom, nor the authority, of his predecessor. A haughty nobility, who had recently triumphed, in a struggle for liberty and independence, over a monarch in the maturity of age and plenitude of power, were not to be restrained by the feeble arm of a stripling, and the government of a subject whose rank was inferior to their own. Hence the country became a scene of universal disorder and distress, from aristocratical insolence and oppression ; and the metropolis was disgraced by endless popular riots and violence. In attempting a suppression of these, government unwisely, and unhappily, exercised several acts of power, with a neglect of regular procedure, and with circumstances of severity, which kindled a flame not easily extinguished. The justiciary, not daring to assume a high tone with the refractory barons, had the still greater weakness and injustice, to assume and apply the rod, where the criminality was greatly inferior, and much more excusable, but the offenders less able to resist. A frivolous dispute had arisen (A. D. 1222) between the populace of the two neighbouring cities of London and Westminster, and of the villages interjacent, respecting the determination of a wrestling match, and the matter was taken up, on both sides, by persons of the better sort. The abbot of Westminster made himself a party in the quarrel, and challenged the Londoners to a second trial of skill, proposing a ram as the prize of victory. The challenge was accepted, and a day appointed for the decision. But instead of a fair wrestling bout, the perfidious abbot had prepared a party armed for the purpose, who, on a signal given, fell on the men of London, and beat and bruised them without mercy. This roused the spirit of retaliation, and the London mob pulled down and destroyed several houses belonging to the demagogue abbot. This, however, might have been overlooked, as a mere effervescence of the public mind, had it not been for an unfortunate exclamation of some of the lower citizens, in the heat of their frenzy, which had been employed by the French soldiery, when their prince first entered the capital : *Mountjoy, Mountjoy, God help us and our Lord Louis !* This was considered as a glaring proof of persevering attachment, in the

\* Anderson, vol. i. p. 200.

† Chron. T. Wikes, p. 39.

city, to the French interest. On making inquiry into the occasion and actors in this tumult, it appeared that one Constantine Fitz-Arnulph, a fellow of a daring, undaunted spirit, had led on and instigated the incendiaries. He had the audacity to justify his crime in the face of the justiciary, who, losing his temper, proceeded instantly against him according to martial Law, hanged him up without form of process, and, in the same summary manner, commanded to amputate the feet of several of his accomplices.\*

This irregular act of power was bitterly exclaimed against, as a manifest violation of the Great Charter, and excited a mutual irritation between the court and the city, which pervaded the whole duration of the longest reign of all our English monarchs; and of which many instances will occur as we proceed. Hubert was not satisfied with the punishment of the actual delinquents, in the Westminster riot, but, by another stretch of power, degraded the mayor and the rest of the magistracy, appointed a *custos* to rule the city, and exacted security, for the preservation of the public peace, of thirty citizens of distinction, of his own selection, in name of the community at large.

As another mark of the royal displeasure, the next great council, which began about this time to assume the name of parliament, was summoned to assemble (A. D. 1223), not at London, but at Oxford. Here, however, the representatives of the city loudly complained of the late infraction of the Great Charter, and the regent found it necessary to quiet them by a renewal of their chartered rights; as if public acts were made only to be violated, and as if laws lost their validity unless they were from time to time revived. But still the power of this minister seems to have sitten uneasily upon him, for he was glad to shrink from the responsibility of his station, by procuring a papal bull, in which the king was declared to be of age, though only in his sixteenth year, and all the barons, who held royal castles, were commanded to restore them into his majesty's hands.† The high justiciary set the example of compliance with this injunction, by delivering up the Tower of London, and Dover-castle, which had been committed to his custody during the king's minority. The number of castles at that time in England is said to have amounted to 1115.‡

The necessity of his affairs on the continent, rendered it necessary for the king to convoke another parliament the year after A. D. 1224. It was held at West-

\* M. Paris, 214.

† Id. p. 220.

‡ Hume, vol. ii.



minster, and purchased a confirmation of the charters of their liberties, at the price of a fifteenth of all the moveables of both the clergy and laity.\* The city paid its full share of this heavy impost, and received, in return, a ratification of all ancient rights, with the additional privilege of using a common seal. Henry, having now assumed the government, was at no pains to conceal his resentment, and, by a simple act of authority, levied five thousand marks extraordinary upon the citizens, under the pretence that they had made a free gift of a similar sum to his rival prince Louis, and therefore could not consider it as a hardship to contribute toward the support of their rightful sovereign.

The history of the country, for many succeeding years, and consequently of the city, is an uninteresting detail of feeble efforts made on the continent, to recover lost provinces, and of court intrigues at home, to ascertain the right of dispensing the loaves and the fishes. The king was a peevish, petulant, capricious boy, prematurely thrust into the exercise of supreme power; incapable himself of ruling, and equally incapable of making a judicious selection of persons worthy to be intrusted with the government of a great kingdom. Both his domestic and foreign transactions were, accordingly, undignified and unsuccessful; and all that posterity knows of the capital, is its being unmercifully fleeced from time to time, to gratify the resentment, to supply the profusion, or to prosecute the pride and ambition of a manly stripling, degenerating, by degrees, into a childish man, and a pitiful dotard.

In 1229 the king levied an immense sum from the city, toward defraying the expense of a formidable armament preparing against France, which from mismanagement came to nothing. This assessment consisted partly of a poll-tax, partly of a discretionary impost on the several wards, collected by their respective aldermen; for some citizens are rated at ten, others at twelve, others so high as forty marks; and one, William Fitz-Adams by name, at one hundred shillings.† The amount is not specified in any record; but it must have been very considerable, and was extorted under the idea of *ransom*, or expiation of some pretended crime of their ancestors. While Henry was spending this money, like a fool, in Normandy, the honest citizens, who paid it, were undergoing various alarms at home. As Roger Niger, the bishop of London, was celebrating high mass in St. Paul's cathedral, on the day dedicated to that saint, the service was disturbed by a tremen-

\* Rymer, vol. i. p. 277.

† Mad. Hist. Exch.

dous storm of thunder and lightning: it became dark at noon day, the atmosphere was impregnated with a noxious vapour, and fear suggested that the general doom was come. The church was deserted in an instant, multitudes were trampled under foot by the pews, and the bishop, with a single deacon, was left to conclude the devotions of the day.\* The government of the city must have been still in a wretched state. Its own officers, following the manners of the court, extorted money illegally from their fellow citizens so shamelessly, that it was found necessary to repress the practice by a bye-law of the corporation, enacted this year, limiting the duration of the office of sheriff to one year, to prevent their learning, by length of possession and habit, the arts of rapacity and oppression.†

About two years afterwards (A. D. 1232) the city again suffered severely by fire; and, as if that evil had not been enough, was, that same year, constrained to make a fresh purchase of his majesty's favour, by a forced gift of the enormous sum of 20,000/. ‡ equal to 60,000/. of our money, and, in point of effect, to half a million at least; so difficult of digestion was the Westminster riot, and so slender the progress, as yet made, toward the enjoyment of constitutional liberty.

Hubert de Burgh had now possessed the king's favour, and the principal management of public affairs, from the death of the Lord Protector, a period of thirteen years. Though by no means an unexceptionable character, in either private or public life, he was a man of ability, and sincerely devoted to his master's service. Considering the levity of Henry's temper, it is matter of wonder that he should have continued his attachment so long to the same person; but it excites no surprise that the credit of this minister should at length decline. He was stripped of his office of high justiciary, though it had been granted him for life, and he was commanded to render an account of his administration. Knowing with whom he had to do, and perceiving his ruin determined on, Hubert fled for sanctuary to the priory of Merton, in Surry. The king gave orders to drag him from this refuge, and, to increase his disgrace and mortification, employed the mayor of London to execute the orders. The minister had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the citizens, ever since the affair of Fitz-Arnulph, and his associates. They assembled, therefore, to the number of twenty thousand and upward, to assist their chief magistrate in executing the royal mandate; but some of the more moderate of the barons remonstrated with Henry, on the imprudence, danger, and injustice

\* M. Paris.

† Fab. Chron. p. 7.

‡ Mad. Hist. Exch.



of committing to a licentious mob the punishment of a public offender, and the order was recalled. Some time afterwards, however, Hubert, having ventured to steal from his sanctuary to visit his wife, who was sister to the king of Scotland, was detected by some soldiers, and pursued into a church, from which they forced him, amidst a thousand indignities and insults, and lodged him in the Tower of London. The church thought proper to interpose her authority in his behalf, and reclaimed him to his refuge, to which Henry was constrained to submit, but had his prisoner so closely guarded, that the unhappy man, in danger of perishing by famine, resolved to quit his sanctuary, and meet his fate. He surrendered himself accordingly, and was remanded to the Tower. At the moment when he had given himself up for lost, and his enemies were exulting in the prospect of his impending destruction, the king's conscience smote him, and he refused his consent to sacrifice a man who had steadily adhered to his father, and to himself, in their extremity. Hubert, after various turns of fortune, even recovered the king's favour, but was too well acquainted with the fickleness of his disposition, and with the danger of a public station, to accept of any share in the administration of national affairs.\*

The following year of Henry's reign (1235) is memorable from a little city incident, which has contrived to transmit its remembrance to our times by means of an annual ceremony, performed with much solemnity by the Lord Mayor. One Walter le Bruin, a farrier, obtained a grant from the crown of a certain spot of ground in the Strand, in the parish of St. Clement's Danes, whereon to erect a forge for carrying on his business. For this the city was to pay annually an acknowledgement or quit-rent of six horse-shoes, with the nails appertaining, at the king's exchequer, Westminster. The grant, the forge, the manufacture, exist no longer, but the acknowledgement continues to be punctually tendered after the lapse of so many ages.† In the same year, Simon Fitz-Mary, one of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, was fined twenty pounds for neglecting to appear at the exchequer to render his official accompts.‡

Since the downfall of Hubert de Burgh, Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, a native of Poitou, and a man of haughty demeanor, and of an arbitrary spirit, had presided in the national councils, and, unhappily, tainted the mind of his sovereign with an ill-judged partiality in favour of foreigners, particularly those of his own

\* Chron. T. Wikes, p. 22.

† Mad. Hist. Exch.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

country. The kingdom and the city swarmed with Poitevins, allured hither by the high credit, and unlimited authority of the prime minister. Called to fill every office of power, honour, and emolument, and elated with royal favour, those foreign upstarts presumed to treat the ancient nobility with insolence and contempt. The English barons were not of a temper to bear this patiently. A number of them, with the earl of Pembroke, son of the good Protector, at their head, repaired to court, and boldly expostulated with the king on his decided preference of strangers. The bishop of Winchester dictated an ungracious reply, which so exasperated the confederated lords, that when Henry summoned a parliament to assemble at Oxford, June 24th, 1233, they as one man refused to attend. A proclamation was issued, calling them to meet at Westminster, on the 11th of July; instead of complying, they concurred in sending the king a peremptory intimation, that if he did not immediately dismiss the bishop and his countrymen, they would drive him and them out of the kingdom, and place the crown on a worthier head.\* Though Winchester had the address to ward off the blow, for the present, by disuniting the confederacy, and by prosecuting to utter ruin some whom he was unable to buy off, his own disgrace was now fast approaching. Henry, but too steady in his resentments, was cold and unsteady in his friendships. His prime minister had already lost ground in his affections, and it was easy to make him sensible which way both his honour and interest pointed. The bishop was ordered to retire to his diocese; the Poitevins were turned out of their places, which were bestowed on Englishmen; Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, by whose advice the administration had been changed, was placed at the head of it, and the public tranquillity was restored.†

Henry III. had attained his twenty-ninth year before a consort, in all respects suitable, could be found for him. He fixed at length (A. D. 1236) on Eleonora, the second daughter of Raymond, count de Provence, and this marriage speedily became a plentiful source of fresh disquietude. It was solemnized at Canterbury with extreme magnificence. The royal train was met, in its progress to the capital, by the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens, to the number of three hundred and sixty, gorgeously apparelled in garments of silk curiously embroidered, and mounted on prancing steeds superbly caparisoned, each horseman carrying in his hand a cup of gold, or of silver gilt, of exquisite workmanship, expressive of the

\* M. Paris, p. 265.

† Id. p. 271.



city's claim to the honour of filling the office of chief butler to his majesty, at royal coronations. They were preceded by the king's trumpets, and followed by an innumerable train of officers and servants in rich habits and liveries. The cavalcade passed through the principal streets of the city, which were decorated with silken streamers, flowing banners, triumphal arches, pageants, and all the proud display of emulous and ostentatious wealth. The procession attended their majesties to Westminster, and the city representatives, conformably to ancient custom, officiated as butler at the queen's coronation. In the evening the whole city was illuminated in a style of beauty and splendour unknown before; and the concourse was such that it seemed as if the whole inhabitants of the country had poured themselves into London and Westminster.\* Under all this glare and show, there was little cordiality of mutual affection. The citizens probably wished, by this appearance of zeal and loyalty, to efface from the king's mind the early impressions which it had received to their disadvantage; and Henry certainly employed it as a pretext to extort more and more money from them, according as his exigencies required.

The year after (A. D. 1237), our metropolis acquired a more solid benefit, from a purer and more perennial source. Among the other advantages of her situation, London derives unspeakable blessings from the ample and inexhaustible supplies of fresh water, which distil upon her from the clouds of heaven, which flow in her river and rivulets, and which issue from her innumerable fountains and springs. As her magnitude and population increased, it was found expedient, nevertheless, to assist the benevolence of Nature, by the ingenuity and exertions of art; and this year of our history is rendered conspicuous from the first great attempt of this kind. Before we proceed to detail it, the inhabitant of modern London, supplied with water forced out of the Thames, and from a copious stream constrained, by the hand of man, to meander through a track of thirty beautiful miles, to fill millions of craving, thirsty urns; the inhabitant of modern London will undoubtedly wish to know through what channels his ancestors were provided with this great necessary of life.

Previous to the period which we are now endeavouring to delineate, the western parts of the city, and the villages adjacent, were supplied with water from a general

\* M. Paris, p. 271.

reservoir, called the *River of Wells*; from its forming a current, maintained by the united flux of various springs, conducted thither from the vicinity, and which found a common level toward the bottom of Holborn-hill. One of the streamlets which composed the River of Wells, went by the name of *Turnmill-brook*, from the use to which it was applied, in working certain mills belonging to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which gradually incroached on the stream, and obstructed its course. It communicated its name to a street through which it passed, and which is known to this day by the name of *Turnmill*, or, by a vulgar corruption, *Tumball-street*, Cow-crofs, West Smithfield. Winding its way down the declivity of Cow-lane and Snow-hill, it discharged itself at Holborn-bridge, into *Fleet-ditch*, and thence into the Thames.

The next contributor to the River of Wells was the *Old-bourne*, burn, or brook, metamorphosed, by the lapse of time and change of circumstances, from a stream, now flowing unseen, unobserved, into a noble and spacious street called *Holborn*. This rivulet has its spring a little to the west of *Middle-row*, and formerly rolled a transparent fluid to the general receptacle; till it too was swallowed up of the Thames, through the channel of *Fleet-ditch*.

*Wallbrook* derives that name from its entering the city through the wall on the north, near what is now called *Little Moor-gate*, to the east of Bethlehem-hospital. Passing through the very heart of the city, its course was necessarily subjected to various changes and obstructions, till it found a downward channel in the direction of the street which now bears its name, and at length payed its humble tribute likewise to the mighty Thames, at Dowgate. Having been for ages past arched over and covered, the whole length of its progress, with magnificent edifices, the pride and glory of London, its present current is no longer perceptible.

*Lang*, or *Long-bourne* (burn) took its rise at the eastern extremity of Fen-church-street, most probably from the source which still supplies the noted pump at Aldgate, and ran rapidly in a westerly direction through Fen-church and part of Lombard-street, passed into *Sher-bourne-lane*, at the south-west extremity of the church of St. Mary, Woolnoth, and, having watered Stock's-market, the ground of which is now occupied by the Mansion-house, fell in different rills into Wall-brook, and tumbled, in an united stream, down Dowgate-hill, into the Thames. These two last-mentioned rivulets, in process of time, gave their names to two of the wards

of



of this great city: for Nature is the parent of etymology, as well as of more important sciences.

Besides these brooks, London, with its suburbs, was in ancient times provided with sweet water from various fountains and wells, many of which to this day furnish their limpid tribute to a transient generation. *Holy-well* was a clear, cool, and copious spring, to which a superstitious age ascribed not only a common, or even a medicinal, but, as the name imports, a miraculous virtue. The well is now totally choked up, and covered with a mountain of rubbish, which still, however, retains the ancient appellation. It is situated toward the northern extremity of London, in the vicinity of Shore-ditch. But there was another of the same name, which still exists, under the denomination of St. Clement's, and still is kept in remembrance by the street called Holywell, which runs behind St. Clement's church westward, in a parallel with the Strand. The *Clerks-well* or *Clerken-well* gives name to a considerable suburb of the metropolis, noted as the seat of several well-known edifices, sacred to religion, mercy, and justice. This spring issued from the declivity of the green, and received its distinctive appellation from being the annual resort of the parish clerks of the city, for the purpose of exhibiting dramatic representations of the historical parts of Scripture, which were once in such high repute, that the nobility, the magistrates of London, and the most reputable citizens, flocked thither as spectators. Two adjoining springs, *Bagnigge* and *Sadler's-wells*, have obtained celebrity from their being, for ages, the scene of vulgar dissipation and amusement.

On the outside of Cripple-gate, there was formerly a large pool fed from a neighbouring fountain, which gave occasion to frequent accidents, till it was at length absorbed of the common-sewer. The well is still preserved as a public benefit, and is known by the name of *Crowder's-well*, on the north-west side of St. Giles's church-yard.

The celebrated springs of *St. Agnes-le-clair*, between the ancient manor of Finsbury and the village of Hoxton, are now become private property, and collected into an excellent cold bath, which is considerably frequented, from supposed medicinal qualities: and, not to multiply particulars, a little to the westward arose a copious spring, whose overflowing formed a capacious basin, which, from the multiplicity of fatal accidents befalling thoughtless youth, in making awkward attempts to swim, obtained the name of the *perilous-pond*. It is now inclosed within

within a beautiful shrubbery, and formed into a most complete cold and pleasure bath, and, instead of a source of danger and death, is converted into a fountain of innocent amusement, of health and safety, under the appropriate denomination of *Peerless-pool*.\* Adjoining is a large piece of water well stocked with fish for the amusement of the subscribers to the bath. From this digression, if it merit that name, we return to the current of historical detail.

The city of London, under all the weight of royal displeasure and rapacity, continued to increase and multiply. The supplies of fresh water, from the sources which have been enumerated, being found insufficient for a constantly advancing population, the corporation at this period (A. D. 1237) obtained a grant from Gilbert de Sandford, the lord of the manor of *Tyburn* (*Tye-bourne* or *brook*), then a village at a considerable distance, of certain springs in that manor, in the vicinity of *Marybone* (*Mary's-bourne* or *brook*), from whence to convey water into the city, in leaden pipes of six inches diameter. As this was a work of very considerable labour and expense, the foreign merchants, who had by this time obtained a permanent residence in London, particularly those of Germany and Flanders, were called upon to contribute toward defraying it. They were assessed in the sum of one hundred pounds: and in consideration of paying forty marks annually into the city treasury, they acquired the privilege of landing, housing, and vending woad and other bulky commodities, whereas hitherto they had been permitted to expose their goods to sale only on ship-board.† The water thus introduced into the city, was distributed into various reservoirs of lead, beautifully cased with stone. The principal and most magnificent of these was erected in Westcheap, now the beautiful, spacious, opulent street called Cheapside, but then, and for many years afterward, an open field, denominated *Crown-field*, from a noted inn, distinguished by that sign, at the east end. This original and splendid conduit, however, was not completed till the year 1285, that is, it employed no less than forty-eight years: so slowly do works of public utility proceed, when the community labours under the pressure of arbitrary government. In modern London, such an undertaking would be accomplished in fewer months.

The necessities of the citizens increasing with their numbers, this parent fountain was multiplied into nineteen, of various architecture, in as many different parts of the city, which continued for ages to contribute at once to its ornament

\* Rymer, *Fœd. Con. Lit.* Stow, vol. i. p. 24.

† Anderson, *Hist. Com.* vol. i. p. 210.



and use; till the introduction of the New River, and a tribute extracted from the Thames itself, superseding their use, they were removed as nuisances. But during the period of the existence of those public conduits, it was customary for the mayor and aldermen, accompanied by the more respectable members of the corporation, to make an annual perambulation, on the 18th of September, to visit the several fountains which supplied their reservoirs, in order to prevent encroachments, and to give orders for necessary repairs. This procession, the distance being great, was performed on horseback; and, as has been the case in every age, the worthy citizens contrived to blend pleasure with business, and amused themselves with hunting the hare in the morning, and with a fox-chase after dinner, in the fields beyond St. Giles's, toward Marybone, Paddington, and Tyburn.\* But let it not be forgotten, that the hour of dining was then from nine to ten before noon.

The king's matrimonial alliance with a continental family, was soon productive of very serious jealousies and disquiets. The queen was accompanied, or followed, into England, by an endless train of relations, countrymen, and dependants; and, unhappily for himself and the nation, Henry had an extravagant predilection in favour of strangers. William de Savoy, a churchman, the queen's maternal uncle, was made prime minister, and entrusted with the chief direction of all public affairs.† Peter de Savoy got the earldom of Richmond; and Boniface de Savoy was raised to the primacy of all England; and almost every other place of profit, power, and trust, was conferred on foreigners. This could not fail to revive discontent in the neglected native nobility of the kingdom. The history of the city and country, accordingly, for several years posterior to the king's marriage, is a provoking detail of the counter-intrigues of the ancient barons to supplant foreign favourites, and of their's in attempting to maintain their ground. As often as this fickle and perfidious prince, intimidated by danger and threatening, or pressed by want of money, found it necessary to have recourse to his parliament, he was profuse of promises, and even of oaths, that he would dismiss all foreigners, and govern by the advice of his natural counsellors, and the law of the land; but no sooner was the pressure of the moment relieved, than every solemn engagement was trampled under foot.‡

By these means Henry's person and government had become universally odious and unpopular. The citizens eagerly embraced every opportunity of effacing

\* Stow, Survey.

† Mat. West. p. 338.

‡ M. Paris, p. 304.

unkind impressions from his mind, and of conciliating his good-will, by addressing their acts of loyalty to the known propensities of his nature, but all to no purpose. They had emulously exerted themselves to put respect upon their sovereign on occasion of his marriage. Similar expressions of duty and attachment were repeated on the birth of his first-born son, prince Edward, in 1239. Every street of the city resounded with the voice of festivity and joy, and blazed with splendid illuminations ; but the king, pertinacious only in folly and evil-doing, unrelentingly prosecuted a resentment which ought to have been nipped in the bud ; which was highly dishonourable to himself, and equally injurious to an unoffending community. Alternately hurried away by giddy dissipation and thoughtless profusion, and involved in extreme indigence, their necessary effect, he this year accepted a paltry bribe from one Simon Fitz-Mary, for his nomination to be sheriff of London. In consequence of this mean and inglorious transaction, Henry issued a *mandamus* to the mayor and court of Aldermen, directing them to secure the election of such a person to that office for the year ensuing. The city magistrates, justly considering this as a violent infringement of their dearly purchased rights and privileges, refused compliance with such an unreasonable and arbitrary mandate ; and a gentleman of much superior merit and ability was chosen sheriff. Fitz-Mary complained to the king, who was so exasperated by this act of disobedience, that after a severe reprimand, he, by a simple act of authority, degraded the mayor, William Joyner, and commanded the citizens to proceed to the election of another chief magistrate. They were complaisant enough to comply, and made choice of Gerard Batt, who was accepted, and conducted himself so well in his high station, that the king was, or affected to be, reconciled to the city. The truth is, he was desirous of putting the corporation into good humour, that they might be the more readily induced to swear fealty to the young prince. And they, on their part, in order to keep alive this gleam of royal favour, paid him a farther personal compliment, by giving a most magnificent reception and entertainment to Thomas, earl of Flanders, the queen's uncle, who, in the spring of 1240, condescended to visit this island.\* They had the honour, about the same time, of entertaining Baldwin, the Greek emperor, in their usual style of city hospitality.

A fresh clamour was next year (1241) excited against the Jews. They were accused of having circumcised, some say crucified, a child of Christian parents,

\* M. Paris, Stow's Survey.



in the city of Norwich. The rumour quickly reached the metropolis; and the Jews there, however clear of this enormity, if indeed it were at all committed, became the objects of popular fury. The king afforded them protection; but, ever needy, and ever on the watch for a pretence to glut his rapacity, made them pay dearly for it. They were obliged to redeem themselves by a fine of twenty thousand marks, under a threatening, in case of refusal, of perpetual imprisonment.\*

Gerard Batt, the late mayor, was re-elected for this year, and presented to the king at Woodstock for the royal approbation. This Henry thought proper to withhold, on an information lodged against Batt for having extorted money from bakers, brewers, and other dealers, in the course of his former mayoralty. The charge had the appearance of being well-founded, and he was convicted of having, by unlawful means, extorted forty pounds from the victuallers under his jurisdiction. He was ordered to refund the money, but refused, alleging it was a legal perquisite of office. The king, determined that no one but himself should presume to commit extortion, when Batt was presented to him a second time, at Westminster, for confirmation, solemnly swore that neither then, nor at any future period, should he fill the city chair, and commanded the citizens to proceed to a new election. The choice fell on Reynier de Burgay, who was accepted, sworn in, and performed the duties of the office.†

Henry had expended considerable sums, for several years past, on erecting additional fortifications in the Tower of London. Whether these were of a construction too flimsy, or were intentionally undermined; for the citizens considered them with a jealous eye, as having an aspect favourable to the extension of arbitrary power, but down they fell this year, to the great joy of all ranks of men.‡ A capricious tyrant can have no friends, and the losses of an inconsiderate prodigal awaken no sentiment of compassion, especially when they are conducive to general liberty and happiness.

This grievously tedious and unhallowed reign, irksome to the subjects of it, irksome to the historian, and irksome to his reader, presents only the sad change and succession of calamity for calamity, disgrace upon disgrace; partly the effect of natural causes, partly the miserable consequence of human madness and depravity.

\* M. Paris; Stow's Survey.

† Fab. Chron. p. 7.

‡ M. Paris.

vity. In 1242, the embankment of the Thames at Lambeth was borne down by a violent inundation of the river, which laid the Surry side, for many miles downward, under water, to the unspeakable damage of thousands. As if the visitations of heaven had been too light, an overflowing flood of human passion presently succeeded, and almost overwhelmed the nation. The king, ungracious as he had rendered himself to all orders of men, was weak enough to embroil himself in the affairs of the continent; levied an army, fleeced the country, flayed the city, crossed the channel, spent his treasure, exhausted his strength, purchased dishonour, returned to England with empty coffers and thinned ranks; and, as if he had earned unfading laurels, commanded all his military tenants to meet him at Portsmouth, and conduct him to London, with all the pageantry of a triumph.\*

Soon after this (A. D. 1243), Beatrix, countess of Provence, and mother to the queen, arrived in England, attended by her daughter Cincia, who was betrothed to Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother. The nuptials were immediately solemnized, with all the profuse extravagance of the age; for the wedding dinner, if we may believe an ancient historian, consisted of no less than thirty thousand dishes.† The expense of this costly wedding fell, in the first instance, upon the king; but the city was always at hand to recruit his impoverished exchequer. Without shame or remorse, therefore, he now exacted fifteen hundred marks of the citizens, as a fine for having given shelter to one Walter Bukerel, who had been sentenced to banishment for twenty years. It was in vain for them to urge in their own vindication, that Bukerel had long before obtained the royal pardon. He resorted to the pitiful subterfuge of alleging, that the pardon was granted during his minority, and therefore of no validity, now that he was of age.‡ So wantonly did this unprincipled thief of royalty trifle with all that is sacred in the sight of God and man.

His caresses were as mean and contemptible, as his chastisements were cruel and unjust; and every month almost of these tedious fifty-six years, has descended to posterity branded with some specific act of regal perfidy, meanness, or oppression. In 1245, being on the eve of an expedition into Wales, he was taken with a sudden fit of graciousness and condescension. As if he had felt remorse for his repeated infamous exactions, he invited the worthy citizens to meet him at St. Paul's cathedral, and in a familiar and affectionate manner took his leave of them. With

\* Chron. T. Wikes, p. 45.

† M. Paris.

‡ Idem.



this they were highly gratified ; but the cloven foot soon appeared, for hardly had he got back from his Welsh excursion, when he called upon his beloved city friends, for another thousand marks, a very moderate compensation for favours so distinguished. The very next year (A. D. 1246), that no instance of violence and rapacity might be omitted, the city charters were recalled, and declared to have fallen under forfeiture, on the pretext of a false judgment pronounced by the magistrates, in the case of Margaret Veil, a poor widow ; but in reality, that the citizens might be forced to repurchase their rights at the king's own price. To give something of a colour to this violent measure, he proceeded farther to degrade from their office the supposedly offending magistrates, and to commit the government of the city to two *custodes*, William Haverell, and Edward of Westminster, who continued to exercise all the functions of magistracy until Lady-day following.\* In this horrid usurpation they seem to have tamely acquiesced.

The regulations for preventing accidents by fire within the city had hitherto been but indifferently observed. It was found necessary, therefore, about this period, to revive and enforce the existing laws, which ordained that all houses should be covered with tiles or slate, instead of thatch, particularly in the more frequented streets. From this it appears, that the empty space within the walls was fast filling up, and that London was gradually advancing toward her present magnitude and magnificence, amidst all the speculation and oppression of insatiable despotism. Perhaps no municipal subject has, in every age, given more employment to the legislature, and with greater reason, than the security, order, and good government of the metropolis ; and after all, how much still remains to be done, in a daily increasing city, which already contains considerably more than a million of souls ; and of these, with sorrow it must be admitted, no inconsiderable proportion consisting of the most execrable part of mankind.†

We have another proof of increasing wealth, in a purchase this year made by the mayor and commonalty of London, from Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, of his fee-farm of Queenhithe, in Thames-street, with all the rights, customs, and appurtenances, thereunto belonging. For this they were to pay to the said earl, his heirs, and successors for ever, a quit-rent of fifty pounds a year ; and this agreement the king was pleased to sanction by the formality of a charter.

\* M. Paris.

† Police of the Metropolis, Pref. p. 11.

Slender security, in an age when charters were granted and revoked, merely as an engine for raising money! Whether it were that artists could no where else be found to superintend and execute the coinage, or whether the king meant to extend a mark of grace to the city, he at this time commanded the mayor and sheriffs to choose, upon the oaths of twelve reputable citizens, one of the best artists in the city, to fill the office of his majesty's *Custos Cunei*, or master of the mint, in the room of Walter le Fleming, deceased. John Hasdell was accordingly nominated, was presented by the sheriffs at the exchequer, accepted, and sworn into office.

The kingdom being still a fief of the see of Rome, from John's dastardly surrender of his crown into the hands of the pope, the rapacity of the church kept pace with that of the civil government; and, between the two, the nation was reduced to absolute beggary. Otho, the papal legate, who arrived in England, A. D. 1240, and remained in it not much above five years, is reported to have carried with him out of the realm, more money than he left behind him.\* The evil had grown to such an intolerable height, that in a parliament held at Westminster, in the year 1247, it was resolved to send letters to his holiness, in name of all the estates of the realm, humbly representing the exhausted state of the kingdom, and entreating that some bounds might be set to the exactions under which they were sinking. To give the greater sanction to this melancholy representation, the common seal of the city of London, notoriously the wealthiest incorporation in the land, was, by order of parliament, affixed to this instrument—proof at once of clerical insolence and oppression, and of the abject state to which habits of suffering and submission can reduce the human mind, nay, the public mind of a great and powerful nation. The city was visited, on the eve of St. Valentine, of the same year, with a formidable natural calamity: an earthquake shook it to the foundation, and destroyed many public and private buildings.†

There is a point of patience and subjection to which human beings may be led, nay driven, but beyond which they will neither lead nor drive. Unhappily for rulers themselves, as well as for those who are governed, they will not discern where this point is fixed, and learn to keep within it. Henry's excessive prodigality keeping him in perpetual straits, which all the violence of exaction was unable to relieve, he felt himself once more reduced to the necessity of requesting

\* M. Paris.

† Idem.



parliamentary aid (A. D. 1248), and met with the repulse which his perfidy and profusion justly merited. The barons, themselves drained of their means, and incensed beyond all patience at seeing the treasure of the nation carried off by Romish priests, or lavished on foreign minions, rejected, with indignation, the king's demand, and bluntly asked him, Whether he was not ashamed to repeat his application for money, conscious as he was of manifest and repeated breach of faith to his people? Finding no hope of supply from this quarter, and knowing no use of a parliament but as an instrument of furnishing means to his extravagance, Henry dissolved the meeting at Westminster, and had recourse to the wretched expedient, the last refuge of the lowest of mankind, that of pawning or selling superfluous trinkets; and accordingly disposed of the jewels, plate, and furniture belonging to the crown. The little cash remaining in the kingdom was mostly in the coffers of the citizens, who, of course, could be the only purchasers.\* In a paroxysm of mortification and rage, the king is said to have exclaimed: "Were the treasures of Augustus Cæsar exposed to sale, the city of London could buy them. Those fellows," continued he, "who call themselves barons, are wallowing in wealth, and in every species of luxury, while we labour under the want of common necessities." Resolved to be avenged of miscreant subjects who durst presume to be richer and happier than their sovereign, and well knowing in what point they were most vulnerable, Henry granted to the abbot of Westminster the privilege of holding an annual fair at Tothill, for the space of fifteen days together, during which all commerce within the city, whether public or private, was strictly prohibited. This tyrannical and unjust exercise of power, gave universal and deserved offence to a commercial community; but it answered his majesty's purpose; a little ready money was seasonably applied, Henry was not inexorable, Tothill-fields' fair was suppressed, and trade reverted to its natural channel.

It is some relief, in wading through such a miry and noisome period, to light here and there on a smooth stone, or verdant spot, to take breath for undergoing farther exertions. The beautiful and stately abbey-church of Westminster began, about this time, to assume the venerable and majestic appearance which it wears to this day, excepting the finely rebuilt north-front, and the still later superstructure of the two beautiful western towers, reared on the ancient foundation, which was now strengthened, and new-cased where the stone had fallen to decay.† For these

\* M. Paris, p. 501.

† Anderson, Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 215.

purposes Henry, in the thirtieth year of his reign, “ grants and dedicates to God  
 “ and St. Edward, and to the church of Westminster, for the re-edifying of that  
 “ fabric, the sum of two thousand five hundred and ninety pounds, due to him by  
 “ Licoricia, the widow of David, a Jew of Oxford.”\* It is somewhat amusing  
 to reflect, that one of our noblest, and most ancient Christian structures owes its  
 renovation and embellishment, in part, to a levy upon the Jewish nation.

That Henry might omit nothing which tended to the degradation of royal dignity,  
 he vouchsafed to pass the festival of Christmas (1249), in London, merely to  
 shew himself as a common beggar, ready to receive, if not solicit, the benevolences  
 of the public. And this ignominious mode of raising contribution not coming  
 up to his expectation, from the humble he transformed himself into the sturdy  
 beggar, and haughtily demanded a gratuity of two thousand pounds, which he  
 enforced. The king’s domestics, without ceremony, entered private houses, and  
 seized what goods they had occasion for, particularly such as were needed in the  
 royal kitchen. Seeing no end to the oppression under which they groaned, many  
 of the more respectable citizens renounced the advantages of traffic, retired from  
 the city with the wreck of their fortunes; preferring the solitude of the country,  
 and the society of savage animals, to that of regal harpies, and to the honourable  
 profits of a trade protected by no law, and secured from no degree of regal pecu-  
 lation. This, of necessity, produced a paralytic affection, which withered the  
 national energy, and blasted the harvest from which a hungry court craved a con-  
 stant supply; and the fable of the goose that laid eggs of gold was miserably  
 realized.

All affection for the king’s person was now extinguished, and all confidence in  
 the engagements he came under completely destroyed. He was universally hated,  
 execrated, avoided; and felt, too late, that he had gone a great deal too far. It is  
 the vice of weak minds to fly from extreme to extreme; Henry began to be appre-  
 hensive that perseverance in exaction would at length depopulate the city, and so  
 defeat its own purpose; he resorted therefore to flattery and caresses. He invited  
 the magistrates to meet him at Westminster (A. D. 1250), received them courte-  
 ously in the great hall, in presence of the nobility, gave them the most solemn  
 assurances that, in future, his good citizens of London should enjoy their franchises  
 without molestation on the part of government, and be liable to no assessment but

\* Madox, Hist. Exch. ch. xx. p. 549.



such as were imposed by the law of the land.\* How punctually he kept his word the sequel will shew. Most probably he deceived nobody, for no one believed him.

The trade of usury, which had formerly been exclusively in the hands of the Jews, was found so lucrative, that many of other descriptions aspired after a share of it. An association of Italians, under the designation of the pope's merchants, had established themselves in the city, and were fattening on the spoils of the necessitous. Their relation to the court of Rome secured to them the favour and protection of the church; and having artfully obtained the patronage of the higher orders, by pecuniary accommodation, they first flayed the people without mercy, and then set them at defiance. Henry, resolved that no one, himself excepted, should oppress his subjects with impunity, commanded the laws to be put in execution against those foreign usurers (A. D. 1251.) Some of them were imprisoned and severely fined; others took sanctuary till they could compromise matters with the king. This was a very easy operation for men who had full coffers. They advanced a good round sum, and were again set at large to reimburse themselves, by renewing their depredations on the public.† Through the whole of this reign, the possession of money was sufficient ground of falling under suspicion of criminality, but it was also the infallible means of redeeming from that suspicion.

Profusion, in squandering away money, continuing to keep pace with invention and address in procuring it, Henry put in practice a new device the year following, A. D. 1252. He assumed the cross, declared his intention of engaging in a croisade, and summoned the citizens by proclamation to attend him at Westminster, to express their concurrence, and contribute toward the means. This proposition was received with extreme coldness. Three only of the whole assembly stepped forth as candidates for fame in the land of Palestine. These the king embraced with ardour under the appellation of brothers and friends; the rest he loaded with every opprobrious epithet which rage and disappointment could suggest. Affecting still to be in earnest respecting his projected expedition to the Holy Land, he made it a pretence for laying all ranks of men under contribution, Jews and Christians, clergy and laity, city and country, noble and ignoble; but having fingered the money, the expedition was thought of no longer. Amidst all these dishonourable

\* M. Paris,

† Hollinshed, Chron.

arts to obtain supplies, he was kept in such constant indigence by the insatiable avarice of the foreign vultures who incessantly preyed upon him, that he was heard frequently to say, that alms given to him was a greater charity than the pittance bestowed on a wretch who went craving it from door to door. Nay, such was the abject misery of this unhappy man, that the officers of the household, with the knowledge and connivance of their sovereign, acted the part of common robbers and highwaymen, and shared the plunder with him.\*

Reduced again to extremity, and invention itself failing, the expedient of calling a parliament presented itself as a last desperate resource. It was resolved on accordingly, and assembled at Westminster, A. D. 1253. The king presented a melancholy detail of his urgent necessities, and, in order to prevent their reproaches, made a voluntary and humble acknowledgment of the errors of his preceding government, expressing much concern for the past, with many a promise and assurance of wiser conduct for the time to come; engaging, in a particular manner, to confirm the charter of their liberties, under whatever sanctions and solemnities they might please to appoint. The parliament, though they reposed no confidence in Henry's integrity, after a short deliberation, resolved to take him at his word, and, if they could not make him honest, at least render him inexcusable. They granted him a liberal supply for three years, provided he would renew and ratify the charters, under certain awful solemnities which might stamp inviolability upon them. To this he readily consented. The king and the whole parliament, accordingly, met in Westminster-hall, on the 4th of May, the prelates and inferior clergy in their proper habits, each having a burning taper in his hand. The Great Charter, and Charter of Forests, were distinctly recited in presence of this august assembly: after which a sentence of excommunication, conceived in terms the most tremendous, conveying denunciations of the divine vengeance against all who should dare to violate, or consent to the violation of the charters, in any particular, was pronounced aloud: this being finished, the prelates and clergy dashed their tapers on the ground, and extinguished them, uttering with one voice this dreadful malediction: "So may every one be extinguished, and for ever stink in the bottomless pit, who shall incur this sentence." On which the king, laying his hand upon his heart, subjoined: "So help me God, as I shall faithfully observe all these articles; as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a

\* M. Paris, p. 517.

† M. Westmonast. p. 254.



“ knight, and as I am a crowned, anointed king.”\* It is hardly possible to devise formalities of obligation more powerfully impressive; but what forms of words or actions have power to bind a man who, by long habit, has learned to suppress every feeling of honour and conscience?

Besides the great and glaring offences of kings, history is under the necessity of recording their trivial, and pitiful, deviations from the path of truth and justice; and, unfortunately for the country which he governed, and for his own memory, no prince who ever swayed the sceptre over these realms, has furnished the historian with such ample materials, of every species of misconduct, as Henry III. At the very time when he was practising deceit on his parliament, and obtaining large sums of the public money, by dint of bold and bare-faced perjury; he was employing all the petty tricks of low chicane to raise contributions on the simple and the defenceless. Because the citizens were too wise to be caught by the Crusado-bait, the farce of Tothill-fair was played over again upon them; and honest tradesmen were obliged to shut their shops in the city, and trudge to Westminster in the middle of winter, and expose themselves, and their goods, on the face of a frozen, or a stinking marsh, to all the inclemency of the elements, for a fortnight together. No object of finance was deemed too mean. He burthened the city with the maintenance of his white bear and keeper, in the Tower, at the expense of fourpence a day. Another precept was issued to the sheriffs, to provide a muzzle, an iron chain, and a cord, for the said white bear; and to build a stall, and provide all other necessaries for the king's elephant and his keeper, in the Tower of London. He contrived to extort a revenue even out of the harmless amusements of lads at school. Some of the royal domestics were directed to interrupt the diversion of a company of city youth, who were playing at quintin for a peacock, and to provoke them to use opprobrious and disrespectful language. The trick succeeded, the boys lost temper and called names, the king took it as a personal affront, and the parents were compelled to stop his mouth with a sugar-plumb, worth one thousand marks, as an inducement to forgive the naughty children.†

A dispute between earl Richard, the king's brother, and the city, about the exchange of certain lands, afforded a fresh occasion to exact money. The mayor was accused by the earl, of neglect of duty, in failing to prosecute and punish the

\* M. Westminster. p. 254.

† Id. *ibid.*

fraudulent bakers; for this offence, real or pretended, the liberties of the city were seized, and a *custos* set over it, who superseded the regular magistracy, till the incorporation accommodated matters with Richard, by a gratuity of six hundred marks, and with Henry himself, by an acknowledgement of five hundred, for a thing called a charter; in other words, for a sheet of parchment scratched all over in barbarous Latin jargon, with a bit of wax appended to it.\* By a clause in this last instrument, the citizens are directed to present their newly-elected chief magistrate for the royal approbation, to the barons of the exchequer, in case of the king's absence; whereas formerly they were obliged to repair, for this purpose, to the place where the king actually resided, in whatever part of the kingdom it might happen to be.

Unpopular as he was, Henry, on his return from an idle expedition to the continent, (A. D. 1255), was welcomed by the city, with compliments of congratulation, and a free-will offering of one hundred pounds. Instead of thanks, they received bitter reproaches for the smallness of their gift, with a broad hint that they must do something more. They were complaisant enough to take it, and put his majesty into perfect good humour, by presenting him with a piece of plate of curious workmanship, and of high value.†

An opportunity soon after occurred, and was greedily embraced, of making a much more exorbitant demand. A priest of the name of Gate had been convicted of the murder of a dignified clergyman, and a relation of the queen, and was detained in Newgate for execution. Through the connivance of the guard placed over him he effected his escape. The king in a rage commanded the mayor and sheriffs to attend him in the Tower to answer for this criminal neglect. It was easy for the mayor to exculpate himself; the superintendence of that prison being no part of his charge as chief magistrate.‡ The sheriffs alleged in their own vindication, that the bishop of London had requested their permission to secure the prisoner in that gaol; which they had granted, on condition that his lordship would himself provide a sufficient guard, who were to be responsible for their trust; that this very guard had favoured Gates escape, and that, therefore, whatever blame had been incurred was imputable, not to them, but to the bishop. Notwithstanding the strength of this defence, Henry committed the sheriffs, without form of process, for one month to the Tower, degraded them from their office,

\* Fab. Chron. p. 7.

† M. Paris.

‡ Fab. Chron. p. 7.



and imposed on the city, for this pretended offence, a heavy fine of three thousand marks. Because this cruel and unjust demand was not instantly complied with, he proceeded to the farther violence of imprisoning some of the most respectable members of the corporation, till payment should be made. But though the king might, the good citizens harboured no resentment, for the very next year (A. D. 1256), prince Edward arriving in England, with his bride Eleonora, daughter to the king of Castile, the royal couple were received in London with every demonstration of loyalty and affection, and in their usual style of splendour and magnificence.\*

Henry seems never to have forgotten, nor forgiven, the London fellows, as he called them, for being able to purchase the jewels of the crown, when his own extravagance reduced him to the necessity of selling them; for besides the arbitrary fine just now mentioned, he ordered that the city should be assessed in a tallage of three thousand marks. After some deliberation, Ralph Hardell the mayor was instructed to make a tender, in the name of the city, of two thousand marks, with a declaration that they neither could, nor would, advance one shilling more. But on searching into precedents, they were found to be decisively in the king's favour, and the tax was levied to the last farthing. The sheriffs were, at the same time, commanded by a writ of exchequer, to distrain the citizens, for payment of a tax called *queen's gold*, imposed in favour of the royal consort, in consideration of her favourable interposition in behalf of the city, which procured the restitution of their chartered rights. They returned to the exchequer with information that they had seized goods far beyond the amount, but plainly told the barons that it was impossible to raise money upon them, for that no purchasers could be found. On being ordered to produce the goods at the treasury, by a certain day, the drapers, grocers, and other tradesmen, to the number of a thousand, resisted the officers, and would not permit their property to be carried off. On this the sheriffs were committed to the Marshalsea prison, the city charter was revoked, the mayor degraded, and the king's sub-treasurer was appointed *custos*, till the usual ceremonies were gone through; that is, till a golden potion was administered to purge off the royal bile.†

The undeviating sameness of this detestable prince's conduct would superinduce languor and fatigue, were it not for the contempt and indignation which it excites.

\* M. Paris.

† Fab. Chron. p. 8.

These must still support us through the irksome detail of regal fraud and oppression. It was impossible for the city to settle a private debt, or compromise a dispute about a matter of two-pence, without the king's interference; and he took care to be always well paid for his services. He ordered the barons of the exchequer not to admit the mayor and sheriffs into office, till they had discharged a debt of five hundred pounds, due to Luke de Luca and company; and he probably received a fee from both parties. The abbot of Waltham exacted a toll of the Londoners, for goods exposed by them to sale at Waltham fair, from which the city pleaded an exemption by repeated charters. The controversy could not be adjusted without his majesty. The right of exemption was confirmed, and it is easy to judge on what species of consideration. The year closed as it commenced, with a fresh tallage; but it now amounted only to five hundred marks, instead of three thousand.\* The manner in which these levies were made was in many cases as insulting, as the thing itself was cruel, unjust, and oppressive; for it was a step toward the king's favour to treat a citizen with insolence.

One of the most grievous effects of those continued exactions, was the mutual jealousy and discontent which they excited within the city, and which the court, to answer its own purposes, endeavoured artfully to foment. A temptation was thrown in the way of a weak, or a corrupt, magistrate, to assess the inhabitants, partially and iniquitously, according to his personal friendship or resentment; and the people were tempted, on the other hand, to suspect their magistrates of partiality and prejudice, where none was practised or intended. A noted instance of this occurred in the forty-first year of Henry III. A. D. 1257. It has been variously reported by historians;† the detail is long and tedious, but we shall endeavour to compress it, from respect to the reader's time and patience. The king produced in council a roll of charges presented to him, or pretended to be so, at Windsor, adduced by the commonalty of London against the magistracy, for malversation in office; and gave orders to the chief justice Mansell to institute an inquiry, within the city, into the validity of the allegations. It was easy for an artful lawyer to spirit up the populace, always impatient of government, against their rulers. A folk-mote, another term for a disorderly rabble, calling themselves the people of London, but actually composed of the very dregs of mankind, met the

\* Madox, Hist. Exch.

† Fabian, Manwood, Forest Laws, Lib. de Leg. Antiq. &c.



chief justice at Paul's-cross, and, by hasty acclamation, voted, in a lump, the accusations preferred against their superiors. This was deemed ground sufficient for supplanting the higher magistrates, and for subjecting them to heavy fines and other penalties. The constable of the Tower was appointed *custos*; two creatures of the court, Tony and Adrian, were nominated sheriffs; the government of the city was thus vested in strangers, disposed to assist the king in fleecing it without mercy, and the people discovered, too late, the artifice which had betrayed them into a censure of their fellow citizens. After a tedious and vexatious process, of two years duration, the magistrates, though nothing was proved against them, wearied and worn out, threw themselves on the king's mercy, and on paying enormous fines, the point aimed at from the beginning, were restored to favour, and reinstated in their several offices. Henry was pleased to terminate this famous controversy in person, in a folk-mote assembled at Paul's-cross, the day before the feast of St. Leonard, 1259, when he was farther graciously pleased to acquaint the good citizens, whose cause he had so warmly espoused, of his intention to cross the seas on a visit to his foreign dominions, solemnly promising to preserve entire all their ancient franchises, together with this additional privilege: "That, in  
 " future, every citizen should be at liberty to plead his own cause, without being  
 " under the necessity of employing a lawyer, except in pleas which might concern  
 " the crown: that, the wisdom of the court being certified of the real merits of  
 " the cause, without any artful colouring, might decree equal and just judgment  
 " to the parties concerned."\*

The

\* It may be necessary, in this place, to explain some of the terms employed in the above narration; as it may serve to throw light on this particular passage, in the history of our metropolis, and, at the same time, convey an idea of the ancient constitution and usages of the body corporate. A *folk-mote* was the engine played off by the court on the present occasion. It seems to have been the supreme assembly of the city, and consisted of all who pleased to attend, in the large, open space, contiguous to St. Paul's, of which Paul's-cross was the centre. The citizens were summoned to it by the ringing of a great bell, suspended in a lofty belfry erected at the east end of the cathedral; as appears from the pleadings on a *quo warranto*, 14 Edward II. It was competent for this court to elect, and to remove, the superior officers: to impeach and punish the mayor and aldermen for misconduct in office; and to examine, judge, and finally determine, in every case relating to the liberties, privileges, and customs of the city, by a plurality of voices. Here, likewise, a vote of outlawry might pass against capital offenders, after which, according to the common law of the age, any person was warranted to kill the delinquent. The folk-mote, however, by the constant and increasing influx of foreigners, became, in process of time, so rash and tumultuous, through the unrestrained intermixture of strangers and non-freemen, in violation of the rights and usages of the corporation, that it was found expedient to permit such

The city walls and bulwarks being about this time reported to the king as in a ruinous state, an order was issued for their immediate reparation, which the citizens executed at a great expense of time and money.‡ The peace of the city was again disturbed this year by a riot, excited by the presumption and insolence of a valet belonging to William de Valence, one of the king's uterine brothers. This fellow, imagining he was performing an acceptable service to his master, and trusting to his protection, stirred up an affray in the streets, and dangerously wounded several inoffensive passengers, wantonly and maliciously. The populace rose indignant upon him, and stoned him to death. Henry was weak enough to make this the ground of a personal quarrel, and summoned Hardell, the mayor, into his presence, to answer for this atrocious insult to government. Hardell alleged, in his own defence, that the deceased had been the aggressor, as it would appear upon inquiry; and that it was impossible for any chief magistrate to restrain the impetuosity of an incensed multitude. Henry dissembled his resentment for the present, but hoarded it up in his bosom, ready to be produced on a proper occasion.§

such assemblies to fall into disuse; though the citizens continued long to contend for the necessity and authority of this court, and frequently appealed to it.\* There probably might be ground of complaint against some of the magistrates on this occasion: but it is at least equally probable, that the people, taxed so frequently, and so severely, did not fairly discriminate the objects of their resentment, and complained of their municipal officers, who were the instruments merely of raising the government supplies. The whole transaction furnishes a lesson to all corporate bodies, to prevent, by internal confidence, union, and integrity, every pretence for the interference of the higher powers, who are, in the best of times, disposed to avail themselves of civil dissension, to extend prerogative over the threshold of liberty.

It was a supposed partiality in the assessing officers, by favouring one, and over-rating another, in the matter of the king's *tallage*, which gave rise to this litigation; it may therefore be necessary to inform some of our readers, that the word *tallage* is of French extraction, and was introduced into England at the Conquest. It is derived from the verb *tailler*, to *cut out* into parts or shares, and, in financial language, denotes that portion of a man's property which is appropriated to the use, benefit, and enjoyment of another, whether that other be sovereign, superior lord, or ecclesiastical beneficiary. Hence it became a general term including all subsidies, tithes, taxes, fifteenths, twentieths, imposts, burthens whatever, levied upon one man in behalf of another. When a tallage was imposed on the city, certain persons were chosen by the people at large, assembled in the guildhall, and were publicly sworn to make a just roll. A reasonable time being allowed for this purpose, the community was re-assembled in common-hall, and the several rolls were read aloud in their hearing. If a general assent was expressed, the common seal of the city was affixed to the rolls, which thereby acquired the force of a bye-law, obligatory on the whole members of the incorporation.†

\* 19 Edward II. Mich. Term. Rot. 22.

‡ M. Paris.

† Cokes, 2 Institut. fol. 532.

§ Id.



Notwithstanding the most solemn, and frequently repeated, as well as dearly-purchased assurances, of maintaining inviolate the privileges of the city, he now commanded Sir Hugh Bigot, one of his judges, to hold a court of itinerancy in London, though a manifest violation of reiterated charters. By this court, besides other illegal and arbitrary proceedings, delinquent bakers were punished in a new and arbitrary manner. They were dragged through the streets, and publicly exposed on tumbrels, or dung-carts, a mode of punishment till then confined to female offenders of the most infamous description.\* The first gold coinage executed in England is likewise, but erroneously, ascribed to this period. Gold does not appear to have been reduced to the form of money, in any part of Europe, till the year 1320, nor in England till twenty years later.†

The year 1257 is farther transmitted to posterity as a season of extreme distress from famine, occasioned by excessive rains. Wheat rose to the enormous price of one pound four shillings per quarter, equivalent in effect to about eighteen pounds of our money. The wretched populace were seen quarrelling about dead dogs and other carrion for food, and no less than twenty thousand persons, in London alone, are said to have actually perished of hunger.‡ This grievous calamity from the hand of heaven, was bitterly aggravated by a scarcity of man's making. Richard, the king's brother, had been elevated to the empty title of king of the Romans, and, in order to maintain an idle pretension to a succession to the imperial throne, is reported to have carried out of the kingdom the almost incredible sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, equal in value to eight millions at present. This, with the exactions of the king on the one hand, and of the court of Rome on the other, almost entirely drained the country of circulating specie, and reduced all the commerce of the metropolis to barter.§

Henry's rapacity and injustice, of which the city had been throughout the principal victim, at length roused the indignation of all ranks of men. Richard had gone abroad with most of the ready money in the nation, and the pope was amusing the king, with a tender of the crown of Sicily to his second son Edmond. Grasping at this bauble, but unable to achieve it, without parliamentary aid to make good that title, he convoked his nobles at Oxford, on the 11th June, 1258, and demanded supplies toward effecting the conquest of this Mediterranean kingdom.

\* Stow, An. Engl.

† Anderson, Com. vol. i. p. 221.

‡ Chron. Eveh.

§ M. Paris.

Nothing.

Nothing could have been more imprudent and unseasonable. Instead of procuring a crown for his son, it had well nigh cost him his own. It furnished the discontented barons with a fair occasion to reproach the king with the manifold errors and abuses of his government, which they now did without reserve, and concluded with a solemn declaration of their fixed purpose, to rely no longer on promises and oaths so frequently and so shamefully violated; to drive all foreigners out of the kingdom; and to commit the administration of public affairs to persons in whom they could confide. In short, they insisted that twenty-four persons should be appointed, twelve from the king's council, and twelve of their own number and nomination, to be invested with full powers to rectify every abuse in government, and to settle such regulations as they might deem necessary for preventing the repetition of such mismanagement. As the barons had come attended by a numerous retinue well armed, and entered the hall of assembly themselves in complete armour, Henry was intimidated by their resolute air and martial appearance, and gave a reluctant consent to all that was proposed. This was in fact to consent to his own deposition, for the regency of the twenty-four immediately took place, and superseded all the functions of royalty. The king himself, prince Edward the heir apparent of the throne, and all the other estates of the kingdom, were obliged to take a solemn oath that they would submit to the reform which this great council should think proper to prescribe. The first acts of their administration were wise and good. They ordained—That three sessions of parliament should be held every year, in the months of February, June, and October;\* that four knights should be chosen in each county, to inquire into the peculiar grievances of their respective counties, and lay them before parliament; that the expenses incurred by such knights, in the discharge of this public duty, should be defrayed by the counties; that a sheriff should be annually elected for each county, by the suffrages of the freeholders of that county; that no royal ward should be committed to the custody of a foreigner; that no new forests or warrens should be created; and, that the revenues of counties should not be farmed out. Such were the first ordinances of the twenty-four barons, known by the name of the *Provisions of Oxford*. These being settled, they sent a deputation of their number to London, to invite the citizens to accede to them. It required very little persuasion to induce men who had so frequently felt the arm of power, to concur in measures so favourable to general

\* Ann. Burt. p. 415.



liberty, and to their own franchises in particular; as a proof of their sincerity, they ratified the Provisions of Oxford, by a deed under the common seal of the city, and swore to maintain the same against every attempt to infringe them, from whatever quarter.\* Pursuant to the spirit of the provisions, proclamation was made through the city, that no purveyor of the king's should, in future, seize any property in London, for his majesty's use, without consent of the owner, except two tons of wine out of every ship laden with that commodity, at forty shillings a ton. And during the existence of those regulations, the king was obliged to pay ready money for every article purchased in the city on his account.

Great frauds having been discovered in the application of the monies levied for the reparation of the walls and fortifications of the city, a work undertaken by the king's express command, a complaint was exhibited against the defaulters, who were apprehended, tried, and convicted. They found means, however, by a seasonable application of part of their ill-gotten wealth, to make the chief justice Mansell their friend, at whose intercession they obtained a pardon, and the ends of public justice were defeated.†

On Candlemas day of the year following (A. D. 1259), the citizens were honoured by a splendid visit of Henry, his brother Richard, king of the Romans, their two queens, and a brilliant retinue of English and foreign nobility. The usual city magnificence was displayed, and every mark of loyalty expressed. Common decency of behaviour in princes is all they need, to render themselves popular and even respected. No one ever deserved to be worse received in London than Henry III. in the forty-third year of his reign; but no sooner was he restrained from playing the tyrant, than the people forgot their animosity, and cordially welcomed their king. His majesty seems to have enjoyed a long paroxysm of good humour on this occasion. Among other acts of grace, he confirmed, at the intercession of the king of the Romans, all the privileges of the anciently established company of German merchants in London. About the beginning of November of the same year, being about to depart on a visit to his continental dominions, he summoned a folk-mote to attend him at Paul's-cross, in which he most solemnly promised to maintain and defend all the chartered rights of the city; and, at the same time, strictly enjoined the mayor and other magistrates to exercise their utmost vigilance and authority toward preserving the peace and good order of the metropolis, during

\* Fab. Chron.

† M. Paris,

his absence. These proofs of care and condescension were received by the assembly with the most extravagant demonstrations of satisfaction and delight.\*

Whether or not the king had a presentiment of an interruption of the public peace, certain it is, his back was no sooner turned than the city was disturbed, and the general tranquillity threatened, by a quarrel between prince Edward and the earl of Gloucester. A parliament was hastily convened at Westminster to interpose between the parties. The prince and the earl both arrived with a formidable retinue in arms, and both endeavoured to make good their quarters within the walls. The mayor, on this emergency, applied to the lords of the regency for instructions. Having called the king of the Romans to assist them by his advice and authority, they directed the chief magistrate to admit neither the prince nor earl, nor any of their retainers, into the city, and to command all the inhabitants from fifteen years old and upward to provide themselves with arms, and to hold themselves in readiness to act as occasion might require. This vigorous and seasonable measure overawed the fierceness of the contending parties, and the peace of the city was for the present secured; but as a farther preservative, the king of the Romans, assisted by Sir Hugh Bigot and Sir Philip Basset, two of the regency, introduced into the capital a considerable body of armed men, who continued there till quietness was restored by the king's return, which was undoubtedly accelerated by the turbulent state of the seat of government at home.† Henry, on his arrival from abroad, thought proper to fix his own residence within the city, and chose for his habitation the town mansion of the bishop of London, afterwards distinguished by the appellation of London-house, situated on the west side of Aldersgate-street, and now the site of the most splendid manufactory and exhibition, in the world, of cabinet work, the property of Messrs. Seddon and Sons. He, at the same time, commanded his son to reside in Westminster, and the earl of Gloucester in London; till the parliament, at length, found it necessary to make a vigorous interposition, and terminated the dispute, by dint of authority.

Years were now fast accumulating on the head of the king, without the testimony of a good conscience to alleviate the burden. He was aware that his own ill-conduct had darkened the prospect of the prince's succession; and that his harsh treatment of the city, in particular, must have thrown its weight into the scale of the oligarchy, to the detriment of his person and family. Instead, therefore, of

\* Fab. Chron.

† Idem.



the liberal policy of acknowledging error, and of retracting it, he had recourse to the flimsy security of oaths of fealty and allegiance. Having summoned a folkmote, he repaired to Paul's-cross, the Sunday before the festival of St. Valentine, A. D. 1260,\* attended by his brother, and a numerous train of nobility, and commanded the mayor to exact an oath, the day after, of all the males in the city, from twelve years old and upward, before the aldermen of the respective wards, to maintain their fidelity to himself, and to the heir apparent; and, at the same time, strictly enjoined the magistrates to keep up a force sufficient to guard the capital against any sudden emergency. The multiplication of political oaths is always a proof of a feeble cause, and of an ill conscience in him who demands such security; and they are most disposed to bind others by this species of obligation who have themselves most notoriously violated it. Henry, with whom oaths, promises, covenants, charters, were as chaff, was weak enough to require a renewal of this swearing security, from the city of London, the very next year (A. D. 1261), at the very time he was applying to the pope for a dispensation from his oath to maintain the Provisions of Oxford. Not daring to trust entirely to the favour of his holiness, he found it necessary to have the Tower put into a state of defence, and ordered the fortifications of London to be completed with all possible dispatch. The city guard was strengthened, and proclamation made, that all who thought proper to enter into the king's service should be supported at his expense.† This wore a fair appearance, and the confidence of the citizens was returning, when an act of violence committed by the constable of the Tower, and sanctioned, no doubt, by the royal authority, gave occasion to a new rupture, to the danger and distress of both court and city. That servant of the crown, whom we have just mentioned, illegally stopped several corn ships, whose cargoes were designed for public market, unloaded them at the Tower, and sold the grain at a price of his own fixing. The citizens took fire at this "insolence of office," and brought the affair to a hearing before chief justice Basset, whose wisdom, justice, and moderation, prevented farther mischief. His decision was; that, in future, every species of grain imported should be brought to open market within the city, and that there the constable of the Tower, and other royal purveyors, should be supplied with corn for his majesty's use, at two-pence in the quarter under the market price.‡ Thus, in every age, the ministers of our English monarchs have pitifully

\* M. Paris.

† Mat. Westminst.

‡ Fab. Chron.

lowered their masters to the rank of the first of paupers on the country's benevolence.\*

The close of this year was stained by an abominable riot in the city, occasioned by a petty quarrel between a Christian and a Jew, in the church of St. Mary Cole, at the corner of the Old Jewry in the Poultry. The Jew, having dangerously wounded his antagonist, was endeavouring to make his escape; but the populace rose, overtook him, and put him to death in his own house. The blood of this man served but as a stimulus to the commission of farther violences, and the whole Jewish name was prosecuted, pillaged, and murdered, without mercy. The following winter was uncommonly severe, and the Thames continued frozen over from bank to bank for many weeks together. The only fact relating to the city which has reached us for the year 1262, is the issue of a law-suit between the corporation and the abbot of Westminster, in the court of exchequer, in which it was determined, upon the verdict of a jury, consisting of twelve knights of the county of Middlesex, after a long investigation, that the sheriffs of London had a right to enter the town of Westminster up to the very gates of the abbey, and into all houses belonging to the abbot, over the whole county, and to summon, and, in default of appearing, to distrain his tenants of every description. The abbot's object probably was to extend the privilege of sanctuary to all the tenantry of the abbey, and to all whom they thought proper to harbour, as a protection against arrest both for debts and crimes: and the city certainly acted well in procuring the abridgment of this very dangerous and unjust privilege.†

Prince Edward, in many respects a wiser and a better man than his father, discovered an equal want of principle, where the property of another was concerned. The citizens had deposited ten thousand pounds in specie, in the monastery of the knights templars, as in a place of perfect safety, which it was no less than sacrilege to violate. Edward went and, without ceremony, carried off the money. This barefaced contempt of decency and common honesty put both country and

\* In a statute passed in 1795, imposing a tax upon the wearers of hair-powder, there is a clause of exemption in favour of the royal family, and every branch of the royal household, down to the footmen and tying-women. By this law, their majesties, the princes and princesses of the blood-royal, and many of the first peers of the realm, are reduced to the level of subaltern officers of such and such a pittance of pay, and poor dissenting and methodist teachers whose income is under 100*l.* year!!! When will princes learn to spurn at such a wretched compromise of their dignity?

† Fab. Chron.



city into a flame. It clouded the prospect, and suppressed the hope of better times, on the accession of a better prince to the throne; and had the twenty-four barons retained their first popularity, this act of rapaciousness might have proved fatal to the royal family. But their arbitrary and selfish conduct had already rendered them odious to the people, who had sufficient discernment to perceive that twenty-four tyrants were more intolerable than one. They were likewise disunited among themselves; which emboldened Henry, who bore with extreme impatience the annihilation of his authority, to conceive hopes, and to form a plan, for the recovery of it. But like all his other schemes, this was rash and inconsiderate. As soon as he had conceived an idea, he dashed at once into the midst of things, without any regard to circumstances. Both his son and brother were then out of the kingdom, and they alone possessed weight enough to carry him through an enterprize of so much difficulty and danger. Having formed his resolution, however, Henry came suddenly to parliament, which was held at London, April 23, 1262, and after bitterly upbraiding the regent barons with manifold breach of promise, and abuse of power, boldly declared his intention to annul the Provisions of Oxford, and to resume the reins of government.\* He retired immediately to the Tower, the governor of which he had gained over to his party, seized the treasure there deposited, and thence issued a proclamation, superseding all the great officers, judges, sheriffs, who had been nominated by the barons, and appointing others in their room.† This threw the whole kingdom into a state of dreadful commotion, some acknowledging the magistrates who acted under the royal authority, others transferring their obedience to those appointed by the regency, and not a few pouring contempt on every description of magistracy, as if all government had been dissolved.

The barons and their party, it may easily be believed, were filled with the utmost consternation at these spirited proceedings of the king. They perceived the necessity of a cordial union among themselves, and agreed to forego all personal animosity. They bound themselves afresh, by the most solemn oaths, to stand by each other, and to maintain the Constitutions of Oxford with their lives and fortunes: thus strengthened, they resolved to act with vigour, and to work on Henry's fears. For this purpose they sent him a message, containing a peremptory demand, that he would recal his late declaration, and submit to the provisions

\* Chron. Dunst. p. 348.

† T. Wikes, p. 56.

which all the estates had, under every awful formality, adopted ; and denouncing, in case of non-compliance, that they would compel him to submission by force of arms.\* When matters were in this critical state, prince Edward and the king of the Romans arrived in England, and seemed to incline the balance to the king's side. But Edward, greatly to his own honour, and to the utter disappointment and mortification of his father, declared, that though he had sworn to the Provisions of Oxford with extreme reluctance, he was nevertheless determined to abide by his engagement. On this the king of the Romans tendered his mediation between the high contending parties, which was accepted, and tranquillity was restored on the following conditions: that the king should renew his submission to the Provisions of Oxford, and that the barons should abate somewhat of the rigidity of their claims, in certain articles peculiarly offensive to the king. Mountfort, earl of Leicester, the most powerful, popular, and eloquent of the discontented nobility, refused to sign this compact, resolutely declaring that he would no longer rely on the promises, subscriptions, or oaths of a prince, who had so frequently discovered such a total disregard of every moral principle ; and sullenly withdrew from the kingdom. This patched accommodation, however, procured a transient rest to a distracted country.†

Henry imagining he had lulled suspicion to rest, and secure from the intrigues of the turbulent and haughty Leicester, artfully applied to the pride of the high-minded prince, his son, and at length overcame his scruples. To elude the ratification of the late agreement, he suddenly made an excursion across the channel to Bourdeaux, under pretence of settling some affairs in Guienne.‡ This rekindled the flame with additional fury. The barons enraged to madness at the endless prevarications of a man who dishonoured the name of king, and strengthened by the return of Leicester from the continent, with all his resentments exasperated, became more closely united among themselves, and determined to reduce Henry to submission by force of arms. On his return from Guienne, in the spring of 1263, they addressed him in a body, and demanded an immediate confirmation of the Oxford Constitutions, with a menace, in case of hesitation or refusal, of proceeding to the last extremity. The king, trusting to the support of his brother and the prince, and a few of the inferior barons whom he had cajoled over to his side, returned a provoking answer to this demand, and rashly employed the terms

\* M. Paris, p. 667.

§ T. Wikes, p. 57.

‡ M. Westminster. p. 381.



rebel and traitor, with a threatening, in his turn, to inflict the utmost severity of chastisement. This was in effect to sound the alarm to civil war. They flew to arms, and, choosing the earl of Leicester for their general, laid waste the lands belonging to the crown, and to all the royal adherents; put to death all foreigners who were so unfortunate as to fall in their way; renewed their alliance with the city; besieged and took several places of strength, before the imprudent and ill-advised Henry had made the slightest effort to oppose them.\* He was once more, therefore, obliged to yield to necessity, and to accept any conditions which the higher powers might think it proper to prescribe. They consisted of the four following articles; which, in fact, amounted to an utter annihilation of the royal authority:—1. That all the king's castles should be committed to the barons.—2. That the Provisions of Oxford should be inviolably preserved.—3. That all foreigners should be banished the kingdom.—4. That the administration of national affairs should be committed to persons nominated by the barons regent.†

It was hardly possible that such a state of things should be of long duration. It could hardly be expected that subjects, armed with supreme power, would exercise that power with unanimity and discretion. It was equally improbable that one who had acted the king, from childhood up to grey hairs, would patiently endure the deprivation of all regal influence and importance, or that a spirited prince, arrived at maturity, and the near prospect of a throne, would long acquiesce in limitations which were to entail subjection upon sovereignty; for the barons had gone so far, in their jealousy, as to insist that the restrictions on the kingly power should extend to the heir apparent, in the event of his surviving the present possessor. At the same time, the people had gained nothing by this contest, and the consequences of it; but soon found that they had made the sorry exchange of one tyrant for four and twenty. A mass composed of ingredients so discordant was easily excited into a state of fermentation, and England was unhappily doomed to be again the theatre of civil broils and bloodshed.

The historian finds a little respite, and communicates it to his reader, from the horror of scenes which exhibit “the confused noise of the warrior, and garments rolled in blood,” in contemplating the calm exertions of genius, and the salutary progress and improvement of literature and the useful arts. About this busy, bustling period lived and flourished one of the great luminaries of our country;

\* M. Westminster. p. 382

† Chron. Dunst. p. 358.

who was enriching it with scientific research and discovery, while princes and peers were rending it in pieces, by the fierce conflicts of pride, avarice, ambition, and revenge. The illustrious personage to whom we allude, is the learned and ingenious Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar of Oxford. His extraordinary skill in mathematics and experimental philosophy subjected him, in a dark and superstitious age, to the imputation of being a magician, and nearly proved fatal to him. He was summoned to Rome by the general of his order, committed to prison, and brought to trial on this ridiculous charge, which, not without considerable danger and difficulty, he had the good fortune to refute. On being honourably acquitted, he returned to the pursuit of his literary labours at Oxford, which he prosecuted with industry and success for twenty years more and upward. He died, A. D. 1284, leaving behind him a variety of learned productions, several of which are said to be still preserved in the original manuscript, in his parent university. That most useful invention, reading glasses, or spectacles, is ascribed to this truly great man.\*

The pacification, recently ratified between the king and the barons, had hardly passed through the usual formalities, when it was openly violated on all sides, and the whole year 1263 was spent in alternate hostilities and truces. The generality of the citizens of London warmly supported the party of the barons, and their weight in the scale was far from being inconsiderable. The queen's partiality to foreigners, and the undue influence which she had so frequently exercised over the king, to his own disgrace, and the country's ruin, rendered her an object of peculiar detestation, particularly to the populace of the capital. Setting out from the Tower, in her barge, on an excursion to Windsor by water, she was descried by the mob, who insulted her with every opprobrious term which the language of the vulgar furnishes, and, with danger to her life, pelted her back to the Tower, by a torrent of dirt and stones.† The inhabitants of Bristol, animated with the spirit of their fellow citizens in London, besieged prince Edward in the castle of their own city, from which he made his escape by stratagem, and threw himself into Windsor-castle; but being made a prisoner during a conference with the earl of Leicester, he was glad to purchase his liberty by the surrender of that fortress. These untoward circumstances, with others of a similar nature, obliged the king to propose terms of accommodation; and a cessation of hostilities was purchased

\* Anderson, Hist. of Com. vol. i. p. 224.

† T. Wikes, p. 57.



on conditions still more humiliating to royalty, for they included the prince as well as the king, and extended to the next as well as the present reign.\*

This last article exasperated Edward to the highest degree, and he resolved, at all hazards, to shake off the yoke. Being a man of much greater ability and address than his father, and far less obnoxious to the nation in general, for allowance was made for youthful indiscretion, and paternal influence, he made successful application to many of the barons, and brought over to the royal party all who envied the distinction of the twenty-four, or who disapproved of their violence. This having brought the scales nearer to an equipoise, both parties consented to refer the cause to the decision of Louis IX. king of France, a prince universally respected for his great wisdom and many virtues. The reference being sanctioned by the oaths and subscriptions of all the great men on both sides, Louis undertook the gracious and honourable office of umpire. That he might be enabled to execute it with the greater equity and effect, he summoned the estates of his kingdom to meet him at Amiens, the 23d January, 1264. Having examined, in presence of this august assembly, into the merits of a controversy of such magnitude, he pronounced, February 3d, this most equitable award: That the Provisions of Oxford, being entirely subversive of all regal government, and a violation of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, should be annulled, and the king re-instated in all the rights, powers, and prerogatives vested in the crown, prior to the meeting of the Oxford parliament: and that, on the other hand, a general amnesty of all past offences should be granted to all English subjects, of whatever rank, and that they should be maintained in the complete enjoyment of all liberties and privileges conveyed by antecedent charters.†

This decision, wise and equitable as it was, did not give satisfaction to the barons' regent, whom it stripped at once of all power and authority, and it was rejected with disdain by Leicester and his adherents; who, in their own vindication, alleged that one part of the award contradicted the other, for that without the Provisions of Oxford, the chartered rights and liberties of England could not be preserved. It was now evident that nothing but the sword could settle the dispute, and both parties prepared for this fearful issue, with all the rancour of personal animosity. Leicester kept possession of London, the zeal, energy, and opulence of which constituted the main strength of the anti-monarchical cause; and he

\* M. Westminst. p. 383.

† Rymer, vol. i. p. 776.

dispersed his sons and other adherents all over the kingdom to levy forces. The royal party were not less vigilant and industrious on their side, and the tide of success flowed for a while in their favour. Northampton was taken by assault, and Simon de Mountfort, one of Leicester's sons, with several barons who defended it, and all the garrison, were made prisoners. The towns of Leicester and Nottingham opened their gates to the prince; and Leicester himself was obliged to raise the siege of Rochester, on the approach of the loyal troops, and to retire with his army to defend the capital.\*

He was joined, on his arrival, by a powerful reinforcement of fifteen thousand gallant citizens, which inspired him with sufficient confidence to meet the enemy in the field; nor did his hope deceive him. The royal army lay encamped on the heights above Lewes, in Sussex, and neither party was disposed to decline the combat. Victory declared, in the beginning of the action, for royalty. Prince Edward led the van, and, animated with deep resentment against the Londoners, as the inveterate enemies of his family, made such a furious attack on the city troops, who had likewise obtained the post of honour, that they were quickly broken and put to flight. But the prince's ardour and spirit of revenge carried him too far. While he was inconsiderately pursuing his victory, the earls of Leicester and Gloucester engaged the main body of the royalists, and defeated it with great slaughter, taking prisoner the king of the Romans who commanded it. Henry himself speedily shared the same fate; the rear of his army, which he led on in person, being likewise routed, and driven into the town of Lewes. Edward, therefore, on his return from the pursuit of the London division, and flushed with the hope that equal success had attended his father and uncle, found, to his inexpressible astonishment and mortification, that the day was hopelessly lost, and the two kings, with most of the nobility who had fought on their side, in the hands of their enemies. No persuasion could prevail with the troops under his command to renew the combat. Fatigued with their own exertions, and dispirited by the fate of their companions in arms, they considered it sufficient to act on the defensive, and procure from the victors the best terms of which their situation admitted. These were hard to digest, but the strong hand of necessity enforced them. The Provisions of Oxford were restored, in all their rigour; and prince Edward, with his cousin Henry, son to the king of the Romans, were obliged to

\* T. Wikes, p. 60, 61.



surrender themselves hostages for their respective fathers, till all things should be settled to the satisfaction of Leicester and the triumphant barons. This memorable and decisive battle was fought on the 14th of May, A. D. 1264.\*

The city was sadly disgraced this year by another violation of all the laws of justice and humanity, in the case of that unhappy race the Jews. One of them happening to have a dispute with a debtor of the lower order, about the interest of a small sum lent; which was settled by law at the rate of two-pence a week for twenty shillings; and the debtor alleging that he was usuriously attempting to exact more, the populace took up the quarrel, and, collecting from every quarter of the city, sacrificed not only the miserable culprit, but fell with indiscriminating fury on all the Jewish name, and cruelly massacred upward of five hundred, plundered their houses, and demolished their synagogues. It was found necessary to send the few, whom humanity had saved, by concealing them, to the Tower, as the only place where they could be in security.† So feeble and inefficient still was the police of this growing metropolis. This year, likewise, a considerable part of Westcheap, now Cheapside, was reduced to ashes by wilful fire.

It is foreign to the history of London to detail the events which effected a revolution in favour of the depressed royal family. It is sufficient to say that Leicester's avarice and ambition soon rendered him as formidable to the other barons, and as odious to the nation, as ever Henry had been. He was generally suspected, nay openly accused, of aspiring to the throne. Compassion for degraded royalty revived. The usurper was aware of this, and foresaw the consequences of increasing jealousy and discontent. He assumed accordingly the appearance of moderation, and called a parliament, for the purpose, as he pretended, of setting prince Edward at liberty, by a decree of the great national council. To this famous parliament he summoned not only the great barons, but each county was ordered to send, as their representatives, two knights, and every city two citizens: and this is the first instance recorded of commoners being admitted to the deliberations and resolves of the public councils of the nation;‡ and such was the embryo of the British House of Commons, destined, of eternal Providence, to be, through successive ages and revolutions, the bulwark of public liberty, and the grand theatre of eloquence, politics, and legislation. This ever-memorable representative body of the kingdom assembled January 28th, A. D. 1265.

\* M. Paris, p. 671:

† Fab. Chron.

‡ Rymer, vol. p. 802.

Though by a decree of this parliament Edward was nominally restored to liberty, he continued really a prisoner at large, while Leicester exercised all the functions of sovereignty. By stratagem, however, the prince at length eluded the vigilance of his guards, and was no sooner master of his own person than he found himself at the head of a powerful army, entirely devoted to his service, and in a condition confidently to oppose any force that could be employed against him. On assuming the command, he made a solemn, and a seasonable, declaration of his resolution, should it please God to crown him with success, to persuade his father to banish all foreign favourites, to preserve sacred the liberties of all his native subjects, and henceforth to govern his kingdom conformably to the law of the land. This was received by the soldiery with unbounded acclamation, produced a reciprocal declaration of inviolable attachment to his person, and inspired every individual with an ardent zeal to promote the royal cause. Edward had the sagacity to discern the importance of turning this ardour of the army immediately to account. Hearing that Leicester's eldest son was on his march, at the head of the London troops, to form a junction with the grand army commanded by Leicester in person, he hastened by forced marches to prevent this junction, and accomplished his purpose. Young Mountfort, and the body under his command, were overtaken, surprised, and almost entirely cut in pieces, at Kennilworth, in Warwickshire, August 1st, 1265.\* Hardly taking time to breathe from this victory, the prince directed his march toward the Severn, in order to meet and attack Leicester, before he could have information of his son's defeat. The earl had already crossed the river, and advanced as far as Evesham, expecting every moment to be joined by Simon de Mountfort and the Londoners. Edward directed a detachment of his army to proceed toward the enemy by the road from Kennilworth, displaying the banners recently taken from the division which he had routed. Leicester's scouts, deceived by this appearance, brought the general word that his son, with the forces under his command, was fast approaching. The pleasure which this intelligence inspired was but of momentary duration. It was very soon discovered that those fallacious ensigns were borne by enemies; and Leicester observing their numbers, and the excellent order in which they advanced, gave up all for lost, exclaiming: "God have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are prince Edward's."† An obstinate and bloody action presently ensued, in the heat of which the king was wounded,

\* T. Wikes, p. 69.

† W. Hemming, p. 586.



and in extreme danger of being slain by a soldier of the prince's army. He saved his life by crying out : " I am Henry of Winchester, thy sovereign ; don't kill me." Being recognized, he was conducted out of the field, and conveyed to a place of safety.\* The fall of Leicester himself, and of his son Henry de Mountfort, at length terminated the conflict. The prince's victory was complete and decisive ; and the vale of Evesham amply compensated, to the royalists, the loss and disgrace sustained on the heights of Lewes. This memorable battle bears date August 4th, 1265, and its effect was the full re-establishment of the royal authority.

The time was now come to reckon with the proud, rebellious city. Ancient offences were raked out of their dust, and those of more recent date were displayed in all their atrociousness and malignity : the partiality of the citizens to Louis the French prince, at the commencement of this reign ; the indignities offered to the queen ; their pertinacious adherence to the party of the barons ; all, all now came up in judgment against them. It must be allowed that multitudes of the lower and middling ranks had committed many gross and provoking irregularities. They had wantonly demolished the stately mansion, belonging to the king of the Romans, at Isleworth ; they had proceeded thence, and destroyed a summer palace of the king's near Westminster, ; they had plundered the houses of many of the most eminent of their fellow citizens, under pretence of their favouring the royal cause. But it ought, at the same time, to be considered, that no one of those outrages was an act of the corporation ; and that the repeated illegal and shameful exactions of the court afforded something like a colour, to rude and untutored minds, to practise retaliation. No allowance of this kind, however, was made. The king had now acquired sufficiently the ascendant over his parliament, to dictate a decree, by which the city of London, for its late rebellion, was divested of its liberties ; its posts and chains were taken away ; and the principal citizens imprisoned, and thrown upon the king's mercy. What might be expected from that quarter, the reader can be at no loss to conjecture, and it need not be anticipated.

Henry, steeled by inveterate habits of resentment, and inflamed against the city by a sense of injury newly committed, being armed with a parliamentary, unlimited, and undefined power of punishing, resolved to exercise it to the uttermost,† without discriminating between the innocent and the guilty. On his arrival at Windfor with a victorious, and no longer opposed, army, he declared his intention entirely

\* W. Hemming, p. 587.

† Rymer, Fœd. t. i. p. 41.

to demolish London, and to exterminate its inhabitants. He had already taken a step toward this, by commanding the cinque-ports to employ their whole naval force in obstructing the mouth of the Thames, in order to ruin the commerce, and to cut off the maritime supplies of the city. The more respectable order of citizens perceived no refuge but in submission; while the infatuated multitude, whose licentious conduct had occasioned all the evils which now threatened them, embraced a resolution, dictated by their knowledge of the unrelenting character of the hoary tyrant, and by despair, that of bidding him defiance, and of defending the city to the last extremity.\* Had those desperate councils been adopted, London might have been reduced to one dreadful ruin. But a passion more powerful than even vengeance, exercised dominion over the dark mind of Henry. Revenge would gladly have glutted itself, by acting the exterminating fiend, had not avarice discerned the certain disappointment of all its insatiable cravings, in draining the sources which ministered to the supplies. His object, therefore, was to excite terror, merely as an engine to extort money.

After much deliberation it was resolved to employ certain respectable ecclesiastics, of known favour with the king, as mediators between them and his majesty. Their interposition was treated with the utmost contempt; and an intimation was communicated to the devoted victims of royal indignation, that they had nothing for it but to make a formal surrender of their lives and fortunes into the hands of the king. This rigorous condition, after much insolence of demand on the one hand, and meanness of compliance on the other, was at length submitted to. The chief magistrate and several of the principal citizens were detained prisoners in Windsor-castle, and treated with every mark of indignity, though they had ventured thither under the protection of a safe conduct from the king's own hand and seal; so lost to every sense of honour was this truly contemptible being, whether in the exultation of success, or the depression of misfortune. To supply the place of the deposed magistrates, Henry was pleased to nominate three guardians, under a special commission, to govern the city. Many of the most respectable inhabitants, on being informed of these harsh proceedings, retired with the wreck of their fortunes into the country, and returned no more. Many of the royal domestics were rewarded with grants of the houses, furniture, and goods of unoffending tradesmen and merchants.† The children of the better sort were sent to the Tower,

\* Annal. Civ. Lond.

† Fab. Chron.



as hostages for the ransom imposed on their parents, and it required the most powerful intercession besides, to get that ransom accepted.

Having carried individual extortion as far as it could go, a general remission was tendered, provided the citizens would come up to his majesty's price, who thought proper to value it at the moderate sum of sixty thousand marks,\* equivalent in value and effect to 750,000*l.* of our money. In the impoverished state to which all ranks were reduced, it was absolutely impossible to satisfy a demand so exorbitant, and they presumed to make a humble representation of their poverty and distress, in terms so pathetic, that, seconded by the entreaties of the queen and the pope's legate, Henry was prevailed on to accept of twenty thousand marks, as a compensation in full for all past offences. The citizens found security for payment of the money, and received in return a charter of remission under the great seal, bearing date Northampton, January 10th. 1266. Even the mitigated fine was found so oppressive, that it became necessary to assess not only householders to the payment of it, but lodgers and servants, and many chose rather to forfeit their franchises than contribute toward it. The king issued his order about the same time, that the keepers of the seven gates of the city should be paid at the rate of three-pence a day each; and the expense of this establishment, like many others of greater moment, was no doubt defrayed by the city.

But the metropolis was doomed to enjoy no repose under the reign of Henry III. and had hardly begun to recover breath from the vindictive oppression of a rapacious court, when she was involved in fresh troubles, through the dangerous resentment and discontent of an illustrious individual. The defection of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, from the Leicestrian party, had procured the deliverance of prince Edward from his captivity, and had greatly contributed to the victory at Evesham, and the consequent restoration of the regal power and authority. That powerful nobleman conceived high disgust at the severities exercised upon the disinherited barons, and the defenceless citizens, and at the little regard paid by the prince to the solemn engagements which he had come under, on assuming the command of the army. When, therefore, he was summoned to give his attendance in a parliament held at St. Edmundsbury, February 10th, 1267;† instead of complying, he retired sullenly to his own estates, and began to collect and arm his vassals and other retainers. Taking advantage of the king's absence, on an expe-

\* Annal. Lond;

† T. Wikes, p. 78.

dition against some remains of rebellion in the isle of Ely, and of the prince's, in reducing to subjection some of the discontented barons in the north, the earl of Gloucester marched suddenly with his army to London, which was still bleeding from the cruel exactions of a pitiless monarch. He was welcomed as a deliverer, and immediately published a declaration of his intention in having taken up arms, namely, to procure more gentle and equitable treatment to the disinherited and oppressed; and to compel the king and prince to fulfil their promises of maintaining inviolate the liberties of England.\*

Henry was greatly and justly alarmed at the news of this unexpected and dangerous insurrection. The prince was likewise recalled by it from the north, and having joined forces with his father by the way, advanced in one formidable body toward the capital. On the approach of the royal army, Gloucester proposed terms of accommodation, which, in consideration of the still unsettled state of the country, and through the mediation of the king of the Romans, Henry had the wisdom to grant. The earl was generous enough to insist on an indemnity not only for himself, and his immediate retainers, but likewise for the city of London, which having obtained, he laid down his arms, and returned to his allegiance. By the surrender of the isle of Ely to the king's forces, which took place July 25th, A. D. 1267, a period was happily put to the horrid civil discord which had so long distracted England, and manured her soil with the best blood of her sons.†

The London populace had, as usual, been very riotous, while the city was in the possession of the earl of Gloucester. They seized such of the aldermen as they knew to favour the king's interest, put them in prison, and divided their effects among themselves. They turned out the mayor and sheriffs, and chose others in their room. They released all who were under excommunication, or in confinement, on account of the late rebellion; and thus strengthened and stimulated, spread desolation over the capital and country adjacent. With a view to assist in repressing those disorders, the pope's legate laid the city under an interdict; forbidding bells to be rung to call the people to public worship; the service of the church was not chanted but said, and with doors shut, lest any of the excommunicated should, by partaking, profane it. The depredations nevertheless continued. The counties of Kent and Surry were ravaged and plundered; and this licentious host of desperadoes terminated their mischievous career, by defacing the almost

\* Rymer, t. i. p. 41.

† Chron. Dunst. p. 395.



finished beautiful fabric of Westminster-abbey; by demolishing the doors and windows of the royal palace, destroying the furniture, and emptying the cellars. Four of the earl of Derby's domestics being caught assisting in those riotous proceedings, were, by their master's orders, tied up in sacks, and thrown into the Thames. On the restoration of tranquillity and good order, Henry, for a wonder, acted with moderation toward the city; the stipulation in their favour was punctually observed, and, for this once, the good citizens made their peace, by the payment of a thousand marks to the king of the Romans, as a compensation for the mischief done, by the mob, to his palace at Isleworth.\*

In the year 1268, and the fifty-second of this reign, the king granted the city his eighth charter; by which all past offences are remitted, and all ancient privileges restored and confirmed, excepting the right of electing their own magistrates; all foretelling of markets is, under severe penalties, strictly prohibited; goods of all kinds are forbidden to be exposed to sale till the duties are first paid, and all weighable commodities are ordered to be brought to the tron, or king's beam, previous to their being bought or sold. The half yearly amount of the royal revenues from the city, at this period, as appears from the bailiff's accompt, given in at the exchequer, was 364*l.* 13*s.* 2½*d.*, of which 75*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* only was accounted for, as customs on foreign merchandize imported. The rest of the sum consists of tolls arising from the flesh, fish, and corn markets, and of those paid at the city gates and Smithfield-bars, and a few others.†

The following year (A. D. 1269) we find a second treaty of amity and commerce, between Henry III. of England, and Magnus king of Norway, in which it is stipulated; that the merchants of either kingdom might freely and safely resort to the other, to buy and sell their respective commodities; but that no goods should be carried away till paid for: and that, in case of shipwreck, the proprietor should be permitted to save, secure, and remove at pleasure what belonged to him, with a power of demanding assistance to this effect, of the officers and magistrates of the kingdom in which the damage was sustained. This year, likewise, the beautiful and stately abbey church of Westminster, the rebuilding of which commenced, A. D. 1245, was completed; that is, in the short space of twenty-four years, being then justly esteemed one of the noblest sacred edifices in the western parts of Europe. Others, however, allege, that the rearing and finishing of this

\* Chron. T. Wikes.

† Anderf. Com. vol. i. p. 232.

structure employed no less than sixty years.\* The close of this year and the commencement of 1270, are farther memorable from a severe frost, which began in November, and continued without intermission till Candlemas following; and by which the navigation of the Thames was so completely obstructed, that all kinds of foreign merchandize were conveyed to London from Sandwich, and the other out-ports, by land carriage.†

We have still to deplore the fierce and riotous spirit which continued to rage in the metropolis, and the feebleness of the municipal government. Of these a shameful instance stains this era of her history; and the fact is the more disgraceful, that the offenders, on the present occasion, were not, as in other cases, the dregs of the people, but of the better sort. A dispute had arisen between two of the most respectable of the city companies, the goldsmiths and the merchant taylors, which in its progress infected other corporate bodies, and animated the partisans, on both sides, to such a degree of rancour, that nothing less than blood could settle the quarrel. Like two well-appointed hostile bands, they met by concert on an appointed evening, to the number of five hundred men completely armed, and a furious combat instantly ensued, in which several of both parties were killed, and many wounded. The sheriffs, supported by a powerful body of the cooler and more impartial inhabitants, at length interposed, and with much difficulty separated the combatants. A considerable number of the more fierce and ungovernable were apprehended, and brought to trial before Lawrence de Brook, one of the king's justices; and thirteen of the ring-leaders, being found guilty, were condemned and executed.‡

In 1270 the government of the city, with the whole revenue arising from it, was conferred upon prince Edward; and so good an understanding was, after some trivial altercation, established between the citizens and their new governor, that, at his intercession, their rights, liberties, and privileges were completely restored; and particularly the power of choosing their own magistrates, of which they had been long divested. They proceeded accordingly, without delay, to the election of a mayor and sheriffs, and the prince did them the honour of himself presenting the objects of their choice to the king at Westminster, to receive his approbation. As an expression of gratitude for this grace and condescension, the city made his majesty a present of a hundred marks, and the prince one of five hundred; and they were

\* Anderf. Com. vol. i. p. 233.

† Fab. Chron.

‡ Idem.

gratified,



gratified, in return, on the 21st July following, with Henry's ninth and last charter, which finally confirmed all their ancient franchises and immunities.\*

The kingdom was hardly restored to internal quiet, and the rage of civil discord extinguished, when the foolish and pernicious spirit of croisading revived. It was too late in life with Henry himself to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land, which he greatly regretted, for, with all his other good qualities, he was a great devotee, and a zealous worshipper of rusty nails and rotten bones; but he warmly recommended such an enterprize to his son, and to the nobility of his kingdom; in consequence of which the prince, several of the great barons, many knights, and an incredible multitude of the commonalty, actually assumed the cross.† After a considerable time spent in preparation, Edward embarked at Portsmouth in May, 1270, to join the king of France at Tunis: but that excellent monarch, Louis IX., having been cut off there by the plague, the French army prudently returned home. The English prince, notwithstanding, undauntedly persisted in his purpose, and proceeded to Palestine with his own little army, where he exhibited prodigies of valour and military skill, by which he rendered himself so formidable to the Saracens, that an assassin was employed artfully to get access to his person, and dispatch him. The ruffian was killed in attempting to execute his purpose, but not before he had wounded Edward in the arm with a poisoned dagger, to the great danger of his life.‡ On this incident the poet Thomson has founded his interesting tragedy of Edward and Eleonora.

This expedition of the heir apparent of the English throne, was not only ridiculously romantic, but dangerously unseasonable. While he was hunting after fruitless laurels in a foreign land, in the midst of peril and death, his own family, and the land of his fathers, were suffering severely from his absence. His cousin, Henry d'Allemagne, son of the king of the Romans was, during this interval, barbarously murdered at Viterbo in Italy, by his two exiled kinsmen, Guy and Simon de Mountfort. The news of this event proved fatal to the unhappy father, who pined with grief, till he expired, at Berkhamstead, April 2d, 1272. The king unequal, in his prime, to the task of government, was now sinking under the pressure of age and infirmity, his person odious, and his administration contemptible. The barons oppressed the people without fear or control, the high-

\* Madox, Hist. Exch.

† Ann. Waverl. p. 224.

‡ M. Paris, p. 678.

ways were infested with robbers, and the peace of the metropolis, and of other cities and great towns constantly disturbed by riots, which issued in plundering and murder. One of those popular tumults, in the city of Norwich, wore an aspect so serious, that the king's presence was deemed necessary to the suppression of it. On his return to town he was taken ill at Bury St. Edmund's, and removed by easy journies, as his reduced state of health would permit, to Westminster, where he died, November 16th, A. D. 1272, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his reign.\*

The reader is probably fatigued with the oppressive sameness of the folly and wickedness which marked this gloomy and wearisome period, and disposed to hasten from the contemplation of scenes varied only by the sad exchange of one species of criminality and misery for another. It is indeed painful to dwell so long on a profligate character, redeemed from infamy by no one virtue, nor even relieved by the display of one splendid vice. The only thing which the most diligent research can discover, to rescue the memory of Henry III. from utter contempt, is an instance or two of satirical wit, neither so grossly vulgar as that of his father John, nor so delicately fine as that of his uncle Richard; but even these serve only to perpetuate the recollection of his bad qualities, and sink his moral, in proportion as they raise his intellectual character. We shall dismiss this dull and melancholy reign with presenting a taste of the mixture compounded of these ingredients. In the year 1253, the archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, were deputed by parliament to present to his majesty a very plain and vehement remonstrance against uncanonical, violent, and arbitrary royal nominations to vacant bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferments. Henry heard them out with great patience and gravity, and then made this sarcastic reply: "You are in the right, gentlemen; I have been much to blame for my  
 "conduct in this respect. It is very true, my good lord primate, I obtruded you  
 "into the first dignity in the church. I was under the necessity, my lord of  
 "Winchester, of employing both entreaty and threats, to get you inducted into  
 "your see, when you ought rather to have been sent to school. As for you, my  
 "lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, I acknowledge the exercise of my authority was  
 "irregular and violent in the extreme, when I raised you from the meanest condi-  
 "tion of human life, to the high situations which you at present so unworthily

\* M. Westminster. p. 401.



“ fill. It will become your lordships, therefore, to set the example of that reformation which you so warmly recommend, by resigning your present benefices ; that you may give me an opportunity of bestowing them on better men, and yourselves learn to attain preferment in a manner more regular and honourable.”\*

Among other mean and unprincely qualities, Henry’s extreme cowardice stands conspicuous. Take the following instance. In 1258, when the royal authority was under a total eclipse, and the earl of Leicester shining in the plenitude of his power and glory, the king, in going to the Tower by water, happened to be overtaken by a sudden storm of thunder and lightning. This terrified him to such a degree, that he ordered his bargemen to put him ashore at the nearest landing place. The first object which caught his eye, on reaching the land, was Leicester standing on the beach ready to receive him. His terror instantly changed its object, and his countenance betrayed evident marks of the consternation which agitated his mind. It did not escape the earl’s observation, and led him to remark that, the storm being over, there was no longer occasion for fear ; on which Henry tremblingly exclaimed : “ I am indeed beyond measure afraid of thunder and lightning ; but by God’s head,” his usual absurd oath, “ I fear thee more than all the thunder in the universe.”†

There cannot be a stronger proof that prince Edward stood high in the public estimation, than the alacrity with which men of all ranks pressed forward to acknowledge his title, and to take the oaths of fealty to him, in his absence. The unpopularity of the preceding reign likewise greatly contributed, no doubt, to his quiet and peaceable succession. He had already, during his father’s life-time, successfully acted the part of a mediator between the sovereign and the subject, and established a character for the three great kingly qualifications, wisdom, vigour, and moderation. In certain situations a change of any kind is desirable, and, as the case then stood, there could be no change but to the better. As soon as the funeral obsequies of Henry III. were performed, an assembly of the nobility was held ; and the archbishop of York, the earl of Cornwall, and the earl of Gloucester were elected regents of the kingdom till the king’s return ; and this election was confirmed in full parliament at Westminster, in January following, A. D. 1273.‡

\* M. Paris, p. 579.

† Id. p. 656.

‡ Rymer, t. i. p. 888.

Edward received the news of his father's death in the island of Sicily, on his return from the Holy Land; and, at the same time, he heard of the steps which had been taken to secure his succession, and to preserve the public tranquillity. Finding that every thing went on well in England, he was in no hurry to take possession of the crown which had devolved to him, but passed over into Italy, and spent some time at Rome, at Naples, and other parts of that interesting and classical country. From Naples, he addressed dispatches, bearing date January 19th, to the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty of London, in which he detailed various insults and injuries offered to his subjects abroad, by the subjects of the countess of Flanders, and, by way of retaliation, enjoined the magistracy of his capital to make proclamation, that no Fleming should be permitted to enter into, or to remain in, the city of London, under pain of confiscation of all his effects. He farther charged the magistrates, on their love and allegiance to him, carefully to maintain the peace of the city, during his absence, which he assured them should be as short as possible; and expressed his hope that their conduct would be such as to merit his thanks when they met. On his way home he visited the court of France, and did homage for the continental possessions which he held under the crown of that kingdom. Having suppressed an insurrection in Gascony, and settled, in person, his commercial disputes with the Flemish, he embarked for England, and landed safely at Dover, August 2, 1274.\*

The new king was received into the metropolis with the most extravagant effusions of joy, and the most ostentatious display of pomp and magnificence. The streets, through which the royal procession was to pass, were lined with the richest silks and most superb tapestry, the conduits were set a flowing with various sorts of choice wine, and the wealthier citizens amused themselves with scattering showers of gold and silver among the populace. Edward was crowned at Westminster, the 19th of the same month, amidst the joyful acclamations of every order of subjects, together with his amiable consort, Eleonora, the faithful and affectionate companion of his travels and dangers, and the brightest ornament of his splendid lot.†

These were auspicious and promising beginnings; but the unruly and suspicious disposition which had been excited and fostered in the city, for so many years toge-

\* T. Walsingham, p. 45, 46.

† T. Wikes, p. 101.



ther, was not to be allayed in a single day. The very next election of a chief magistrate, a right acquired through so many difficulties, and purchased at so dear a rate, furnished occasion to the ebullitions of this evil spirit. Philip le Taylour was regularly and constitutionally called to fill the city chair; but the populace had set up, in opposition, a furious demagogue, Walter Harvey; and the contention ran so high between the parties, that Edward was under the necessity of interposing. So moderately, however, did he exercise his authority, that he only appointed a temporary *custos* over the city, till the competitors should settle their respective claims among themselves. Numbers and vehemence, as usual, prevailed over right and reason, and a folk-mote declared Harvey to be duly elected. He soon furnished the commonalty with cause to repent and be ashamed of their choice, for the next year he was so clearly convicted of perjury, of encouraging riotous proceedings, and of other mal-practices, that he was degraded from the office of alderman, declared incapable of ever after sitting in the city council, and obliged to find the security of twelve substantial citizens, for his honest and orderly demeanour for life.\*

The want of a vigilant and nervous government had generated another fore municipal evil. The dealers in the necessaries of life, of every description, had taken encouragement, from the confidence of impunity, flagrantly to violate the laws which regulated the markets, and which ascertained the standard of weights and measures. Illegal combinations had been formed between the bakers and millers, to raise and keep up the price of bread. Poulterers and fishmongers had, in like manner, contrived to enhance the value of their several commodities, by the infamous practice of forestalling and engrossing. The king, at rest from all foreign and domestic trouble, discovered a laudable diligence and zeal to punish, if he could not prevent, such illicit practices, and many salutary laws were framed at this period in favour of the poorer part of the community. The tables transmitted to us of the prices of provisions fixed by law, the first years of Edward I., are a great curiosity, not only from the relative value which similar commodities at present possess, but likewise from the singularity of some of the articles of which they consist. Should the reader be disposed to relish amusement of this kind, he is furnished with the

\* Fab. Chron.

means at the bottom of the page.\* It ought to be remarked, nevertheless, that royal, or even parliamentary interference, in settling the rate of marketable com-

## \* POULTERER'S TABLE.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
The best hen, at - - - - -	0	3½	The best pheasant, at - - - - -	0	4
The best pullet, at - - - - -	0	1¾	The best botor, at - - - - -	0	6
The best capon, at - - - - -	0	2	The best heron, at - - - - -	0	6
The best goose from Easter to Whitsunday,			The best corlune, at - - - - -	0	3
at - - - - -	0	5	The best plover, at - - - - -	0	1
Ditto from ditto to St. Peter ad Vincula, at	0	4	The best swan, at - - - - -	3	0
Ditto in all other parts of the year, at -	0	3	The best crane, at - - - - -	3	0
The best wild goose, at - - - - -	0	4	The best peacock, at - - - - -	0	1
The best young pigeons, three for - -	0	1	The best coney, with the skin, at - -	0	4
The best mallard, at - - - - -	0	3½	One ditto without the skin, at - - -	0	3
The best cercel, at - - - - -	1	6	The best hare without the skin, at - -	0	3½
The best wild duck, at - - - - -	0	1¾	The best kid from Christmas to Lent, at	0	10
The best partridge, at - - - - -	0	3½	Ditto at other times of the year, at -	0	6
The best begaters, four for - - - - -	0	1	The best lamb from Christmas to Lent, at	0	6
The best larks, a dozen for - - - - -	0	1	Ditto at other times of the year, at -	0	4

## FISHMONGER'S TABLE.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
The best plaife, at - - - - -	0	1½	The best croplings, three at - - - -	0	1
The best soles the dozen, at - - - - -	0	3	The best fresh oysters, a gallon for -	0	2
The best fresh mulvel, at - - - - -	0	3	The best fresh salmon from Christmas to		
The best salt mulvel, at - - - - -	0	3	Easter, at - - - - -	5	0
The best haddock, at - - - - -	0	2	Ditto after ditto, at - - - - -	3	0
The best barkey, at - - - - -	0	4	A piece of rumb, gros and fat, at - -	0	4
The best mullet, at - - - - -	0	2	The best new pickled balenes the pound, at	0	2
The best conger, at - - - - -	1	0	Ditto of the preceding year the pound, at	0	1
The best turbot, at - - - - -	0	6	The best sea hog, at - - - - -	6	8
The best dorac, at - - - - -	0	5	The best eels a stike, or a quarter of an		
The best bran, sard, and betule, at - -	0	3	hundred, at - - - - -	0	2
The best mackarel in Lent, at - - - - -	0	1	The best lampreys in winter the hundred,		
Ditto out of Lent, at - - - - -	0	0½	at - - - - -	0	8
The best gurnard, at - - - - -	0	1	Ditto at other times the hundred, at - -	0	6
The best fresh merlings, four for - -	0	1	The best smelts the hundred, at - - -	0	1
The best powdered ditto, twelve for -	0	1	The best roche in summer, at - - - -	0	1
The best pickled herrings, twenty for -	0	1	Ditto at other time, - - - - -	0	0½
The best fresh ditto before Michaelmas,			The best lacy, at - - - - -	6	8
six for - - - - -	0	1	The best lampreys of Nautes at first, at	1	4
Ditto after ditto, twelve for - - - - -	0	1	Ditto a month after, at - - - - -	0	8½
The best Thames or Severn lamprey, at -	0	4	The Thames or Severn ditto towards Eaf-		
The best buge stock fish, at - - - - -	0	1	ter, at - - - - -	0	2
The best mulvil stock fish, at - - - - -	0	0¾			



modities, is a hazardous expedient. It will prevent the necessaries of life from being brought to market, and produce all the effect of a real scarcity. Government should leave trade and traders to themselves, protect property, give encouragement to honest industry, and execute the laws against forestalling and engrossing : and the price of necessaries will regulate itself according to the quantity, the demand, and the nature of the commodity. It was frequently found necessary, at this period, to abrogate laws for keeping down the price of provisions, almost as soon as made, from their operating the diametrically opposite effect to their well-meant intention.

The king having discovered such an excellent disposition to administer justice with impartiality, and to redress the grievances of the poor and oppressed, the jurors of the several city wards took encouragement to represent to his majesty, through the medium of his justices at the Tower, the unequal rate of taxation that prevailed in the city. They loudly complained, that several of their mayors and *custodes* had assumed, and exercised, a right of tallaging the inhabitants of their own authority, without the sanction of either the king's orders, or the concurrence of the community. They farther alleged, that several of the aldermen and others had purchased letters of exemption from tallage, under the late reign ; by which means the burthen of every new tax fell on the middling and lower ranks.\* What effect this representation produced we are not told ; but happy would it have been for this prince himself, happy for his capital, and happy for the kingdoms and principalities which compose this queen of islands, had the whole of Edward's reign been of the same complexion with the beginning of it, devoted to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and the extension of national prosperity. But the period was hastening on, when a premature attempt to make the kingdoms of England and Scotland one, by the violence of ambition, produced a contention to acquire supremacy on the one hand, and to maintain independence on the other, which was transmitted from generation to generation, to the weakening and impoverishing of the greater nation, and the almost total destruction of the smaller. To prosecute the detail of this, would be a departure from our proper field ; but even in a history of London, events and transactions must of necessity be glanced at, of which that city was not immediately the theatre. Indeed, whatever affects the kingdom, more nearly or more remotely must affect the capital, as the convulsion or amputation of a limb is felt at the heart. But we proceed.

\* Bag. de Quo Warranto.

In the third year of Edward, a parliament was assembled at London, in which the usurious practices of the Jews were condemned and prohibited. Such as remained within the kingdom, and persevered in carrying on this illicit trade, were required to distinguish themselves by wearing a badge, of a certain description, openly on the breast, under pain of corporal punishment. The chief magistrate of the city for this year (1275), and for six years following, Gregory de Rokeflie by name, appears to have been a person of more than ordinary consequence and ability, not only from the circumstance of his having been called so repeatedly to fill the city chair, but from being deemed, by a prince so sagacious as Edward, as fit to be entrusted with a foreign embassy, in preference to so many dignitaries, both in church and state. The king having occasion to employ his services in this capacity, addressed a writ to the magistrates and principal men of the city, directing them to present to him four of the most respectable and discreet citizens, whom he might commission, during the mayor's absence, to preserve peace and good order, and to administer justice within the city's jurisdiction.\* This year is rendered farther memorable by a dreadful earthquake felt in London and many other parts of the kingdom, by which many churches, and other public and private buildings, were partly thrown down, partly shattered. The steeple of St. Mary le Bow, Cheapside, fell, and buried several persons of both sexes in the ruins; a calamity which was in time to be repaired by the beautiful and elegant structure which now delights the eye of every beholder. The same parliament which repressed usury, as above-mentioned, merits the praises of posterity for a humane interposition in behalf of sufferers by shipwreck. It was decreed, " That in case a man, a dog, " or a cat, escape alive from the vessel, no such ship, or barge, nor any thing " therein contained, shall be adjudged a wreck; but that the goods shall be saved, " and kept by the sheriff, for the benefit of the owners; but that otherwise they " shall remain to the king."†

The Black, or Preaching-Friars, were, at this time, a flourishing and popular order. Under the patronage of Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, they obtained (A. D. 1275) an order from the crown, to take down that part of the city wall which extended from Ludgate down to the Thames, to make room for the foundation of their church and convent. Gregory de Rokeflie, mayor of London, and one of the barons of the city, farther granted them, for the same purpose, two lanes adjoin-

\* Leges Antiq. fol. 122.

† Anderson, Com. vol. i. p. 236.



ing to Castle-Baynard-street, and the ancient tower of Mountfiquit, one of the monuments of Roman greatness. Under the sanction of this grant, the founder entirely cleared away the wall, and the ruins of the old tower, the materials of which served for the ground work of the intended edifice. The king, in order to the defence of the city, and for his own accommodation, commanded the citizens to build a new wall westward from Ludgate to Fleet-ditch, and thence southward to the Thames, with a tower proper for his reception, when he should find it convenient to reside within the precincts of the city. For defraying the expense of this great work, the king granted the city a toll for three years, to be raised on sundry species of merchandize. The royal order and warrant to this purpose are presented at the bottom of the page.\*

This period produced a variety of municipal regulations, tending to the good government of the city. There is an order of common-council, the first on record (A. D. 1277), prohibiting a market to be held on London-bridge, or in any other place not specially appointed: and forbidding to all citizens the purchase of cattle, or goods of any kind, in the town of Southwark, which could be had in the city, under pain of forfeiting the commodity purchased. Millers were restricted to a certain rate, at which they were to be paid for grinding corn, namely, one half-penny for every quarter of wheat. The city was divided into twenty-four wards, each to be governed by its respective alderman and common-council men, to be elected by the freemen of the ward; and the whole to form one great city council, to which all matters of general concernment to the corporation were to be submitted. The city gates were ordered to be put into a state of thorough repair. Bishopsgate, in particular, being in a very ruinous condition, the German merchants of the

\* After the usual preamble, reciting his majesty's titles, &c. he thus proceeds: "Whereas we have granted you, for aid of the work of the walls of our city, and the closure of the same, divers customs of vendible things, coming to the said city, to be taken for a certain time; we command you, that you cause to be finished the wall of the said city, now began near the mansion of the Friar's Preachers, and a certain good and comely tower at the head of the said wall, within the water of the Thames there, wherein we may be received, and tarry with honour, to our ease and satisfaction, in our comings there, out of the pence taken and to be of the said customs, &c."

"Witnests myself, at Westminster, the 8th day of July, An. Reg. 4."

So coolly and unceremoniously did Edward, and his successors for several generations afterward, by a single dash of the pen, impose a tax, and direct the application of it; and so tamely did Englishmen still submit to the invasion of public and private property, and to capricious restraints imposed on commerce.

Steel-yard, conformably to a compact of ancient standing, between them and the corporation, and in consideration of certain privileges by them enjoyed, were called upon (A. D. 1282) to repair, uphold, and defend the said gate, at their sole expence. With this demand they refused to comply; on which the city brought the cause to a hearing before the court of exchequer, and the company was obliged to fulfil their contract. The repairs at this time cost them two hundred and ten marks; and we find them compelled, about two hundred years afterward (A. D. 1479), to rebuild it from the foundation, which they did in a very elegant style, considering the taste of the age.\*

The practice of usury, notwithstanding the severity of the laws, still continued; and the miserable Jews, the principal delinquents, about this time whetted the sword of justice against themselves by the commission of a different species of crime. They were apprehended and imprisoned, all over the kingdom, in one day, and multitudes of them convicted of clipping, diminishing, and defacing the coin of the realm: and of those who were seized and tried in the city of London alone, no less than two hundred and fourscore of both sexes are said to have suffered capitally, and all their houses, money, and goods, to an immense value, were confiscated.† The criminality must have been very extensively diffused indeed; or, what is more probable, the conviction and hanging of a Jew was then a process dispatched with very little scruple or ceremony.

Edward seems to have exercised a truly paternal concern about the safety, welfare, and prosperity of his metropolis. At the time when the city walls and gates were found in a decaying state, and vigorous measures were adopted for restoring them, the bridge likewise appeared to have been dangerously shattered and impaired by a variety of accidents. The upper works and timbers had suffered severely by fire, not long after it was finished, as was mentioned in its proper place; and by a sudden thaw, succeeding a long and severe frost, in the beginning of 1282, the accumulated ice and snow bore down five of the arches at once, and left the remainder in very crazy condition. The king being informed of this, and considering it as a national concern, issued letters patent addressed to his subjects of every description over the kingdom, warmly recommending this object to their attention, and earnestly soliciting their benevolence. This not producing the sum requisite, he granted to the mayor and corporation of London, who by charter were

\* Stow, Surv.

† M. Westminst. p. 367.

appointed



appointed guardians of the bridge, a power to exact toll and custom, for three years, to be applied solely to the reparation of that structure. In order to efface all unkind recollections on either side, Edward further addressed letters patent to the mayor, aldermen, citizens, and commonalty of London, containing a complete amnesty and indemnity, for all preceding offences and infringements of charter; and received, in return, a solid expression of the city's gratitude, loyalty, and attachment; and, the year following (1283) he granted certain additional customs toward completing the reparation and defence of the capital.

The time was now come that the beautiful, and hitherto independent, principality of Wales, was to be finally annexed to the crown of England. Lewellyn, the last of a long line of princes of that country, had under various pretences delayed the ceremony of paying homage and swearing fealty to Edward, ever since his accession to the throne. While the king was employed in regulating the internal state of his kingdom, he thought proper to connive at those affected delays; but being now firmly established, and every thing in a prosperous state, he determined to reduce the Welshman to submission. After much altercation, the English parliament, which had been expressly assembled to examine the points in dispute, declared that Lewellyn had, by his disobedience, forfeited his dominions, and voted their sovereign a large supply, to enable him to subdue his vassal by force of arms. He accordingly invaded Wales with a force so great, that Lewellyn was under the necessity of submitting. The king exercised his superiority with much moderation. But though he had overawed the Welsh, the spirit of both prince and people remained unbroken. David, brother of Lewellyn, inflamed with peculiar resentment against the English monarch, excited the prince to shake off the yoke, and to make one more noble effort to assert the independence of their country. It was easy to rouse the ardent minds of the honest mountaineers; they flew to arms, and made successful inroads into England.\*

This was precisely the thing which Edward wished, for he had long meditated the entire subjugation of the principality, and he was now furnished with a pretext, of which he did not fail to avail himself. In order to this, he summoned his barons and military tenants to meet him at Worcester about Midsummer, and having collected a powerful army from all parts of the kingdom, proceeded to the invasion of Wales. Lewellyn prudently retired into the fastnesses of Snowdon, in hope of

\* Walsing. p. 49-

wearying out his too potent adversary ; and had he continued to act upon the defensive, his own fate, and that of his country, had not been so soon, nor so easily decided. But the Welsh, having defeated a small party of English, who had rashly ventured over from the isle of Anglesey, by a bridge of boats, were so elated with this gleam of success, that they ventured to forsake the advantage of the ground, and to meet the enemy in the field. This confidence proved fatal. They received a complete overthrow on the 11th December, 1282, Lewellyn himself and 2000 of his brave followers being left dead on the field of battle.\* David made his escape, and, by frequent change of dress, eluded for a while the vigilance of his pursuers, but was at length betrayed, made a prisoner, and conducted to Shrewsbury, where he was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor ; and thus terminated on a scaffold the respectable line of ancient British princes. Edward discovered, on this occasion, a ferociousness of resentment, and an insolence of triumph, which reflect the highest dishonour upon his memory. Not satisfied with extinguishing a race whose blood had flowed without contamination from ages the most remote, he treated with a mean and unmanly insult the mangled remains of the last of the name. The quarters of David's body were sent to be exposed on the walls of the four towns of York, Bristol, Winchester, and Northampton. The heads of both the brothers were ordered to London, to adorn the battlements of the Tower. That of the unfortunate Lewellyn himself was subjected to marks of peculiar indignity. A cavalcade of citizens marched out in procession to meet the messenger who bore it, and conducted it to the city with banners displayed and trumpets sounding. It was then elevated on a lance, crowned, in derision, with a coronet of silver, and carried triumphantly through the most frequented streets, till, arriving at the pillory in Cheapside, it was exhibited for the remainder of the day on that infamous instrument of punishment. It was at length encircled with a diadem of ivy, and sent to its place of final destination on the Tower-wall.

The race of their native sovereigns being extinguished, the Welsh no longer made resistance, but tamely, though with much secret sorrow and reluctance, submitted to the yoke ; and an end was at length put to that inveterate and sanguinary discord which had raged for more than eight centuries between the English and the ancient Britons. Mortifying, however, as it was to a high-minded people, who made idols of ancestry and independence, to acknowledge a foreign master, the conquest

\* Powel, Hist. Wales.



of Wales proved a very happy event to both countries, and particularly to the principality itself. It stopped for ever the ravages of mutual desolation, and the effusion of British blood, and it paved the way for the introduction of English law, literature, manners, and arts among their ruder neighbours. Having thus acquired another splendid jewel to his crown, Edward conferred the title of it on his infant son prince Edward, henceforward distinguished by the designation of *Prince of Wales*, a title ever since appropriated to the eldest sons of our English monarchs.\*

In 1285, the great conduit in Cheapside, supplied from the springs at Tyburn, which had been near fifty years in building, was at last completed. The same year, the Jews, ever odious to the commercial and ecclesiastical part of the community, though frequently very convenient subjects of the civil power, fell under the displeasure of the church; for we find Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, addressing an injunction to the bishop of London, to suppress and destroy all Jewish synagogues within his diocese.

The progress and spirit of traffic, the importance which increasing opulence bestows, and the legal and admitted privileges claimed by corporate bodies, were gradually and insensibly encroaching on the feudal institutions, and when discerned, were regarded with a jealous eye by lofty barons, and overweening officers of the crown. The jurisdiction of the mayor, aldermen, and common-council extended to the cognizance and regulation of all disputes, and to the suppression and punishment of all irregularities committed within the city. The lord treasurer, however, willing to check the rising spirit of the corporation, thought proper to summon the city magistrates and commons to attend him in the Tower, to render an account of their conduct respecting the preservation of the peace of the metropolis. At this the citizens in office, as well as their constituents, took fire; and Gregory de

\* Edward is reported to have employed a stroke of finesse in order to induce the Welsh to acknowledge this new head of their principality. The queen was carried, in an advanced state of pregnancy, to make a progress through the finer parts of the newly-acquired country; in the course of which she was delivered of a prince in the town of Caernarvon. Though impatient under the recent change of government, the Welsh grandees attended the court through the different stages of this progress to pay homage to their majesties. The king graciously assured them that it was his intention still to rule Wales by one of their native princes, nay by one who could not speak a single word of English. As they expressed the highest satisfaction at this declaration, he commanded the new-born prince to be introduced, and presented him to the assembly, who, as one man, instantly took the oaths of fealty and allegiance to him. If this story be founded in fact, it is one of the happiest conceits that ever entered into the head of a king.

Rokeflie the mayor, the gentleman already mentioned as filling, for several years together, that honourable station, firmly refused to appear, in his public capacity, before a servant of the crown, and laid aside the ensigns of office, and committed the custody of the city seal to a friend, at Barking church, before he proceeded to the Tower, where he presented himself to the lord treasurer in the character of a private gentleman. The treasurer took fire in his turn, and committed Rokeflie and several of his principal attendants to prison. This violent act of his minister, Edward not only approved, but went the length of seizing the liberties of the city, degraded the chief magistrate, and committed the capital, for a series of years, to the irregular government of one *custos* after another.\* Such slender security had our ancestors yet acquired, for all that is valuable and dear to man, for their personal and social rights and liberties.

This sudden annihilation of the municipal government rendered the city a dreadful scene of licentiousness and disorder. The streets were infested, in broad day, by bands of robbers, whose bold depredations frequently terminated in murder. Those banditti consisted chiefly of adventurous foreigners, to whom assassination was merely sport. Excesses of every kind had been carried to such an alarming height, that the legislature, such as it then was, found it necessary to interpose, and it was ordained ;†—That no stranger should wear any offensive weapon, or be found at all in the streets, after ringing of the curfew bell in St. Martin's le Grand : that no vintner or victualler should keep his house open later than that warning bell, under a penalty of three shillings and four pence for the first offence, and this fine to increase, in case of repetition, till it amounted to twenty shillings : that whereas it was customary for many profligate and disorderly persons to learn, and practise, the art of fencing, by their skill in which they were emboldened to the commission of the most atrocious crimes, that no school of this kind should be, for the future, kept in the city, under the penalty of forty marks for every several offence ; and, the more effectually to check and prevent this growing evil, that the aldermen should make diligent search in their respective wards, for the purpose of detecting offenders of this description, and bringing them to conviction and punishment : and that no person not free of the city should be permitted to reside within the walls. It was further enacted, by the same statute, that freemen only should be

\* Fab. Chron. p. 71.

† Stat. 5, 13th Edw. I.



licensed to keep inns and taverns in the city; and that no one should be admitted to act as a broker in London, till approved, and sworn, by the mayor and aldermen.

The kingdom being now in a state of perfect tranquillity, and the peace of the metropolis apparently secured, by the precautions which have been mentioned, Edward deemed it safe to pay a visit to the continent, to which he was impelled by a variety of motives. He had been summoned by Philip the Fair, king of France, to come and do homage for the territories which he held under the crown of that kingdom; he had been constituted umpire to decide the competition for the crown of Sicily, between the contending houses of Anjou and Arragon; and he wished to settle, in person, certain claims which he had on domains in France, in right of his mother Eleanor of Provence. But the detail of these particulars pertains not to the history of England, much less to that of London. It is sufficient to say that the king acquitted himself, in all foreign transactions, with great wisdom, honour, and success; and that these employed more than three years of his time. He set sail for France on Midsummer day, A. D. 1286, and did not arrive in England till the 12th August, 1289.\*

This long absence threw the kingdom into a state of dreadful confusion and distress. It encouraged the Welsh, who were by no means reconciled to the English government, to raise an insurrection which was not easily suppressed. Enormities unheard of before were perpetrated in various parts of the country. The town of Boston in Lincolnshire, particularly, was burnt down to the ground by a band of desperate ruffians, during a great fair; and the merchants who frequented it, as well as the inhabitants, were plundered of their money and goods to an immense value, amidst the consternation excited by the fire. The very fountains of justice were polluted, and the whole land resounded with loud complaints of the general corruption and venality of the judges. Edward's return, therefore, gave inexpressible satisfaction to the virtuous part of the nation, especially to the inhabitants of the capital, who had suffered most severely from the recent depredations, and who received him with great state and magnificence. He applied himself immediately, with the most determined resolution, to repress and punish the violation of the laws, and to purify the stream of justice. In the course of inquiry he found, that the judges, from the chief justice downward, had, by the creation of unne-

\* T. Wikes, p. 118.

cessary delay, and by the open and avowed acceptance of bribes, pronounced decisions upon decisions, flagrantly partial, cruel, and unjust. It is fit that the names of those infamous offenders should be held up to the detestation of posterity; and that Englishmen of this day should be admonished of the felicity which they enjoy, in a pure and impartial administration of justice. Sir *Thomas Weyland*, chief justiciary, was first convicted, in open parliament, and condemned, as his high rank and the enormity of his crime well deserved, to the most exemplary punishment. He was completely stripped of all his goods, chattels, jewels, money, and lands, and banished the kingdom for life. Sir *Ralph Hengham*, chief justice of the higher bench, was fined 7000 marks: Sir *John Lovetot*, justice of the lower bench, 3000: Sir *William Brompton*, justice, 6000: Sir *Solomon Rochester*, chief justice of assizes, 4000: Sir *Richard Boyland*, 4000: Sir *Thomas Sudenton*, 2000: Sir *Walter de Hopton*, 2000: Sir *William Saham*, justice, 3000: *Robert Littleburie*, clerk, 1000: *R. de Leicester*, clerk, 1000: and *Adam de Stratton*, 32,000, besides other species of treasure of a value incredible, consisting of plate and jewels, and, among other curious articles, of a royal crown, supposed to be king John's. It farther appeared, that the Jews, under the protection of those corrupt judges, a protection notoriously purchased with money, had, in the language of contemporary historians,\* eaten the people to the bone. The cry against them was become so vehement and universal, that the parliament assembled at Westminster, January 14th, 1290, came to a resolution to banish the whole race of those usurious blood-suckers out of the kingdom. In consequence of this decree, all their real estates were confiscated, and themselves driven beyond seas to the number of 15,060.† Tempting offers are said to have been made to such of them as were disposed to embrace Christianity, but of these no one appears to have availed himself: so obstinate are religious prejudices, as to suppress even the love of money.

Hitherto the conduct of Edward, if not perfectly pure and upright, was manly, moderate, and politic. But scenes now opened, which unfold his predominant character, a grasping ambition, wading to its object through torrents of blood. The acquisition of the principality of Wales, instead of satisfying his eager mind, only excited a keener appetite for the extension of empire, and he was now medi-

\* T. Wikes, p. 121. Walsingham, Chron. Dunst.\*

† T. Wikes, p. 122.



tating nothing less than the undivided sovereignty of the whole island ; and, first by marriage, then by chicane, and, last of all, by the sword, he attempted to acquire supremacy over the ancient and independent kingdom of Scotland ; an attempt which kindled a flame to be deplored by the children of grand children, on both sides of the Tweed. This, however, instead of supplying materials for the history of London, abridges them ; and instead of a capital, growing orderly, and great, and opulent, under the eye of a wise and peaceful sovereign, we are tied down to the melancholy task of detailing scenes of tumult and distress, occasioned by the absence of her monarch, engaged in a violent and unjust project of increasing his dominion. It is not foreign to our subject, at the same time, to relate, that Edward's first hostile expedition toward Scotland, met with a temporary check, immediately from the hand of Heaven, which suspended the operation of the fiercer passions, and brought him back to the metropolis much sooner than he intended, and in a far different state. He had advanced as far as Grantham in Lincolnshire, attended by the faithful and affectionate companion of his former travels and dangers, his beloved queen Eleonora, who was there overtaken by a disease which speedily proved mortal. Ambition, for a season, gave place to tenderness and regret. He turned his face southward, and accompanied the remains of what was so dear in life, to Westminster, the grand quietus of the softer, the fiercer, and the more sordid affections ; and grief amused and relieved itself, by the solemnity of a magnificent funeral procession.\* This mournful event took place early in the year 1291.

But the evil propensities of our nature are, unhappily, more powerful, more energetic, and of much longer duration, than the good, and Edward soon awoke from the stillness of sorrow, to the fierceness of contention ; and the grave of Eleonora was hardly closed, when we find the royal mourner, attended by a splendid court, and a powerful army, on the banks of the Tweed, May 10th, 1291, ready to support his claim of a crown to which he had not the shadow of a title. The transactions which, meanwhile, the metropolis exhibited, fall far below the dignity of history. Such are the riotous quarrels of the mob with the sheriff's officers, in one of which, a person arrested, was forcibly rescued by the populace, and for which offence three were apprehended, convicted, and had their hands cut off at

\* M. Westminster. p. 381.

the standard in Cheapſide.\* Such is the diſpute between the city rulers and the prior of St. Bartholomew's, reſpecting the toll levied in Smithfield at the annual fair which bears the name of that Saint.† Such is, not to multiply particulars, the feud generated between layman and eccleſiaſtic, about a place in the round-houſe, ſo minutely detailed by our ancient Chroniclers,‡ and which had better have been buried in everlaſting oblivion. In a word, our city exhibited nothing worthy of memory, for a ſeries of years, excepting Edward's public entries, on his return from repeated northern excuſions, ſluſhed with the ideal conqueſt of Scotland, which neither he nor his ſucceſſors were able to effect. The city of London, the name of Edward I., and the opening of the fourteenth century, were rendered infamouſly memorable, by an event which we are under the painful neceſſity of detailing.

By the complicated arts of policy, treachery, and military ſkill, Edward had nearly accompliſhed his darling purpoſe, the reduction of Caledonia to his obedience, when the whole fabric which pride had been rearing for ſo many years, was overſet by the virtue and ability of an otherwiſe obſcure, but now an everlaſtingly renowned, individual, the illuſtrious Sir William Wallace. The king of England conſidered his ſovereignty over Scotland as ſo ſecure, that in 1297 he ventured on a foreign expedition, at the head of an army of 50,000 men.§ In this he earned no laurels, and was haſtily recalled from it, by the news of a revolution in the northern kingdom of Great Britain, which mortified him to the heart. Wallace was a young gentleman of an ancient family, but moderate fortune, in the county of Ayr. The Scottiſh hiſtorians || take delight in depicting him as the perfect model of a hero; and he undoubtedly was a perſon of very extraordinary endowments of both mind and body: tall, athletic, active; capable of enduring the extremes of cold and heat, hunger and thirſt, vigilance and labour. He was equally valiant and prudent, magnanimous and diſintereſted; in adverſity undaunted, in proſperity modeſt and humble; his ruling paſſion, an ardent, enthuſiaſtic, and inextinguishable love of his country. This ſingular man, burning with reſentment againſt the enemies of Scotland, and ſtimulated by perſonal insults, conceived the generous and patriotic deſign of delivering his native land from the yoke of a foreign deſpot. His firſt attempts proving ſucceſſful, he was ſoon joined by numbers of kindred

\* Fab. Chron.

† Lib. Alb. fol. 286.

‡ T. Walfing.

§ Knyghton, col. 2512.

|| Buchanan, Fordun, &amp;c.



spirits, who needed but a leader in order to overcome. The nobles, roused from inglorious tameness and dejection, by the example of Wallace's valour and renown, secretly favoured or openly joined him. By a train of well-conducted efforts, he gained advantage upon advantage, and, before the close of the year, obliged the English to evacuate Scotland, and found himself in a condition to pursue the retreating army into England; he retook Berwick, laid waste the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and returned home laden with spoil, and crowned with glory. After maintaining an honourable conflict, for eight years, with a superior foe, Wallace, though excluded, through the jealousy of the nobility, from directing the councils, and commanding the armies, of his country, continued to assert its independency, after almost all of his countrymen had submitted. This so exasperated Edward, that he resolved to leave no means untried which could procure him possession of his person. By treachery he at length prevailed. The champion of Scotland, unconquered in the field, was surprized in one of his lurking places, in the vicinity of Glasgow, and delivered into the hands of his bitter enemy; who exercised this advantage with a savage joy. Edward had his victim conveyed to London, and tried for high treason, though he never had sworn allegiance to the king of England, and could be deemed at worst a prisoner of war, engaged in the defence of the liberties of his country. He was, on his arrival in London, committed to the custody of one William Delect, of Fenchurch-street; from whence he was carried, on the 23d of August, 1305, by two city knights, accompanied by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, and a prodigious concourse of people, to Westminster. On entering the hall he was placed aloft on a bench, and, in derision, crowned with laurel. To be arraigned before an English tribunal was, in his case, the same thing with being convicted. He was condemned as a traitor, and suffered death in Smithfield, in every circumstance of ignominy and pain which vengeance could invent.\* Thus perished, in the flower of his age, a man whom a just and generous adversary would have delighted in exalting to honour.

Next year (A. D. 1306) the king thought proper to confer the order of knighthood on his son Edward, prince of Wales; and the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London contributed two thousand pounds toward the expense of that ceremony. About this period the use of coal became common in London. The town of

\* T. Walsing. p. 99.

Newcastle had obtained a charter, in the preceding reign, empowering them to dig and export pit coal, but that trade continued long in a state of infancy. When this species of fuel was first introduced into the metropolis, it was employed chiefly in occupations which require great fires, such as brewing, dying, and the like. These continuing to increase with the population of the city, the burning and smoke of coal became offensive to the delicate organs of the nobility and gentry residing within the walls, who presented it as a grievous nuisance, and obtained a royal proclamation prohibiting the use of it, under severe penalties. But wood growing every day scarcer and dearer, and manufactures, of various kinds, starting up and extending, prejudice soon gave way to utility, and the power of the proclamation fell asleep. The last year of this king (1307), the mayor and aldermen in their own names, and those of the community, agreed to pay his majesty two thousand marks, as an equivalent for the vingtieme, (twentieth) assessed on all goods within the city. The archbishop of St. Andrews, then a prisoner at Winchester, was allowed a shilling a day for the maintenance of himself and servants, in the proportions mentioned in the table below;\* and not long after (A. D. 1314) the queen of Robert Bruce, likewise a prisoner in England, had an allowance of twenty shillings a week for her own support, and that of her household.

	£.	s.	d.
* For the bishop's own daily expense, - -	0	0	6
One man servant to attend him, - -	0	0	3
One boy to attend him likewise, - -	0	0	1½
A chaplain to say daily mass to him, - -	0	0	1½
Total	0	1	0

Thus, for one shilling a day, equivalent to three of our money, a prelate of the first order, his chaplain, and two domestics were maintained. But then the necessities of life were at the following prices; and every other article of provision was in proportion :†

	£.	s.	d.
A quarter of wheat, - - - -	0	4	0
A quarter of ground malt, - - - -	0	3	4
A quarter of pease, - - - -	0	2	6
A quarter of oats, - - - -	0	2	0
A bull, - - - -	0	7	6
A cow, - - - -	0	6	0
A fat mutton, - - - -	0	1	0
A ewe-sheep, - - - -	0	0	8
A capon, - - - -	0	0	2
A cock or hen, - - - -	0	0	1½

† Anderl. Com. Vol. I. p. 273.



Edward had the mortification of beholding, in the decline of life, his favourite plan defeated, and of bequeathing to his son, not the vanquished kingdom of Scotland, as he fondly hoped, but a bloody and hopeless contest with a warlike nation, rallied under the banners of their native prince. He was at Carlisle, collecting the whole strength of his kingdom to crush Robert Bruce at a stroke, when he received intelligence that the Scottish prince had, at the head of a little army of ten thousand men, completely defeated, at Cumnock in Ayrshire, Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and, a few days afterward, Ralph de Monthermer, earl of Gloucester, whom he pursued, and obliged to seek shelter in the castle of Ayr. Exasperated to madness at this unwelcome news, he issued orders to all his forces to meet him at Carlisle three weeks after midsummer. But he lived not to see his force collected. The infirmities of age were growing fast upon him, and the dysentery, with which he had been long afflicted, had reduced him to such a degree, that he was confined to his chamber, and occasioned a rumour of his being dead. In order to contradict this report, and to prevent its effect, feeble as he was he set out from Carlisle, July 3d, but could proceed only about three miles; and having rested one day, reached Burgh on the Sands, two miles farther on the 5th, and there expired in his tent, on the 7th July, 1307, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign.\* When he took final leave of the prince of Wales, he gave him much good advice, which was never followed. He charged him in particular, to send his heart into the Holy Land, and to carry his body with the army into Scotland, and not to bury it till he had made the entire conquest of that country; a charge much more easily given than executed.

Edward II. mounted the throne of England possessed of every advantage which could promise a long and prosperous reign. He was in the twenty-third year of his age; he found himself at the head of a numerous, powerful, and well-appointed army, and enjoyed the near, and almost certain, prospect of the undivided empire of all the British isles. But it became presently apparent, that he was totally destitute of the talents requisite to the improvement of all those advantages. Instead of marching directly into Scotland, conformably to the spirit of his father's dying injunction, he trifled away three weeks in Carlisle, in the fripperies of receiving homage, in giving directions about the royal funeral, and in other matters of a similar importance. And when he did at last proceed, he loitered

\* Walsing. p. 93.

away more time at Dumfries, in accepting the submission of such of the Scottish barons as thought proper to obey his summons,\* while Bruce, animated to fresh exertions by the death of an enemy so formidable as Edward I., was daily acquiring additional strength. The war languished more and more. He advanced no farther than Cumnock, and after remaining there a few days, in a state of total inaction, he constituted the earl of Pembroke guardian of Scotland, disbanded a great part of his army, and returned to England in the beginning of September.†

Being already espoused, by proxy, to the princess Isabella, daughter to the king of France, Edward prepared to cross the channel to celebrate his nuptials, and accordingly sailed for Boulogne, in January 1308. In appointing a regent for the kingdom, during his short absence, this infatuated prince discovered a mixture of folly and want of principle, which disgusted all degrees of men, and gave a tinge to his government never to be effaced. Many years previous to the late king's death, one Piers de Gavaston, a gentleman of Gascony, of engaging manners, but of a profligate character, had found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of the youthful prince, and acquired a complete ascendant over his spirit. Under the influence of this unworthy favourite, he had been betrayed into many errors and excesses which dishonoured his name and rank. This could not escape the observation of the aged king, and it filled him with the deepest concern. The prince's irregularities, and Gavaston's power become so very conspicuous, that the king felt himself obliged to interpose, and banished Gavaston the kingdom, binding both his son and him, at the same time, by a most solemn oath, that he never should return without the king's leave.‡ This injunction he solemnly repeated to the prince in his expiring moments, under the pain of incurring his paternal malediction. Scarcely, however, was Edward's body cold, when his ungracious successor, regardless of his own oath, of his father's dying commands, of every maxim of prudence, decency, or interest, recalled the banished Gavaston, and, without waiting till he should repass into his own kingdom, during his short residence at Dumfries, in Scotland, granted him the whole earldom of Cornwall, and other great estates which had lately fallen to the crown. And, now that he was embarking for France to bring home his queen, this was the man of his choice to rule a great kingdom, rich in hereditary nobility, and richer still in the possession of talents and worth.

\* Chron. de Lannercost.

† Rymer, t. iii. p. 7.

‡ Id. t. ii. p. 1043.



Edward returned to England on the 7th of February, accompanied by a splendid retinue of French princes and nobility, and was, with the queen, crowned with unusual pomp, in Westminster-abbey, on the 25th of the same month.\* But though married to a young and beautiful princess, it soon became evident that she possessed a very slender share of his affection. He had a narrow soul, and the pernicious Gavaston engrossed it wholly. On this minion he lavished all the rich presents which he had received from the king of France on his marriage; allowed him to plunder the treasury of a hundred thousand pounds, besides valuable jewels belonging to the late king; and appointed him to carry the crown in the coronation procession; on which occasion he far outshone all the nobility, nay the king himself, in the splendour and richness of his dress.† The city had little to expect from a government which commenced so inauspiciously; and indeed one of the first acts of this king's administration sufficiently indicated the disposition of the court toward the capital. When Edward II. came to the throne, there was a small arrear due to the crown from the city, of 83*l.* 11*s.*, being the remainder of 2000 marks, the equivalent for the *vingtieme* to which the city was assessed in the close of the preceding reign. For the recovery of this paltry sum, a writ was issued by the court of exchequer to distrain the goods and chattels of the whole community. This was speedily followed by a second writ from the same quarter, addressed to the aldermen of the several wards, whose office it was to apportion and collect the tallage, to appear forthwith at the exchequer, and make up their accompts. Nevertheless, the good citizens overlooked these insults, and gave a magnificent entertainment to their majesties, on occasion of their marriage.‡

With all this severity in levying the last farthing of his due, Edward quickly got into debt to individuals of the city, and to certain foreign merchants, for necessaries to the royal household and wardrobe (A. D. 1311), to the amount of one thousand seven hundred pounds. This sum the corporation agreed to pay, on condition that the king should make over to them the farm and other issues of the city, arising from aids and tallages, to the amount of the debt.§

The nation, meanwhile, was thrown into a state of dreadful fermentation, from the king's total incapacity for government, his disgraceful and avowed attachment to a worthless foreigner, and the insolence and rapacity of that upstart. The

\* Walling. p. 96.

† Rymer, t. iii. p. 63.

‡ Fab. Chron.

§ Mad. Hist. Exch.

queen, unable to conceal her resentment at being treated with unkindness and neglect, for the sake of a vile male favourite, entered warmly into the views of the justly-offended ancient nobility of the kingdom, and interested her father, the king of France, in the feelings with which her mind was agitated. Edward at length took the alarm, and perceiving a storm gathering, issued his orders to the mayor, to look to the peace of the city, and to take care that no person under arms, or on horseback, should enter it, without his special permission. At the same time, as if it had been a season of profound tranquillity, he entered into a series of pitiful litigation with the municipal officers; respecting the right claimed and exercised by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, to certain farms and other dues purchased from the crown; respecting the king's right to tax his several demesnes, including the city of London, to which the corporation objected, under the sanction of ancient usage, and frequently repeated clauses of exemption in all their charters, and for which a valuable consideration had been paid. In such petty disputes did this weak prince think proper to engage, at a period when the whole nation was in a commotion which threatened to overturn the throne. It is difficult to say, whether Edward's frenzy, in favour of Gavaston, be more an object of derision or of indignation. In the intrigues which led to this man's downfall and destruction, the city had no share, and therefore they belong not to our subject. He was taken prisoner by the incensed barons in Scarborough-castle, dragged thence to Deddington in Oxfordshire, and, a few days afterward, to Warwick, whither the heads of the confederacy repaired, and, after a very short deliberation, agreed to dispatch their victim, as a traitor and public enemy. This resolution was executed on Blacklow-hill, near Warwick, the 1st July, 1312, and the wretched Gavaston's head was severed from his body, amidst all those expressions of savage pleasure which party rage is apt to inspire.\*

Natural evils are, in many cases, the effect of political. The distracted state of the country was highly unfavourable to the pursuits of both agriculture and commerce. In 1314, provisions of every kind had risen to such an enormous price in London, that the parliament, then sitting in that city, again unwisely interposed to regulate the rate of the markets; and found themselves obliged, the very next year, to annul their own decree, and permit necessary commodities to find their level. The distress continued through the year 1316, when the

\* Dugdal. Bar.



famine was so excessive that wheat sold for ten shillings a bushel, and the poor are said to have been reduced to the most shocking extremities. The following crop, however, proved so abundant, that corn fell to the twelfth part of that price. This great and sudden variety in the value of grain demonstrates the still imperfect state of the mother of arts. A disparity so striking, between a year of plenty and one of scarcity, proves that wheat was, at that time, not a necessary of life, but a luxury which the poor man could not reach. When the king himself lay upon straw, it is not probable that the peasant could afford to thresh the grain from it, for his own use and that of his family.

These miseries of famine, so severely felt at the heart of the kingdom, had their source in the misery of war, now raging in the north, in making a late and fruitless attempt to recover the superiority of the kingdom of Scotland. Robert Bruce was now generally acknowledged as king of Scots, by his own subjects, and by foreign nations; and had wisely availed himself of the dissensions which raged in England, to reduce his native kingdom to obedience. This he actually effected, with exception of the three fortresses of Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick, which were still in the hands of the English.\* Edward, now reconciled to his barons, resolved to regain an advantage which, pursued seven years before, could have hardly failed to prove decisive. For this purpose, he put in motion the whole force of his united dominions, England, Ireland, Wales, Gascony; besides a great number of foreign mercenaries, in hope of settling the contest at a blow.† On Midsummer-day, 1314, this formidable armament came up with the Scottish army, encamped on the north banks of the small river Bannock, in the vicinity of Stirling. The short night, at that season, and in that high latitude, was an interval of awful suspense. The fate of an ancient and independent monarchy was to be determined next day; and the parties who were to bring forward the decision, well knew the spirit by which they were mutually animated. The conflict was long and fierce; but terminated in the total defeat of Edward's army.‡ He himself discovered no defect of personal courage, and was with much difficulty persuaded to quit the field. He escaped to Berwick, and after breathing there awhile, returned to a country reduced, chiefly through his misconduct, to extreme distress, dispirited by defeat, distracted by faction, depopulated by famine, and exposed to

\* Mon. Malmf. p. 144.

† Rymer, t. iii. p. 432.

‡ Walling. p. 105.

the incursions of fierce northern neighbours elated by victory.\* So severely may a great nation be afflicted by the vice and folly of an individual.

Edward was capable of nothing truly great, and his transactions with the city were particularly mean and trivial. Henry III. had raised a bank of mud around the Tower, but within the city precinct. This being considered as both a nuisance and an encroachment, the corporation (A. D. 1317) ordered it to be levelled. For this presumption they were adjudged to pay a fine of a thousand marks. Unhappily for the body of the inhabitants, the magistrates had learnt successfully to pay their court to the civil power, and to employ their influence to the oppression of their fellow citizens. The mayor and other officers were re-elected year after year, as long as their conduct in office was agreeable to the court; the people were taxed at discretion, and the magistrates spared themselves and friends in regulating the assessments. The freemen endeavoured to obtain redress by appealing to the judges itinerant at the Tower, but failing there, framed for themselves a set of regulations for the better government of the city, which received the royal sanction (A. D. 1218), and to which the magistrates were obliged to conform. Among other particulars it is there settled, “ That the mayor and aldermen shall continue  
 “ in office only one year, without the capability of being re-elected; and that the  
 “ mayor shall possess no office within the city, but that of mayoralty only: and  
 “ that all tallages and aids henceforth to be assessed for the king’s business, or for  
 “ the state and benefit of the city, after they shall be assessed by the men of the  
 “ wards elected and deputed for this effect, be not increased or heightened but by  
 “ the common consent of the mayor and commonalty. And that the money  
 “ coming from these tallages and aids be delivered into the custody of four honest  
 “ men, commoners of the city, to be chosen by the commonalty, to be further  
 “ delivered by the testimony of the said four men; so that they may inform the  
 “ commonalty to what profit, and for what uses, those moneys go.”—Thus necessary has it been, at all times, for the governed to take care that their rulers do justice.

The constitution of parliament was gradually and imperceptibly undergoing a change. The haughty and usurping Leicester had first (A. D. 1265) summoned knights of the shires, citizens, and burghesses, to assist in the national councils, but there was as yet only one deliberative and legislative assembly; and attendance

\* Rymer, t. fii. p. 493.



in parliament was still, and long after, considered by commoners rather as a burden than a privilege. And so indistinctly were lines still drawn, and privileges defined, that this same year (1318), when the king addressed his writ from Nottingham, to the *sheriffs* of London only, commanding them to choose *two* of their fellow-citizens, to represent the city in the parliament about to assemble at York; the return is made in the name of the *mayor* of London, the *aldermen*, *sheriffs*, and *whole community* of the said city, and contains the names of *three* representatives; and yet, in the body of the return, they say to the king: “according to the form “of your writ lately to us directed.” There was an obvious reason for issuing writs to the several cities and towns of England on this occasion. The Scots were making dreadful retaliation on the northern provinces, and had pursued their depredations as far as to Lancaster and York; and all corporate bodies, according to their number and ability, were called upon to raise and maintain a certain number of soldiers toward repelling those invasions. The rate at which London was assessed amounted to two hundred men, that is, five times the number furnished by any other city or town in the kingdom. This enables us to form an estimate of the relative magnitude, wealth, and population of the metropolis, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. But does it not exhibit a deplorable proof, that in every state of society, and in every country, the substance, strength, and comfort of nations have been vilely sacrificed to the madness of ambition, the interest of wicked individuals, and plans of momentary present advantage, which have proved ruinous to future ages and generations?

During the remainder of this unhallowed reign, the nation in general, and London in particular, presented one vast scene of discord and distress. The conduct of the magistracy was, in many cases, partial, arbitrary, and oppressive; the middling rank of citizens were jealous and discontented; and the populace disorderly, violent, and mutinous in the extreme. Informations and complaints were daily lodged with the lord treasurer and barons of the exchequer, of robberies, murders, and other outrages committed in the city. Foreigners were exposed to peculiar insults. The pope's nuncio represented that an armed band, of the baser sort, to the number of five hundred, had repaired to St. Paul's, during the evening service on Midsummer-day, and grossly abused a party of Lombards, whom curiosity or devotion had carried thither. The mayor and aldermen were summoned before the lords of the council, and charged with neglect of duty.

After

After a severe reprimand, they were strictly enjoined to inquire into the nature of that riot, and to bring the offenders to condign punishment, under pain of being turned out of office, of having a *custos* appointed to supersede them, and of a forfeiture of the city's liberties. The freemen continued to complain, and with reason, of the corruption and injustice of their municipal rulers, in face of the regulations so recently established for the fair and equitable administration of city affairs. But the sword of justice was in the hand of a feeble, irresolute, embarrassed prince, himself loudly and justly complained of, for mal-administration, and threatened by a confederacy of irritated nobles, which was undermining his throne.

Edward, incapable of conducting himself with common prudence, in the management of public affairs, and equally incapable of making a wise selection of persons to whom he might delegate his authority; not to be influenced by wisdom, not to be directed by interest, not to be taught by experience, had given the place in his affections which the infamous Gavaston once occupied, to Hugh Spenser, chamberlain of the household, a young man of ancient family, of an ample fortune, and an amiable person; but in morals extremely debauched, insufferably insolent, and insatiably covetous. On this new favourite, and his father, of the same name, the king lavished, with inconsiderate profusion, all the wealth, honour, and power, which the crown had to bestow. Ancient discontents revived, and the proud barons, foregoing their private animosities, associated to bring down the object of their common hatred and resentment, and, to the number of fifty, framed and subscribed an instrument, by which they bound themselves to prosecute the Spensers, till they got possession of their persons, or forced them to quit the kingdom. The confederated lords accordingly levied a powerful army, and advanced toward the capital, destroying, in their progress, the houses and castles of the elder Spenser, and pillaging his estates. Being arrived at St. Alban's, they dispatched a message to the king, demanding the immediate dismissal and banishment of the Spensers; and, not receiving a satisfactory answer, they advanced to London, in martial array, and were received with the utmost alacrity, as the citizens warmly espoused their cause.\*

They found the king at Westminster, actually holding a parliament, which he had summoned to meet there, July 13th, 1321, in hope of settling all disputes in an amicable manner. But instead of assisting in the public deliberations, to which

\* Walsing. p. 114.



they were invited, the associates held frequent consultations among themselves, within the city ; which issued in drawing up a decree of forfeiture and banishment against both the Spensers, father and son ; thus armed, they proceeded to Westminster-hall, escorted by a force which nothing could resist, presented it in full parliament, and obtained its formal confirmation.\* In the same manner they extorted from the king in parliament, August 19th, of the same year, in behalf of themselves and their followers, a full pardon of all treasons, murders, and felonies by them committed up to that day. On this they separated, and retired every man to his place.†

A short calm ensued, but it was only the forerunner of a more furious tempest, which a trifling personal insult offered to the queen put in motion, and the progress of which desolated the land. Her majesty, on a journey of devotion to Canterbury, had intended to pass the night at Leeds-castle in Kent, the seat of lord Badlesmere, and, in that view, sent her marshals before to announce the approach of their mistress, and to prepare for her reception. But the lady of the mansion inhospitably shut the gates, first against the messengers, and then against the queen herself, on her arrival. This incivility was keenly felt, and deeply resented, by that lofty-minded princess. She hastened back to London, made her complaint to the king, and, with all the eloquence of an injured woman, instigated him to avenge the indignity which had been offered to her. Edward, who had peculiar ground of offence against Badlesmere, too hastily adopted the angry emotions of his wife, raised some troops under the stimulus of passion, besieged Leeds-castle, obliged it to surrender, October 31st, and, to strike terror into his enemies by exemplary punishment, he commanded the governor and eleven inferior officers of the garrison to be immediately hanged up.‡ And thus a silly womanish quarrel involved a great nation in all the horrors of a bloody civil war.

This first success of the royal cause was chiefly to be ascribed to the Londoners, who had been persuaded to march into Kent, to assist him in reducing the uncourtly barons, which was graciously acknowledged by the grant of an additional charter, containing many kind expressions, and a full and free declaration that the aid now so seasonably granted should not be drawn into a precedent : and the citizens, that they might not be outdone in generosity, voluntarily presented him with two thousand marks towards the expense of his intended expedition against Scotland.

\* Tyrell, vol. iv. p. 282.

† Walsing. p. 115.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

Revolutions at this period of our history were frequent, sudden, and violent. Edward, who in July and August felt himself overmatched and intimidated by haughty, rebellious subjects; and reduced to the necessity of consenting to the ruin and exile of his favourites, and of pardoning traitors; before the close of the year found himself at the head of an army capable of confidently taking the field, of bearing down all opposition, and of crushing his enemies in his turn. The Spensers were recalled, and the sentence of their banishment was declared to be illegal; vigorous measures were adopted, and a tide of rapid successes rendered the royal cause every where triumphant. But the king wanted wisdom to turn this flow of prosperity to good account. By far the greater part of the rich forfeitures, falling to the crown by the suppression of rebellion, were bestowed to glut the avarice and revenge of the younger Spenser.\* Indiscriminating severity extended punishment alike to the more and the less criminal; and the frenzy of favouritism conferred on one what ought to have been divided among many. Thus his enemies were driven to despair, and his friends retired in sullen discontent. The restored favourite became more presumptuous and insolent than ever; but though now wallowing in affluence, armed with power, and basking in the sunshine of royal favour, durst hardly appear abroad, from apprehension of meeting with some marked indication of the public contempt or indignation. A band of desperadoes, under the conduct of one Lewer, ravaged the estates of Hugh Spenser, the father, lately created earl of Winchester, and attempted to seize his person. The friends of the state prisoners employed all their skill and address to procure the liberation

\* On this revolution in the king's affairs, the elder Spenser petitioned his majesty for an indemnification, out of the estates of the reduced barons, for the damage which he had sustained by their depredations, and, in this petition, he stated his losses as under: that his real estate consisted of sixty-three manors, and his personal of two crops of corn, one in barns, and the other upon the ground; in cash, jewels, silver and golden utensils, &c. ten thousand pounds; armour for two hundred men, warlike engines, and the destruction of his houses, thirty thousand pounds; the furniture of his chapel and wardrobe, five thousand pounds; eight and twenty thousand sheep; one thousand oxen and heifers; twelve hundred cows, with their calves for two years; forty mares, with their foals for two years; five hundred and sixty cart horses; two thousand hogs; four hundred kids; forty tuns of wine; six hundred bacons; eighty carcases of beef; six hundred muttons in larder; ten tuns of cyder, and six and thirty sacks of wool; with a library of books.

To this statement we shall subjoin, as a curiosity, and as affording the means of comparison between the possessions and expenditure of two potent noblemen of Edward the Second's days, an account of the domestic disbursements, for one year, of the great rival and enemy of the Spensers, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, from the household book of his cofferer, H. Leicester, preserved in the record of Pontefract.



liberation of the devoted victims ; the places of their confinement were surprized, or their keepers bribed to connive at their escape ; and, among the rest, the famous Roger Mortimer, one of the most daring and dangerous of the anti-royalist party,

	£.	s.	d.
To the amount of the charge of the pantry, buttery, and kitchen - - - - -	3405	0	0
To three hundred and sixty nine pipes of red wine, and two pipes of white - - -	104	17	6
To all sorts of grocery wares - - - - -	180	17	0
To six barrels of sturgeon - - - - -	19	0	0
To six thousand dried fishes of all sorts - - - - -	41	6	7
To seventeen hundred and fourteen pounds of wax, vermillion, and turpentine - - -	314	7	4
To the charge of the earl's great horses and servants wages - - - - -	436	4	3
To linen for the earl, his chaplains, and table - - - - -	43	17	0
To one hundred and twenty-nine dozen of skins of parchment, and ink - - - - -	4	8	3
To two scarlet cloths for the earl's use, one of russet for the bishop of Angew, seventy of blue for the knights, twenty-eight for the 'squires, fifteen for the clerks, fifteen for the officers, nineteen for the grooms, five for the archers, four for the minstrels and carpenters, with the shaing and carriage for the earl's liveries at Christmas - -	460	15	0
To seven furs of powdered ermine, seven hoods of purple, three hundred and ninety-five furs of budge for the liveries of barons, knights, and clerks, and one hundred and twenty-three furs of lamb, bought at Christmas for the 'squires - - - - -	147	17	8
To one hundred and sixty-eight yards of russet cloth, and twenty-four coats for poor men, with money given the poor on Maundy Thursday - - - - -	8	16	7
To sixty-five saffron coloured cloths for the barons and knights in summer, twelve red cloths for the clerks, twenty-six cloths for the 'squires, one for the officers, and four ray cloths for carpets in the hall - - - - -	345	13	8
To one hundred pieces of green silk for the knights, fourteen budge furs for surcoats, thirteen hoods of budge for clerks, and seventy-five furs of lambs for liveries in summer, with canvas and cords to tie them - - - - -	72	19	0
To saddles for the summer liveries - - - - -	51	6	8
To one saddle for the earl - - - - -	2	0	0
For several items, the particulars in the account defaced - - - - -	241	14	1
To horses lost in service - - - - -	8	6	8
To fees paid to earls, barons, knights, and 'squires - - - - -	623	15	5
To gifts to French knights, countess of Warren, queen's nurses, 'squires, minstrels, messengers, and riders - - - - -	92	14	0
To twenty-four silver dithes, twenty-four saucers, twenty-four cups, one pair of pater-nosters, and one silver coffin, all bought this year, when silver was at 1s. 8d. per oz. -	103	5	6
To several messengers - - - - -	34	19	8
To fundry things in the earl's bedchamber - - - - -	5	0	0
To several old debts paid this year - - - - -	88	16	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the countess's disbursements at Pickering - - - - -	440	0	5
To two thousand three hundred and nineteen pounds of tallow candles, and eighteen hundred and seventy pounds of lights, called Paris candles, or white wax candles -	31	14	3

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£. 7302 12 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

contrived to make his escape out of the Tower of London, and got safely to France.\*

This last event may be considered as the first scene in the tragedy which followed. We can give only the outline of the piece. Philip of France, the queen of England's father, died in January 1322, and was succeeded by her brother Charles. The new French king, conformably to custom, summoned Edward to do homage as a vassal for his dominions in that country. This ceremony was, under various pretences, delayed from year to year. At length the English monarch received a peremptory summons to present himself before Charles, at Amiens, on July 1st, 1324, at farthest. After a great variety of negotiation, it was at length agreed, that Edward's personal attendance should be dispensed with, and that the queen should undertake a journey to France, as being the fittest person to mediate between her husband and brother. She readily procured a delay, and continued in her native kingdom, till the time stipulated for the ceremony should arrive, namely, August 29th, 1325, when the king was to perform his homage personally at Beauvais, under pain of forfeiting the province of Guienne. The favourite was now reduced to a dreadful dilemma. He durst not accompany his master to France, from apprehension of the effects of the queen's well-known enmity against him, in a country where she had much greater influence than in England. He was equally afraid of remaining in England after the king had gone abroad, from a consciousness of being obnoxious to the public hatred and resentment. To relieve himself from this perplexity, he had the address to persuade the feeble and irresolute Edward to make over his French dominions to the prince of Wales, and to send him to do homage for them, and receive investiture. The prince, accordingly, sailed for France on the 12th, and went through the ceremony at Beauvais, the 14th September.† Of this inconsiderate precipitation the king had quickly cause to repent. It now appeared that queen Isabella had been artfully conducting a plan for delivering herself and the English nation from the pernicious influence of the Spencers; and had she limited her intrigues to the accomplishment of that object, her name might have descended to posterity with respect and applause. But whatever her original views might have been, her conduct, in the progress of the business, became criminal in the extreme. During this visit to France, if not before, she contracted an amorous intimacy with Roger Mortimer, who had

\* Rymer, vol. iv. p. 20.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 165. Walsing. p. 121.



lately made his escape out of the Tower of London. Infidelity to her husband's bed was a bold step toward an attempt on his crown and life; and it speedily followed with fatal success. So dextrously had she conducted the several pieces of her machinery, that she was able to make a descent on England, September 24, 1326, with a small force indeed, but rendered formidable to the unhappy monarch by his innate imbecillity, a total want of preparation, and the pertinacious infatuation of partiality to a detestable minion, which had produced the alienation of all minds from his person and government. The city presented the most immediate resource in this exigency; but when applied to for a supply of men and money, they returned a cold and evasive answer: "That they entertained the highest respect for their sovereign lord the king, the queen, and the prince their son, the undoubted heir of the crown; and that they would shut their gates against, and to the uttermost resist, all foreigners and traitors; but that they would not march out to fight, unless, conformably to their ancient privileges, to a distance which admitted of their returning home the same day before sunset."—Edward despairing of relief from that quarter, gave orders to furnish the Tower expeditiously with military stores and provisions, and set out in person to the west of England to make an effort toward levying a force which might protect him, and the odious favourites, who had brought down ruin upon his head.\*

No sooner had the king left London, than the populace assumed the government. They assembled in great multitudes, and proceeded to the most outrageous acts of violence, plundering, and murdering, all who were supposed to have any connection with the Spensers, or suspected of preserving any remainder of attachment to the king. Among other victims of popular vengeance, fell Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, high treasurer and *custos* of the city. The enraged populace flew to his palace, forced their way into it, by setting fire to the gates, and, not finding the proprietor at home, rifled the house of every thing valuable. The unfortunate prelate himself was, however, apprehended near the north gate of St. Paul's, whither he was going to take sanctuary, and after being beat and bruised in a most inhuman manner, was dragged to the cross in Cheapside, proclaimed a traitor, beheaded, and his body tossed into a ditch by the side of the Thames.† Next day they seized John de Weston, constable of the Tower, wrested the keys from him, took possession of that fortress, turned out the king's officers, enlarged

\* Walsing. p. 123.

† T. de la More, p. 599.

the prisoners, and declared John of Eltham guardian of the city and kingdom. The king himself was overtaken in the Bristol channel by contrary winds, making a fruitless attempt to effect his escape to Ireland; got ashore near Swansea, and concealed himself with a few attendants in the monastery of Neath.\* The place of his retreat was soon discovered; and on November 16th he fell into the hands of his inveterate enemy Henry, earl of Lancaster, who conducted him first to Monmouth, and thence to Kennelworth-castle. With the king was taken Baldock his chancellor, who, being an ecclesiastic, escaped immediate execution, but being carried a prisoner from Hereford to London, was, by the rabble of this last city, treated with such unrelenting barbarity, that he died of extreme anguish from his bruises, in the prison of Newgate.† In a wood adjoining to the monastery of Neath, the grand delinquent, the cause of all this woe, Hugh Spenser, was found lurking, and conveyed to Hereford, where the queen and the prince of Wales then lay with their army. After a very short form of process, he was hanged there, November 24th, on a gibbet fifty feet high, and his head was sent as an acceptable present to the citizens of London, who placed it, in great triumph, as an ornament upon the bridge.‡

England now exhibited a prodigious theatre of complicated misery and confusion. Civil rage had inflamed the resentments, and steeled the hearts of a humane and generous nation; the bands of nature were dissolved; all regular government ceased, the courts of justice were shut up, and lawless violence reigned uncontrolled. The mob of London, and of other cities and great towns, by the name of *Riflers*, pillaged and murdered without mercy, without fear, and without restraint.§

The time at length came for the queen, and her infamous paramour Mortimer, to bring forward the concluding scene of this bloody drama. Though the prince of Wales was only fourteen years old, they resolved to force the king, now entirely lying at their mercy, to consent to his own deposition, and to the immediate elevation of his son to the throne, whose tender age and pliant mind they hoped to manage at their pleasure. It was easy, in the existing circumstances, to fashion their wishes and will into the forms of law. A parliament was accordingly summoned, in the name of the prince, as guardian of the realm, to meet at

\* Rymer, t. iv. p. 238.

† Walsing. p. 126.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

§ M. Westminst. Contin.

Westminster,



Westminster, the 7th January, 1327. It consisted almost entirely, as might have been expected, of the queen's creatures and accomplices. The appearance of decency was hardly preserved: the house was every day surrounded by a clamorous rabble, and every thing conducted by dint of noise and vehemence. After a repetition of this scene of wild uproar, for five or six days, the prince was seated on the throne, a general charge, digested into six articles, was exhibited against the king, on which, without adducing any proof, or giving the accused an opportunity of defending himself, he was divested of his royal dignity, and the prince proclaimed king in his stead.\* This bitter sentence was communicated to Edward in every circumstance of harshness and severity which could oppress and overwhelm a mind naturally feeble, and now broken down by calamity; and the formalities of his degradation were executed on January 20th, 1327. Thus terminated the inglorious and unfortunate reign of Edward II., after it had continued nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days.

The king was now no more, but the man still existed, and in what might be still deemed the vigour of life, for he had not as yet completed the forty-third year of his age. But a dethroned monarch, at whatever period, is only one remove from his grave. The slow and cruel method of breaking his heart by hard usage, was first attempted and failed. The sufferings of the fallen prince began to excite compassion, and schemes were concerted for his deliverance. The licentious commerce of the queen and Mortimer, began to be noised abroad, and kindled indignation. They had gone too far in vice to recede, and one thing only remained to fill up the measure of their iniquity. Orders were conveyed to Gournay and Mautravers, fit tools of such employers, to dispatch the king without losing a moment. This horrid mandate was executed in a manner which increases the horror of the deed. The villains threw the hapless Edward upon a bed, and destroyed him by inserting a red hot iron, through a horn, into his fundament, which consumed his bowels with torment inconceivable. This dreadful murder was perpetrated at Berkeley-castle, on the 21st September, 1327.

Of the harshness with which he was treated after his deposition, and of the manner in which he felt and bore it, one instance has made its way into history, which we transcribe. The brutal Mautravers one day commanded him to be shaved in his presence with cold and dirty water. The ill-fated monarch was so

\* Walsing. p. 126.

deeply affected with this indignity and insult, that he burst into a flood of tears, which bedewing his face, he said, with a smile of indignant grief, “ See, I have “ provided myself with clean and warm water, without your permission.” The most striking, and the most unaccountable, feature in Edward’s character, was an obstinate, unconquerable, attachment to two successive worthless favourites, Gavaston and Spenser. This occasioned all the calamities of his reign, his personal misery through life, and the prematurity and violence of his death. It ever has been, and ever will be, a serious misfortune to the prince himself, to the object of his favour, and to his kingdom, when the partialities of the heart are permitted to dictate the decisions of the understanding. A truly wise man will not consent to engross the favour, or the gifts, of his sovereign.

The reign of Edward III. had actually commenced eight months, and upward, previous to his father’s decease, for his peace was proclaimed in London, being the first exercise of royalty in those times, January 24th, 1327, and he was crowned, with the usual state, by the archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster, the 1st February ensuing. But a lad of fourteen must necessarily be himself under authority; the person of the young king, accordingly, and the exercise of all the functions of royalty, were under the control of the queen dowager and Mortimer,\* who took very good care of themselves. The parliament, which deposed the late monarch, continued to sit; they proceeded to reverse the attainder which passed, some years before, against the earl of Lancaster and his partisans,† and to confiscate the estates of the Spencers and their adherents: they granted to the queen the sum of 20,000*l.* to pay her debts, and an annual jointure to the same amount; equivalent in quantity to 60,000*l.* of our money, and, in effect, to at least 250,000*l.* She and her favourite appropriated to themselves, besides, by far the greater part of the prodigiously rich spoils of their fallen enemies, and soon rendered themselves as odious to the nation as their predecessors in power, insolence, and avarice, had done. The citizens of London, in consideration of their having contributed so largely toward the late revolution, were rewarded with a full and free pardon of all the acts of violence which they had committed, and with a new charter which confirmed all their ancient, and conveyed many new and very ample privileges.‡ By another charter, of the same date, the town of Southwark was subjected to the jurisdiction of the city. This was a matter of high expediency,

\* Hemming, t. ii. p. 270.

† Rymer, vol. iv. p. 258.

‡ Id. *ibid.*



if not of absolute necessity ; for the desperate gangs which infested the metropolis, had only to step across the bridge to be beyond the reach of justice. To give the greater solemnity and effect to those charters, they were both sanctioned by parliament. That very same year, nevertheless, one Simon, a merchant of London, obtained a most iniquitous grant from the crown, which exempted him not only from serving the office of mayor, alderman, sheriff, or coroner, but likewise from the burthen of all taxes and duties whatever, in all parts of the kingdom.

The marriage of the young king with the princess Philippa, daughter of William, count of Hainault, was celebrated at York, January 24th, 1328, with extraordinary magnificence ; and on the arrival of the royal pair in London, they were received and entertained by the corporation, with every possible demonstration of loyalty and affection. The riotous, licentious spirit of the populace continued, however, to produce the most shameful excesses, so that government was obliged repeatedly to arm the city magistracy with extraordinary powers for preserving peace, and punishing offenders. A proclamation from the king was likewise issued, and renewed year after year, strictly enjoining that no person whatever should wear arms offensive or defensive, within the city of London, the town of Westminster, or suburbs thereof, under pain of forfeiture of all his goods. But all the vigour of Edward's long and prudent administration was unable totally to repress this many-headed monster.

In 1329, the king exhibited a magnificent tournament of thirteen pair of gallant knights in Cheapside, for the amusement of the queen and the ladies of the court, the foreign ambassadors, and their retinue. The infamous practice of adulterating wines had by this time become so general, and so pernicious, that government found it necessary to interpose this year, and to check the growing evil, by a mandate addressed to the mayor and sheriffs, requiring them to examine into complaints on this subject, and to bring delinquents to conviction and punishment.

Edward before he had completed his eighteenth year, enjoyed the felicity of seeing himself a father. The young queen was safely delivered at Woodstock, June 15th, 1330, of an heir to the throne, who, in process of time, became so illustrious in the world, and transmitted to posterity a name so dear, and so respectable, that of EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.\* As soon as this event had taken place, the king thought it high time to emancipate himself from the control of the

\* T. Walsing. p. 130.

queen-dowager and Mortimer, with neither of whom he had much reason to be satisfied, and the latter of whom he both hated and feared. Even-handed justice was now preparing to execute vengeance on the head of that daring traitor, who had usurped his sovereign's bed, barbarously shortened his life, and assumed his authority. He was seized in the castle of Nottingham, sent under a strong guard, and lodged in the Tower of London, accused, November 26th, before a parliament held for the purpose at Westminster, of his complicated and enormous crimes; of which he was, in the judgment of his peers, so notoriously guilty, that, without examination of witnesses, he was condemned to death. The sentence was executed the 29th of the same month, at a place called *the Elms*, near Tyburn; and his body was permitted to hang two days upon the gibbet.\* The queen-mother, though an accomplice in most of the crimes for which Mortimer suffered, was treated with less severity, but did not wholly escape censure and punishment. She was stripped of all her ill-gotten treasure; her enormous jointure was reduced to a pension of three thousand marks a year, on which she was confined to live in a private manner at her house at Risings,† and sunk into deserved obscurity and contempt, a prey to unmortified lust and ambition, and to the stings of a guilty conscience.

Edward, young as he was when he assumed the reins, gave manifold proofs of a singular capacity for government, and the country speedily derived very sensible benefit from his administration. He exerted his authority with much vigour and effect, in subduing and bringing to justice the numerous bands of robbers who disturbed the peace of the kingdom, and rendered life and property insecure, and who, in many cases, acted under the protection of the great barons. He took care to see the laws strictly, regularly, and impartially executed. He communicated new life and energy to all the parts of the constitution. And happy would it have been for England, and for the neighbouring nations of Europe, had his long and glorious reign, with his great shining talents, been solely devoted to the benevolent arts of peace. But ambition was deeply rooted in his mind, and the tranquillity and happiness of myriads were madly sacrificed to this demon. This, of course, swells the page of the general historian, while the annals of London contract, proportionally, into a smaller size.

\* Walling. p. 130.

† Knyghton, p. 2556.



The spring of 1335 proved uncommonly rainy, which produced an excessive scarcity of every species of corn. Wheat sold at the extravagant rate of forty shillings a quarter, and provisions of all kinds became so scarce and dear, that the king thought it his duty severely to reprimand the mayor and sheriffs for their carelessness and improvidence, in neglecting to guard against calamity of this nature. He charged them with downright perjury, in suffering bread, wine, beer, and other provisions, to be engrossed, and the price enhanced within the city; and for conniving at frauds committed in the use of unjust weights and measures, to the great reproach and scandal of magistracy, and the just offence of all good and honest men.\* At the same time, in order to quiet the apprehensions of the city merchants and tradesmen, who were ever jealous of the most trifling indulgence granted to foreigners, the king, in 1337, granted a third charter to the corporation, with consent of parliament, declaring that no commercial regulation in favour of aliens, should anywise affect the provisions of the great charter, or the ancient rights and privileges of the city of London. And two years after this (A. D. 1339) we find the foreign merchants, residing and trading in London, assessed in a contribution of fifty marks annually to the chief magistrate, for the time being, towards supporting the expense and dignity of the mayoralty;† a proof that the office had now acquired respectability and importance.

The mayor of London had, for time immemorial, claimed and enjoyed the privilege of acting as chief butler at coronations. Richard de Betayne, who had served in that honourable station, at the inauguration of Edward, and acquitted himself in a very brilliant and costly style, received, as the customary acknowledgment, a cup of gold with a cover, and an ewer enamelled, of the same metal. Eleven years afterward, the court had the meanness to issue a writ of exchequer addressed to the sheriffs of London, to recover, out of the goods and chattels of the said Richard, the sum of eighty-nine pounds twelve shillings and sixpence, the value of the plate voluntarily presented to him, as the honourable perquisite of an office; which he had discharged expensively to himself and the city,‡

\* Hollinf. Chron.

† Anderf. Com. vol. i. p. 312.

‡ Betayne sets forth in his petition, craving redress on this occasion, that “ he had, being then the mayor of London, performed the office of butler, attended by three hundred and sixty valets, clothed in one livery, each carrying a white silver cup in his hand, as other mayors of London, time out of mind, used to do at the coronation of kings, his majesty’s progenitors.”—The citizens farther represent to the king and council, that “ they will cheerfully pay the fee; provided they may be discharged from that service in future.”

and respectfully to his sovereign.\* So closely are ambition and pusillanimity allied!

Edward had, by this time, advanced his rash and ill-advised claim to the crown of France, and was stirring up heaven and earth to assist him in supporting it. The parliament of England, adopting the wildly ambitious views of their monarch, granted him a large subsidy toward reducing them into effect. But the returns of a subsidy were too slow to keep pace with his eagerness to achieve the conquest of this new kingdom. The revenues, therefore, were mortgaged to procure a present supply; and the city rulers, among others, advanced the sum of 20,000 marks, upon the credit of that part of the assessment which was to be levied on their constituents.†

\* Blount, Anc. Ten. 2 Edward III.

† This being the first regular general assessment of the city, according to the respective wards, which we have on record, the modern inhabitant of London will probably like to see the relative situation of the several divisions, 458 years ago, and to compare them with the variations which they have since undergone, in point of size, importance, population, and opulence; and with the sums now raised in the metropolis, for the support of government, under a regulated system of taxation.

#### THE ASSESSMENT.

	£.	s.	d.
Tower Ward	365	0	0
Billingsgate Ward	763	0	0
Bridge Ward	765	6	8
Dowgate Ward	660	10	0
Langburn Ward	352	6	8
Wallbroke Ward	911	0	0
Bishopsgate Ward	559	6	8
Lyme-street Ward	110	0	0
Cornhill Ward	315	0	0
Cheap Ward	517	10	0
Broad-street Ward	588	0	0
Vintry Ward	634	16	8
Bread street Ward	461	16	8
Queenhithe Ward	435	13	4
Cordwayner's-street Ward	2195	3	4
Farringdon Ward within	730	16	8
Farringdon Ward without	114	13	4
Cripplegate Ward	462	10	0
Coleman-street Ward	1051	16	0
Candlewick-street Ward	133	6	8
Aldgate Ward	30	0	0
Portfoken Ward	27	10	0
Castle Baynard's Ward	63	6	8
Bassishaw Ward	79	13	4
Aldersgate Ward	57	10	0
Sum total	£.12,385	13	4



The king's frequent absences, in making absurd and unjust attempts to acquire an empire that belonged not to him, disturbed the tranquillity, and endangered the possession of his undisputed hereditary throne. To no purpose did he delegate his authority to subordinate magistrates, with the strictest injunctions to preserve the peace of the metropolis. No sooner was his back turned than all was riot and uproar. It was not the contention of one den of thieves with another, but of one incorporated company of tradesmen with a rival company. The fishmongers and skinners had a formal rencounter in the streets, in which blood was spilt, and an alarm spread over the whole city. The city officers, with their attendants, hastened to the field of battle to quell the tumult, and seized several of the ring-leaders. But a desperate party of the combatants rescued the prisoners, assaulted the magistrates, and one of them made a stroke at the mayor with a drawn sword. The rioters were at length, however, overpowered; some of the most forward, in compliance with the royal mandate, were immediately carried to Guildhall, where they were indicted and tried before the mayor, and after a very summary process, condemned, and forthwith dragged to Cheapside and executed. This act of severity, though not perfectly regular, was so well-timed, and produced so good an effect, that the king took an early opportunity of expressing his approbation, and of granting a complete indemnity to all concerned in this over-hasty administration of justice.

The king's successes on the continent by no means corresponded to the eagerness of his expectation, the diligence of his exertions, or the magnitude of preparation and arrangement. His allies drained his coffers and then deserted him. After stretching his credit to its utmost extent, and even submitting to the mean expedient of pawning the queen's jewels, to support an armament great beyond all example,\* he found himself, toward the close of 1339, incapable of keeping the field, and retired into winter-quarters, with his pride wounded, his temper soured, and an enormous debt of 300,000*l.* upon his head. He had formed a rash and ill-advised resolution, not to return to England till the war should be terminated, and France reduced to his obedience. This, however, he found it impossible to make good; he was obliged to make an inglorious truce with Philip, and leaving his queen, and infant son Lionel, with four earls, at Antwerp, as hostages to his confederates, for his return with fresh supplies of men and money, he hastened over to London to con-

\* Rymer, tom. v. p. 83.

trive the means of fulfilling his engagement. The ill humour which he brought with him, provoked a similar spirit in the citizens. Itinerant judges had been appointed to superintend the collection of the revenue over the whole kingdom. The metropolis, tenacious of their corporate rights, refused permission to the inquisitors to open their commission within the city, and resisted a summons to attend them in the tower. After much altercation, the revenue judges were constrained to desist from the exercise of their authority within the city, and the king vented his spleen in displacing and imprisoning Andrew Aubrey the chief magistrate.

Edward's general popularity, however, was exceedingly high, and he successfully employed it in procuring large sums for the prosecution of his claims upon the kingdom of France. The war, though distinguished by one brilliant naval victory over the French, off the harbour of Sluys,\* was upon the whole ill conducted, produced no solid advantage, and issued, as all wars have done, and must do, in arranging conditions of peace. The English monarch had now learned moderation from adversity, and insisted only on an exemption from doing homage to Philip for his continental dominions. The French king refused to make any concession, and even rejected every overture to treat, till Edward should desist from assuming the title, and from bearing the arms of king of France, and formally renounce all pretension to that crown. This necessarily protracted the negotiation, but the truce was spun out to Midsummer 1342.†

At this period we find his majesty in high good humour with his good citizens of London. He ordered a general inspection into all preceding charters, particularly such as related to the mayoralty of the city, and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and to the better government of the city, granted in the preceding reign. These were consolidated into one comprehensive instrument, which concluded with a declaration, that although the present citizens or their predecessors might have failed, on certain occasions, fully to avail themselves of any of the "liberties, acquittals, articles, or free customs" in former charters contained, nevertheless they, and their successors for ever, should fully exercise and enjoy the same.‡ A measure presently after adopted by the court explains the design of this indulgence. By a statute, 1 Edward II., every citizen of London possessed of forty pounds a year, was obliged to take up his order of knighthood, and to pay a certain fine on

\* Avesbury, p. 89.

† Rymer, tom. v. p. 242.

‡ MS. vet. in Tur. Lond.



the occasion into the exchequer. It is obvious that such an unbounded extension of the equestrian distinction would soon cause it to cease from being considered as a dignity. Men of spirit in the reign of Edward III. felt and acted as men of spirit continue to feel and act. They disdained the sterile honour which conferred small, if any, lustre on themselves, and could convey none to posterity. A new and a ludicrous contention of course took place between the court and the city. The king employed every art to cajole the citizens into an exchange of so much money for the feather of knighthood; and they, in their turn, put in practice every possible evasion to retain their money, and leave him in possession of his feathers.

The office of mayor was now found to be both troublesome and expensive, while it was, at the same time, a station of high responsibility. Several of the late chief magistrates, in supporting the dignity of the city chair, and from the failure of sundry valuable perquisites of office, occasioned by the wars with Scotland and France, had greatly impaired their private fortunes and injured their families. It became necessary, therefore, to make some provision for indemnifying, in part at least, the head of the corporation, for the expense attending the duties of his place. The first grant we meet with to this effect, was an annuity from this Edward to Reginald de Conduit, of twenty-one pounds, arising from sundry messuages and shops belonging to the crown within the city.\*

In the midst of so much difficulty and strife, the constitution, government, and commerce of our metropolis were, nevertheless, in a gradual, though not always perceptible, state of improvement. Government had hitherto officiously intermeddled in the election of city officers. At length, in 1345, the choice of the chief magistrate was established on a more equitable and regular plan, and it was settled, That the new mayor should be elected by the mayor and aldermen for the time being, and by the discreeter sort of each ward, who should be specially summoned for that effect; That the election should be made annually on St. Edward's day, October 13th; That if the person elected should absent himself on that day, or refuse to serve the office of mayor, he should incur a fine of one hundred marks, to be levied on his goods, by the serjeants of the city, and by them paid into the hands of him who might be chosen in his place, on the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, October 28th. To secure the attendance of the aldermen on the days of election, it was farther ordered, That every alderman absenting himself on the above-men-

\* Fab. Chron.

tioned festivals, without a reasonable excuse, of which the mayor, and his brethren of the court of aldermen were to be the judges, should incur a fine of twenty pounds, to be paid into the hands of the city chamberlain.

The next year, 1346, was a proud one for England, and for the city of London in particular; as it served in a great measure to wipe out the disgrace of the inglorious defeat of the English army at Bannockburn, thirty-two years before, and completely redeemed the military character of the more powerful nation, by the total defeat of the French army at Crecy,\* August 26th; and of the Scots' army, at Nevil's Cross, near Durham, October 12th. This last victory was rendered signally glorious by the capture of the gallant David Bruce, king of Scotland, on the field of battle. The illustrious prisoner was conducted in great triumph to the metropolis. He was met, on his approach to the city, mounted on a stately courser richly caparisoned, by the mayor, aldermen, and city-companies in all their formalities; was solemnly delivered to their custody by Sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of the county of York, and by them conveyed, amidst the acclamations of an innumerable multitude of spectators, to the tower of London.†

A series of brilliant successes continued to crown the arms of Edward; and he at length got possession of the key of France, by the surrender of Calais, August 4th, 1347. He had well nigh tarnished, however, the lustre of this last conquest, by an act of resentment and severity, which must have fixed an indelible stigma on his name. Irritated by the loss of time, men and money, which the resistance of that city had cost him, and finding the besieged at last reduced to submit at discretion, he consented to spare the garrison, and the inhabitants, except six of the principal citizens, who were to deliver to him the keys, barefooted, bareheaded, with ropes about their necks. This barbarous condition filled the city with consternation. Who could think of delivering up a fellow-citizen to infamy and certain death? In this extremity, the ever-renowned Eustace de Pierre, one of the wealthiest merchants of the place, stepped forward a voluntary victim. He was instantly joined by five others, equally worthy of immortality, and they prepared themselves for this melancholy and humiliating service. Edward was on the point of glutting his revenge, by ordering these truly great men for execution, but was saved from that infamy, by the effectual interposition of his amiable and excellent queen Philippa,

\* Froissart, lib. i. c. 128, &c.

† Avelbury, p. 142.



in behalf of the prisoners. Having obtained their pardon, she conducted those true patriots to her own apartment, entertained them nobly, dismissed them with praises and rich tokens of her esteem, and purchased for herself a name which eclipses the glory of Crecy's bloody field.

War, whether successful or not, is necessarily productive of evils innumerable to mankind. The fatal intercourse which Edward's rash pretensions to the crown of France had introduced between this island and the adjacent continent, opened a passage for the admission of another destroyer, the baleful pestilence. After desolating the western regions of Asia, the infection communicated itself to Europe, and in its progress swept away man and beast in heaps upon heaps. England could not long escape the dire calamity, and on London it fell with accumulated weight.\* The immensity of her population, the narrowness of the streets, and consequent stagnation of the air, with the various putridity to which a great city is necessarily subject, gave a rapid and destructive currency to the plague. The infected generally died in the course of a few hours from the attack, and few survived it three days. The usual receptacles of the dead were insufficient to contain the multitudes which dropped day after day in every street.† Stratford, bishop of London, purchased, and inclosed, a large piece of ground, called No-Man's-Land, containing upwards of thirteen acres, as a supplemental burying-place.‡ To this was added a field called the Spital-Croft, belonging to St. Bartholomew's hospital, purchased and appropriated to the same use by Sir Walter Manny. This awful spot, that on which the Charter-house now stands, received in one year the tremendous number of 50,000 corpses, all carried off by the pestilence.§

Another

\* Knyghton, c. 2598.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Arnold, Chron.

§ The memory of this dreadful scourge was transmitted to posterity by a stone cross erected on the premises, bearing the following inscription:

*Anno Domini 1349, regnante magnâ pestilentia, consecratum fuit hoc Cæmeterium, in quo, & intra septa presentis Monasterii, sepulta fuerunt mortuorum corpora plus quam quinquaginta millia, præter alia multa abhinc usque ad presens: quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.*

“ This cemetery was consecrated in the year of our Lord 1349, during the rage of a grievous pestilence, in which, and within the precincts of the adjoining monastery, were interred upwards of fifty thousand corpses, besides many others from that period to the present time: May God have mercy on their souls. *Amen.*”

Knyghton, in describing the many dire effects of the plague, mentions particularly the havock which it made among the clergy; who, in performing the ordinary duties of their sacred office, were peculiarly exposed to the contagion. They were swept away in such numbers, that none could be found to perform  
divine:

Another spot, to the eastward of the city, immediately under the wall, was devoted to the same melancholy purpose, by the humanity of a clergyman named John Corey, on which was afterward reared an abbey for Cistercian monks, which disappeared in its turn; and after various other revolutions the ground was covered with the late victualling-office and its appurtenances, which have of late likewise changed their position, being transferred, with other public offices, to Somerset-place in the Strand. From authentic monuments it appears, that not so few as 100,000 persons perished within the bills of mortality in the space of eighteen months. And thus the joyous city, which had exhibited week after week new scenes of triumph for victory upon victory, was suddenly converted into one vast house of mourning. If some historians are to be credited, this dreadful visitation of the Almighty carried off, in less than two years, nine-tenths of the inhabitants of England, with a similar proportion of cattle of every kind.\* But these accounts are undoubtedly greatly exaggerated.

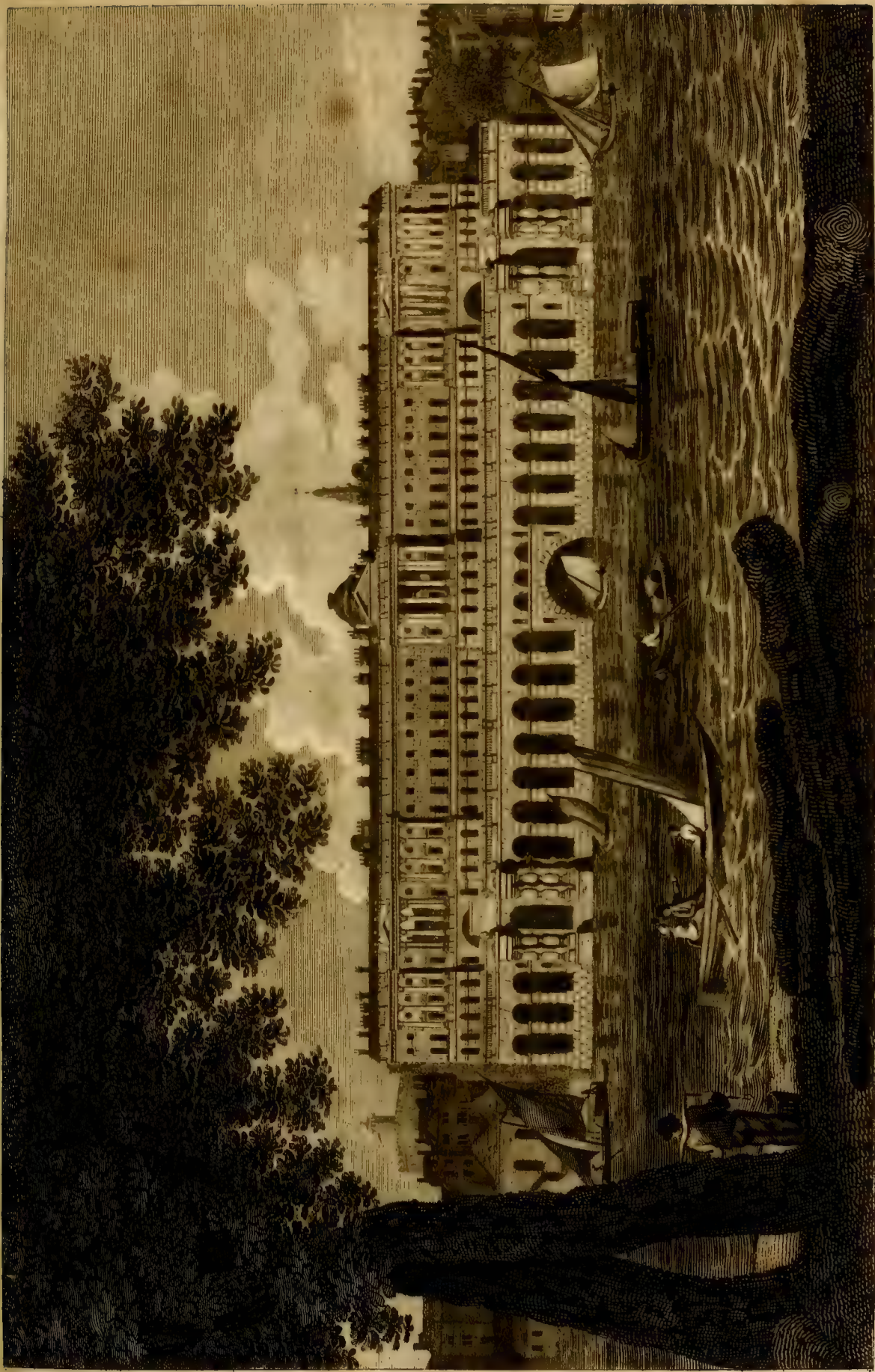
London, however, speedily recovered from this, as from all her preceding calamities; for we find the corporation acquiring new lustre, and displaying renovated force a very few years afterward. In 1354, Edward granted a fourth charter, empowering the chief magistrate, on his public official appearances, to have maces of gold and silver carried before him, a privilege hitherto restricted to royalty, and expressly prohibited, by royal precept, to every other corporate body in the kingdom, to whom the use of copper maces only was permitted. As no record contains a direct and positive intimation of the period when the chief magistrate first obtained, or began to assume the title of *Lord*, annalists are agreed in referring it to the era of this charter, and they are probably in the right; by this title, therefore, in the sequel, we shall decorate the annual head of the corporation.

Edward, still enflamed with the mad ambition of annexing the crown of France to that of England, renewed his preparations for effecting the conquest of that kingdom; and the city of London, as an expression of gratitude for marks of royal favour recently bestowed, and of their approbation of the cause in which the king was engaged, contributed voluntarily toward the armament designed against France

divine service in many churches. "Before the plague," says that historian, "you might have hired a curate for four or five marks a year, or for two marks and his board; but after it you could hardly find a clergyman who would accept of a vicarage of twenty marks or twenty pounds a year." (*Col.* 2600.)

\* Stow, Knyghton, Walsing.





G. Murray sculp

VIEW of SOMERSET HOUSE.

Pub Feb 24. 1797. by L. Stockdale. Pirated.

C. G. Mayall del.





in 1355, five and twenty men at arms, and five hundred archers, all habited in the same uniform; a splendid present, and which he received with singular satisfaction. The conduct of the war was committed to the gallant Edward prince of Wales, known to posterity by the distinctive appellation of the *Black Prince*, then in the prime of life, and in the zenith of his glory. The public expectations were raised high, nor were they disappointed; for the campaign of 1356 terminated, September 19th, in the memorable battle of Poitiers, in which the French army was totally routed, and, among many others of the highest quality, king John himself and his youngest son Philip were made prisoners. The victorious prince of Wales passed the winter at Bourdeaux, and set sail for England, with his royal captives, and a splendid train of nobility, April 24th, 1357, and on May 5th landed safely at Plymouth.\*

This event diffused universal joy over the kingdom, and mighty preparations were made at London for the triumphant entrance of the conqueror and his retinue. By the dawn of day, May the 24th, the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, attended by one thousand citizens in costly attire, and gallantly mounted, advanced through the borough of Southwark to receive the prince's cavalcade, and to conduct them through the city. Every street, through which the procession was to pass, exhibited a display of all the riches, beauty, and magnificence, of a vast and opulent metropolis, emulously engaged to confer every token of respect on a darling prince, and a captive monarch. Hangings of tapestry and streamers of silk decorated every mansion. Vessels of gold and silver ostentatiously announced the wealth of the inhabitant. The implements and ornaments of war were displayed with peculiar pride and exultation. The beauty and gentility of the whole kingdom had flocked to the capital to enjoy this rare spectacle. King John, arrayed in royal robes, was mounted on a beautiful white steed. The prince, modest as brave, in a plain dress, rode by his side on a little black palfrey, with the air of an attendant, rather than of a conqueror. The procession did not reach Westminster-hall till noon, where Edward, seated on a chair of state, expected his illustrious prisoner. The moment his approach was notified, the English monarch descended from his throne, advanced to meet him, and embraced him with every demonstration of the most cordial affection and respect. The public pompous cere-

\* Walsingham, p. 172.

monies being ended, king John and his son were conducted to the palace of the Savoy, and, in the true spirit of chivalry, entertained and served with all the deference due to majesty, prince Edward himself declining to sit in his presence.\*

The glory of England, and the felicity of Edward, had now reached their highest pinnacle. Domestic happiness, the love of his people, national prosperity, two neighbouring hostile kingdoms subdued, and almost at his disposal, and their two sovereigns prisoners in his court, a son the pride and wonder of the human race—What could be wanting to fill up the measure of earthly joy to the English monarch, but that want of permanency which necessarily attaches to all sublunary things? Though two mighty French armies had been completely routed in two decisive engagements, and the king himself made a prisoner, little or no progress was made toward the conquest of the kingdom, and Edward, in the height of his exultation for unexampled successes, found to his inexpressible mortification, that the object which he had so much at heart still eluded his grasp. It falls not within our subject to detail the various events of a rekindled war, and the negotiations which terminated in a restoration of peace to the two bleeding countries. But it never can be foreign to the subject of any history to suggest an undoubted fact, well worthy of the attention of the powers and potentates of the earth, being confirmed by the experience of all ages, That the progress of every war is marked with misery and destruction to the contending parties, whichever is victorious; and that, in the conclusion, each sits down, a few punctilios excepted, in a much worse condition than at the beginning. When peace came to be ratified between the two rival kingdoms, October 24th, 1360,† Edward found himself under the necessity of formally renouncing all title to the crown and kingdom of France, and of limiting his ambition to the nominal, rather than the real sovereignty of a few paltry principalities enjoyed by his predecessors.

The sixteen years of the reign of Edward, which immediately followed, supply ample materials to the general historian, but little or nothing to a history of London. At this period the hope of the aged monarch sunk to rise no more, and the glory of England entered into an eclipse from which it did not for many years emerge. Edward prince of Wales, the darling of his age,\* and the just admiration of future generations, for every quality of the prince and of the man, after languishing several years with a disease contracted under the painful campaigns and burning climate of

\* Froissart, l. i. c. 173.

† Rymer, vol. vi. p. 219,



Spain, was at length attacked with a fever which terminated his illustrious career, in the palace of Westminster, June 8th, 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age. Although the infirm state of the prince's health had in some measure prepared the public mind for his visibly approaching dissolution, and though all the fruits of his splendid achievements were already lost to his country; never was any loss more sincerely and more universally deplored. The character of Edward was one of the rare compositions of the great and the good, which Providence now and then shews to the world as a model of human perfection. His death overwhelmed the spirits and shortened the life of his illustrious father. His ancient and faithful servant, and the constant companion of all his dangers and victories, John de Grielly, captal de Buche, from the moment his beloved master's decease was notified to him, obstinately refused all nourishment, and quickly followed him to the grave. Even the enemies whom he had conquered by the sword, and more gloriously still by his generosity, mingled their sorrows with those of his weeping country; and the French king, from respect to worth so eminent, though to France so inauspicious, solemnized his funeral obsequies at Paris, with extreme pomp and magnificence. The English parliament, though on various accounts displeased with the king himself, and with the management of public affairs, were, on this melancholy occasion, melted into sympathy, and vied with the rest of the nation in demonstrations of condolence with their afflicted sovereign, and of respect to the memory of their beloved prince. They attended his remains to the place of interment in the cathedral church of Canterbury, and petitioned his majesty to call into their assembly Richard, the only surviving son of prince Edward, then a youth of little more than ten years, that they might soothe their sorrow by the sight of the sole representative of the nation's darling, and by paying their homage to him as heir-apparent to the crown. The young prince was accordingly, at the joint request of both houses, created prince of Wales, and invested with all his renowned parent's honours and possessions.\*

The fondness with which the heart clings to the memorials of departed excellence must be pleaded as an apology for losing sight, for a moment, of our subject, and for a slight inversion of the order of events. We return to a brief detail of some particulars which more immediately relate to our metropolis. In 1360 a French

\* Froissart, I. i. c. 224.

army of twenty thousand men, made a descent on the coast of Suffex, and committed innumerable, wanton, and cruel depredations. This quickly excited a spirit of retaliation. The ports of the kingdom, with London at their head, immediately equipped a powerful fleet of a hundred and sixty ships, on board of which were embarked fourteen thousand men. Being in their element, they soon purged the channel of every invader, and landing, in their turn, on the coasts of France, where they met with little or no opposition, spread universal dismay and devastation.

The year following, 1361, an enemy, infinitely more formidable than a French army, the pestilence, forced its way from that country into this ; and indeed was, in all probability, introduced into the kingdom by means of the mutual predatory incursions which have just been mentioned. The memory of the dreadful ravages committed in the capital by this tremendous plague, only twelve years ago, was still fresh in the minds of men, and the most dismal apprehensions were excited of a return of the same scenes of horror, on receiving the first rumour that alarming symptoms had appeared in France. It was on just ground believed, that contagious distempers, if not generated, were at least diffused, by putrid exhalations from dead animal substances, particularly the blood, garbage, and other offal of the slaughter-houses, which polluted every corner of the city. The king accordingly, as one precaution against the threatening evil, addressed letters to the lord mayor and sheriffs, strictly enjoining, that no animal, designed for food to the inhabitants, should be killed within the two boundaries of Stratford to the east, and of Knightbridge to the west, under pain of forfeiting the carcases slain, and of one year's imprisonment. But no human sagacity or power could arrest the progress of the destroying angel. The plague reached England, reached the metropolis, where it raged so furiously, that twelve hundred persons were swept away in the space of two days ;\* and in the course of the year no less than seven bishoprics became vacant. The mortality was so great over the kingdom in general, that the price of wheat was reduced to two shillings a quarter. Nevertheless, so transient is the impression made on the minds of men by calamities the most disastrous, the very May following exhibited in Smithfield a splendid tournament, which was graced with the presence of not only a train of gallant knights from France and other

\* Tyr. Hist. Engl.



parts of the continent, but of the king and queen of England themselves, attended by their whole court.\*

The year 1363 afforded an opportunity, which can but rarely occur in the course of human affairs, of displaying city hospitality and magnificence. The kings of Scotland and France had returned to visit the English monarch as guests, to whom they had formerly been captives, and were joined at London by the king of Cyprus; and these three princes, with Edward himself and his gallant son, accompanied by a splendid train of nobility, accepted an entertainment from Henry Picard, a citizen of distinction, who had served the office of lord mayor.† The annals of feasting do not perhaps contain a similar instance of conviviality. When did such personages sit down at the same table, and that the table of an individual? Had history preserved to us the bill of fare, it too, undoubtedly, would be found a great curiosity, if we may form a judgment from the coronation, installation, and other festivals of those days of profusion, at once vulgar, luxurious, and expensive.

Sundry prudent regulations took place about this period, calculated to prevent dispute and litigation between landlord and tenant, within the city and liberties; which have completely approved their wisdom and utility, by continuing to be the established practice down to the present times. The spirit of the ordinance is simply this—That every fixed improvement which the tenant shall make on his tenement during the term of his lease, it shall not be in his power to destroy or remove on quitting the premises, but leave it for the benefit of his landlord.‡

The English archers had justly acquired a high degree of reputation over all Europe for their superior skill in the use of the bow, and they had contributed not a little to the brilliant successes of their country's arms in France and elsewhere. A few years peace, however, sunk this manly, martial, and elegant art into desuetude, especially in the metropolis, where it had given place to amusements, some trivial, some ruinous, some barbarous and inhuman. Edward endeavoured to call off the minds of the citizens from pursuits so unworthy, by restoring the practice of archery, an exercise at once wholesome, useful, and unexpensive. For this purpose he addressed letters to the sheriffs of London, enjoining, “ That in places in  
“ the city, as well within the liberties as without, where they should see it expedient, public proclamation should be made, that every one of the said city;

\* Walsing. Hist. Engl. A. D. 1362.

† Stow, An. Engl. 1363.

‡ Arnold. Chron.

“ strong

“ strong in body, at leisure time on holydays, should use in their recreations bows  
 “ and arrows, or pellets, or bolts, and learn and exercise the art of shooting ;  
 “ forbidding all and singular, on his majesty’s behalf, after any manner to apply  
 “ themselves to the throwing of stones, wood, iron, hand-ball, foot-ball, bandy-  
 “ ball, cambuck, or cock-fighting, nor other such like vain plays, which have no  
 “ profit in them, under pain of imprisonment.”\*

The plague appears to have been, about this period, perpetually lurking in some corner of the city, ready to emit its baleful effluvia. It broke out again with great fury in 1369, and swept away multitudes;† and it was closely followed by a scourge not less tremendous, a grievous famine; for a rainy harvest ensuing, the crop was almost totally destroyed, and the price of wheat rapidly rose to the enormous rate of one pound six shillings and eight-pence the quarter, that is, about five pounds of our money, and in point of effect upwards of twenty.‡

In the midst of all these disasters the spirit of commerce was exerting itself with increasing vigour. But England was still behind several of her continental neighbours in the cultivation of some of the useful and elegant arts. Edward, who really loved his country, and had its prosperity and improvement much at heart, invited over, under a promise of protection and encouragement, three clock-makers from Delft, in Holland, to introduce that valuable branch of manufacture into his kingdom. The countenance given to those foreigners, roused the envy and jealousy of the London populace, who have at all periods looked with an eye at once contemptuous, suspicious, and unkind on strangers, however meritorious. The Hollanders were exposed to a thousand insults and injuries, under pretence of their having invaded the franchises of the citizens, and of having engrossed the favour of their sovereign. This drew from the king a severe reprimand, and a strict injunction addressed to the sheriffs, “ That no one, of what degree soever, should  
 “ presume to offer any sort of injury, either to the persons or goods of the said  
 “ foreigners, under the severest penalties.”§ Though this served to check the violence, it by no means allayed the discontents of the citizens, who ventured, A. D. 1372, to petition his majesty on the subject, complaining in general terms of the loss of their franchises. Edward well knew the real ground of their dissatisfaction, and was not disposed to give way to a humour which attempted to

\* *Ars Sagit. Rot.* † *Walsing. Hist. Angl.* ‡ *Hollin. Chron.* § *Anderf. Com. vol. i. p. 197.*  
 thwart



thwart a design of public benefit. He satisfied himself with giving this sensible and moderate reply: "Let them particularly point out the infringement of any one right or franchise, and they shall be answered." He was pleased, at the same time, to grant a fresh charter, defining the privileges of foreigners resident in the city, for the purpose of carrying on their trade, or of exercising their several crafts. They were to remain at board with hosts, freemen of the city, without keeping any houses or societies by themselves; that such brokers only should be employed by them as were chosen by the respective merchants of the several mysteries of trade, and sworn in before the lord mayor; and that no foreigner, being a non-freeman, should sell by retail. Not satisfied with the security given by a royal charter, they wished to have it sanctioned by parliament, but to this they received a cold answer: "The king will take farther information on the subject." About the same time they met with a direct repulse, on an application to get the appointment of coroner put into their hands: "The king will not depart from his ancient rights." They received a farther check in an attempt to extend their jurisdiction over the borough of Southwark, and to supersede the authority of the marshal: "The king cannot do it, without doing wrong to others."

These ungracious answers were probably dictated, at least in part, by the increasing fickleness and irritability of the king's mind. He was smarting under the irreparable loss of his all-accomplished son; his foreign possessions were passing away, one after another, into the hands of their ancient masters; the sceptre of his native kingdom was now dropping from his feeble hand into that of an untutored boy, and inspired a presentiment of approaching calamities. No wonder, then, that the importunate, reiterated, and, in some respects, groundless, encroaching, and unreasonable remonstrances of restless subjects should sour a temper naturally impatient, and extort, at times, a peevish reply. Matters, however, by no means came to an open rupture between the court and the city. On the contrary, the good citizens made a kind effort to dissipate the gloom which hung over the royal family, by paying a grand visit in masquerade to the young prince of Wales, and the princess dowager his mother, at Kennington. A particular description of this festivity, those who are fond of pageants will find, at full length, in Stow's Survey of London, and in all the succeeding historians who have copied from him. Meanwhile the care-worn monarch was hastening to his latter end, and the approach of death extinguished every spark of animosity between him and his parliament, and

his

his people. The citizens being informed that the king was past all hopes of recovery, dispatched a deputation to the prince, who was then with his mother at Kingston-upon-Thames, humbly beseeching his highness's favour and protection to the city, the ancient residence of his royal progenitors; assuring him of their readiness to devote their fortunes, and even their lives, in his service; expressing their concern at the remoteness of his situation from the city, and earnestly requesting that he would immediately come and make the metropolis his home.\* Edward, sensible of the declining state of his health, was anxiously concerned to conclude a peace with France, that he might not leave his infant successor involved in hostilities with an adversary so formidable; but death interrupted the pending negotiation, and terminated what the world calls a long and glorious career, that is, a career of generally successful, but destructive ambition. He died at his palace of Shene, near Richmond, in Surry, June 1, 1377, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign.†

The conclusion of this reign is rendered memorable in the Christian world, by the bold and successful attempt made to shake off the authority, or rather the tyranny, to expose the avarice, and to reform the doctrines of the court and church of Rome. This attempt was first made by the celebrated Dr. John Wyckliff; a name for ever dear to every friend of civil and religious liberty. He was one of the best and most learned men of his age. His reputation for learning, piety, and virtue, procured for him from archbishop Islip, the office of first warden of Canterbury college, Oxford, A. D. 1365. In this situation he delivered lectures in divinity, which were greatly admired, though they contained many severe strictures on the clergy, and particularly on the mendicant orders. A discourse which he afterwards published, denying the pope's claim of homage and tribute from Edward III. for the kingdom of England, powerfully recommended him to the favour of that prince, and procured for him several church preferments, and employment in sundry embassies of importance, which he discharged with credit and ability.‡ In one of those embassies to the court of Rome, A. D. 1374, he discovered so many of the corruptions of that court, and of the errors of that church, that, unable to restrain his indignation, he openly and boldly inveighed against violations so flagrant of both the letter and spirit of Christianity. The flame was now kindled in his

\* Walsing. Hist. Angl.

† Rymer, vol. vii. p. 151.

‡ Biog. Brit. p. 4260.



bosom, which was in time to set all Europe in a blaze. He searched the scriptures more carefully; he examined the pretensions of the papacy, and found them groundless, insolent, intolerable. He proceeded so far as to call the pope antichrist; he denied his supremacy, and exposed his rapacity, tyranny, and immorality, in the most glowing colours. He found multitudes of all ranks in England disposed to embrace his doctrines, especially in the metropolis. When summoned to appear, and answer for his conduct, before his ecclesiastical superiors, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, he had the honour to be accompanied into court by two of the greatest men in the kingdom, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the king's son, and lord Henry Percy, marshal of England, who intrepidly stood between him and the papal thunder. Persecution served only to render his cause more popular, and, in the course of a few years, more than one half of the people of England had become his proselytes.\* Such was the dawning of the reformation, which at length emancipated the crown and nation from the inglorious yoke of an imperious foreign priest.

Richard II. had not completed his eleventh year when he succeeded to the throne of his grandfather Edward III. His tender age, the extreme beauty of his person, and, more than all, the fond remembrance of his beloved father, the Black Prince, endeared him to the subjects of every rank, and inspired the most flattering hopes of a glorious and happy reign, which, alas! were not to be realized. He was crowned at Westminster, July 16th, with great magnificence, and every possible expression of universal joy.

But the joy which the accession of a beautiful boy excited was of short duration. A long minority is always a serious evil to any country. The king's three uncles, on whom the chief direction of public affairs devolved, did not act in concert. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who assumed the lead, was proud, violent, unpopular, and altogether unqualified for the difficult part which he had to act.

A stronger proof need not be adduced of the negligence, feebleness, or disunion of administration, than that a Scottish rover, of the name of Mercer, should dare with impunity to infest the coast of England, capture the vessels of that kingdom, and of foreign nations trading to it, within sight of land, nay, in English ports, and carry off his booty unmolested. To no purpose did the merchants remonstrate

\* Knyghton, Col. 2664.

with the king's ministers on the indignity offered to their country, and the depredations committed upon themselves. The cause was at length taken up, and the insult avenged, by a public-spirited citizen of London, Sir John Philpot, whose name well merits to be transmitted with every mark of respect to posterity. This man, at his own expense, fitted out a little squadron, furnished with a thousand men completely armed, of which he himself assumed the command, and sailed into the north sea in quest of Mercer. He came up with him off the coast of Yorkshire, encumbered with a number of prizes recently taken, partly at sea, partly in the harbour of Scarborough, and among the rest fifteen Spanish vessels richly laden. Philpot brought the enemy immediately to an engagement, and after an obstinate conflict took him and the greatest part of his convoy, which he carried triumphantly into the port of London, amidst the grateful acclamations of every order of citizens. Such, however, was the pitiful jealousy, or the high sense of prerogative of the court, that this champion of his country was cited before the king and council to answer for his presumption, in undertaking such an expedition without authority from government. In his defence he acquitted himself with such modesty, manliness, and good sense, that the prosecution dropped, and he came off, with colours flying, from the lords of the privy-council, as he had before on the face of the ocean.\*

About the same time a subsidy was granted by parliament, to which individuals were assessed proportionably to their rank and condition in life. From it we learn the consideration in which the city magistracy was now held in the eye of the law. The chief magistrate, decorated with the title of right honourable, and *lord* mayor, was rated as an earl at four pounds, and the aldermen as barons, at two pounds each. †

Hostilities with France were now likewise renewed; in the prosecution of which, little glory was acquired, but a dreadful expense incurred; and to support that expense, grievous and oppressive burdens were imposed on the people. One tax in particular, that of three groats to be levied on every person in the kingdom of fifteen years and upward, gave peculiar offence, and produced very fatal consequences. ‡ As the metropolis was more deeply involved in these, than any other part of the kingdom, a more particular detail of facts is rendered necessary.

The state of the common people of England was at this period truly deplorable.

\* Walsing. Hist. Eng. A. D. 1378.

† Fabian, p. 293.

‡ Parliam. Hist. vol. i. p. 358, &c.



That numerous and most useful class of the community was then distinguished by the appellation of *villains*, and treated with every species of insolence and inhumanity by their lordly superiors. They felt the yoke, and were impatient for an occasion to throw it off. The doctrines of Wickliffe, tinged with a faint dawning of science, had communicated a taste for religious liberty, and this rendered the pressure of civil bondage more odious and irritating. The abominably inequitable poll-tax recently imposed, which raised the poor man to the level of the rich in point of public burden, without adding one hair's breadth to his political stature, excited universal discontent; and nothing was wanting to produce insurrection and revolution, but an opportunity to lay the train, and a pretence to apply the match. In the present irritable state of the public mind, on the one hand, and the unfeeling haughtiness of the ministers of oppression on the other, these were speedily supplied. A dispute arose between one of the tax-gatherers, and a tyler of Deptford,\* Walter by name: the former insisting on rating, with the rest of the family, a daughter of Walter's, as having attained the age of puberty, defined by law. This the father denied with some degree of warmth, and on the brutal publican's attempting to bring the controversy to an indecent termination, the indignant tyler with one blow of his hammer dashed out the aggressor's brains.† The neighbours considered it as a common cause, loudly applauded his conduct, and pledged themselves to stand by him to the last, and protect him from punishment. Government having had the weakness to threaten signal vengeance against the delinquent, a tumultuary association was formed to resist force with force, and messengers were dispatched by the insurgents over the counties adjacent to both sides of the Thames, urging the people to assert their own natural rights, and to retaliate on their tyrants. This invitation was accepted with extreme alacrity. The commonalty forsook every one his employment, and flew to arms, and with hourly-increasing numbers, directed their march towards London, burning the houses, and plundering the estates, of the nobility and gentry on their route. Their fury was stimulated and

\* Historians differ as to the spot where this dreadful commotion originated. Stow, following the Chronicle of St. Albans, fixes it at *Dartford* in Kent. Mr. Hume, without quoting any authority, says "a village in Essex," and makes the ringleader Walter a blacksmith instead of a tyler. Dr. Henry, after Knyghton, makes *Deptford* the scene where the first violence was acted. As we find the insurgents presently in force upon Blackheath, it seems probable that the flame broke out in the village nearest to the metropolis.

† Knyghton, Col. 2633.

kept alive by the inflammatory harangues of one Ball, a seditious excommunicated preacher; whom the populace had violently liberated from confinement in the gaol of Maidstone, and who requited this kindness by vehement and repeated declamations on the original equality of mankind, and the tyranny of artificial distinctions, taking for his text that popular adage:

When Adam delv'd and Eve span,  
Who was then a gentleman?

The leaders of the insurgents, so far from being ashamed of their mean extraction and low employments, gloried in them, and assumed names descriptive of their pristine condition, such as Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, Tom Miller, and the like. Under such commanders a multitude, amounting to upwards of one hundred thousand men, assembled on Blackheath, resolved as one man to level every distinction of rank and fortune, and to new-model the government to their own taste. The king, on the first rumour of this dangerous commotion, fled for shelter to the Tower. Thither they dispatched a message demanding a conference with him. Richard sailed down the river in his barge, with an intention to hear their demands; but as he approached the shore, the symptoms of insolence and discontent were so alarming, that it was deemed prudent for him to retire, and take refuge again in the Tower.\* The furious rabble, roused to madness by this disappointment, bent their course directly to London, and, aided by the populace of that great city, forced a passage through the gates, broke open the king's-bench and marshalsea prisons, and set at large the prisoners. They proceeded to the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, which they burned down to the ground; they without ceremony or form of process cut off the heads of all the gentry who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands, pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants, and declared their resolution to exterminate all lawyers of every description.† A great body of them took their station at Mile-end, and threatened to attack the Tower. The king, sensible of the defenceless state of that fortress, being but feebly garrisoned, and indifferently supplied with provisions, judged it advisable to go out to them, and listen to their grievances. They demanded a general pardon of all past offences, the abolition of slavery, freedom of trade in market towns, unfettered with tolls and imposts, and a fixed rent of lands instead of the services

\* Froissart, l. ii. c. 75.

† Walsingham, p. 275.



to which they were subjected in a state of villainage. It is just matter of surprise to find the requisitions of an inflamed multitude so reasonable and so moderate. But the nation was not yet prepared to make them good, and to profit by them, and every benefit extorted by violence must of necessity be fluctuating and uncertain. There was, however, no room for deliberation; to temporize could alone avert the storm: every demand was complied with: charters to the effect stipulated were granted; and this body, having obtained the object of their insurrection, immediately dispersed, and returned to their several homes.\*

But while this negotiation was proceeding amicably, another body of the rebels had made themselves masters of the Tower, and committed the most horrid excesses. They seized Simon Sudbury, who filled the two high offices of archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales the treasurer, with several others of inferior note, and cut off their heads. Thence they issued forth, and renewed their ravages in the city and neighbourhood, under the direction of Wat Tyler, who seems by this time to have formed designs the most atrocious, namely, to seize the king's person, to assassinate the whole body of the nobility, and first to plunder, and then burn the city of London. This infernal purpose was however providentially prevented by the stroke of death which was hastening to terminate the career of this audacious demagogue. On Saturday June 15th, 1381, as Richard was riding through Smithfield with a slender escort of sixty horsemen, he was met by Tyler at the head of twenty thousand of his adherents. The moment he discerned the king, he clapped spurs to his horse, and thrust himself into the circle which surrounded his majesty, whom he addressed with all the insolence and ill-breeding of a clown invested with power, with a repetition of demands, in favour of the commonalty, the most extravagant and absurd. The intrepid William Walworth, lord mayor of London, who was riding by the king's side, unable to restrain his indignation, and regardless of the danger to which he exposed his sovereign, himself, their little party, and the whole nation, drew his sword, and with one stroke brought Tyler down to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched by others of the royal attendants.†

This bold and rash action roused the fury of the multitude, who seeing their leader fall, prepared to avenge his death by sacrificing Richard himself on the spot, together with his whole retinue; but the young king, with an intrepidity and pre-

\* Froissart, l. ii. c. 77.

† Id. *ibid.*

fence of mind becoming the son of the Black Prince, advancing before his little troop towards the enraged mutineers, accosted them in these words: "What, my good people, can be the meaning of this tumult? Are you displeased that you have lost your leader? Behold your king; I will be your leader. Follow me into the fields, and obtain every thing you can desire."—Overawed by his presence and spirit, struck with the youth and gracefulness of his person, and having among themselves no one governing principle or determinate object, they implicitly followed their young monarch, as he gently led the way into the adjacent fields, to prevent any mischief which might have arisen from their remaining in a disorderly city. There he was joined by Sir Robert Knolles and a well-armed body of veteran troops, collected from various quarters. But though he was now in a condition to impose terms, instead of having them prescribed to him, he wisely restrained the impetuosity of the soldiery, offered the rioters charters of the same tenor with those recently granted at Mile-end, and sent away the men of Kent quietly home, as he had before done those of Essex and Hertfordshire.\* The insurrection being thus suppressed, aristocracy resumed all its haughty ascendant. The charters of immunity and enfranchisement were all revoked by authority of parliament; the people reverted to their former state of bondage and oppression; the ringleaders were brought to trial and executed. No less than fifteen hundred of those unhappy wretches were condemned, and suffered, for high treason.†

The honour of knighthood was conferred on Walworth, in acknowledgment of his valour in exposing his life to such imminent danger in defence of his king and country; and the dagger, it is alleged, was on this occasion introduced into the city arms, as a lasting *memento* to future chief magistrates, of the loyalty and patriotic virtue of their illustrious predecessor.

Walworth was succeeded in the city chair by John Northampton, who has justly obtained an honourable name with posterity for public services of a very different kind. He resolutely set himself to effect a reformation in the morals of the people, particularly in the two great articles of lewdness and intemperance. In making this attempt he had to encounter opponents much more formidable than a Wat Tyler or a Jack Straw. These were none other than the clergy of the kingdom, from the bishops downward, who having arrogated to themselves the exclusive cognizance and punishment of vices of these classes, considered the reforming lord

\* Froissart, l. ii. c. 77.

† Id. c. 79.



mayor as an encroacher on their privileges, and gave him **all** the opposition in their power. The truth was, both indulgence to commit sin, and the remission of those already committed, were to be purchased with money, and dispensations to this effect were to be obtained only from the hands of the ecclesiastics; an attempt, therefore, to prevent vice was an attack on the revenues of the church. Northampton, however, had the courage to persevere in the face of clamour and threatening, and, as far as his jurisdiction extended, punished delinquents, exposed the shameful connivance of the mendicant friars, gave encouragement to regularity of conduct, and had even the influence, under the patronage of the duke of Lancaster, to procure sundry prohibitory statutes favourable to decency and good morals.\* This reformer, like all others of that description, created himself a multitude of enemies, who were at pains to vilify his character, by giving him the opprobrious epithet of *Cumbertown*, and by imputing to his excessive severity the frequent affrays which disturbed the metropolis; and his patron the duke being called over to France on public business, the king's ministers took advantage of his absence, to bring to trial the unpopular ex-mayor, who was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment a hundred miles from London, and his property confiscated,† (A. D. 1384). This sentence was rigorously executed, and Tintagel-castle, in Cornwall, was fixed on as the place of his confinement.

About this time the city's charter received the sanction of a parliamentary ratification: but a royal grant, of nearly the same date, of certain privileges relative to the navigation and trade of the Thames, bestowed on the constable of the Tower, seeming a direct infringement of the citizens' ancient rights, a tedious and irksome litigation ensued, which terminated at length in favour of the city. This decision was published, and the memory of it perpetuated by a proclamation in Latin, issued under the joint authority of the king and the lord mayor, Sir Nicholas Brembre by name. The original of that curious instrument is carefully preserved in the city records; and a translation is given, for the satisfaction of the present race of citizens, and of the lovers of rarities of this sort, at the bottom of the page.‡ But even

\* Walsing. Hist. Stat. Larg. 4 Rich. II.

† Walsing. p: 310.

‡ A proclamation made in the mayoralty of Nicholas Brembre, knight, mayor, on Friday after the feast of the B. V. Mary, and in the seventh year of the reign of Richard II. concerning the liberties lately granted to the citizens of London, by the lord the king in his parliament, and also concerning certain ancient liberties renewed by the lord the king, and newly confirmed to the said citizens by his royal charter.

even this, such is the tenacity of avarice, and such the difficulty and uncertainty of contending claims, did not put an end to the dispute, and it required the lapse of two centuries more to explain charters and acts of parliament on the subject, till its final adjustment, still in favour of the city, under the reign of James I.

Unfortunately the events of this unhallowed, inauspicious reign, and the part which the metropolis had in them, furnish materials but too abundant for the history of London. But the detail would be unpleasant and uninstruative. They exhibit the still crude state of liberty, of the constitution of parliament, of the administration of justice, of manners and morality. They present a misguided

It is proclaimed, on the part of the lord our king, and of the mayor of the city of London, by virtue of the confirmation and concession made by the said lord the king, concerning the liberties and ancient customs of the said city, as well by charters of the kings of England granted unto them, as without charters, that it may be made known to all foreigners concerning the following liberties of the said citizens, especially touching as well the said foreigners as the citizens of the city aforesaid.

So that no summons, attachment, or execution be made by any ministers or officers of the lord the king, or of his heirs, either with or without a warrant, within the liberties of the city aforesaid, but by the officers of the city only.

Also the same lord our king has, out of his special grace, by his charter granted and confirmed, as will fully appear by having recourse to the said charters and letters, the gifts, grants, confirmations, innovations, and the ordinances aforesaid ; and also all the articles, and all other and every thing contained, recited, explained in all the charters and letters as well of him the lord the king, as any of his progenitors ; ratifying and granting all and each thereof, at the instance and request of the commons of the realm of England, in his last parliament, for the nourishing greater quiet and peace among his liege subjects, and for the public good, and by and with the assent of the prelates, lords, nobility, and great men, assisting him in the same parliament, for himself and his heirs, as much as in him lies, to the citizens of the foresaid city, and to their heirs and successors, citizens of the same city.

Also the same our lord the king has further granted, at the instance and request as aforesaid, and by the assent aforesaid, and also by his own charters confirmed, for himself and his heirs, aforesaid, that the foresaid citizens, and their successors, citizens of the city aforesaid, shall be as entirely and fully restored to all their liberties and free customs, as ever they or their predecessors have at any time more freely and fully enjoyed the same under the predecessors of him the lord the king.

Also the same lord our king willeth, that although the same citizens, or their predecessors, citizens of the city aforesaid, have not, on any occasion whatsoever, hitherto fully used any or either of the liberties, acquittances, grants, ordinances, articles, or free customs, or other things granted in the said charters or letters, or perhaps have abused any or all of the acquittances, grants, ordinances, articles, or free customs, or any other things, in the same charters or letters, as aforesaid, contained ; nevertheless the said citizens, and their heirs and successors, citizens of the city aforesaid, may for the future fully enjoy and use all and singular the liberties, acquittances, grants, ordinances, articles, free customs, and whatsoever else is contained in the charters and letters aforesaid, whether the same were not used, or perhaps abused, and every one of them, without let or impediment of the same lord the king, or of his heirs, justices, escheators, sheriffs, or any other his bailiffs or ministers whomsoever, any statutes or ordinances published, or judgments given, or any charters of the same lord the king, or of his progenitors aforesaid, in times past made and granted, to the contrary notwithstanding.

youth



youth growing up into a rash and inconsiderate man ; irritating his friends into alienation and indifference, and his enemies into dangerous and criminal designs upon his crown and life. We confine ourselves to what strictly regards our subject, and which it would be censurable to omit.

If the proceedings in parliament, and in courts of justice, were at this period tumultuary, inconsistent, and irregular, it is not matter of surprise to find the city councils bearing the same character. Experience of the ill effects of confusion and disorder can alone instruct men in the benefit of order and regularity. Complaints having been frequently made that in courts of common-council, affairs of the highest consequence had been settled not on principles of reason, on calm and dispassionate deliberation, but with the vehemence and clamour of cabal, it was ordained, in the eighth year of Richard II., in a full meeting of the body corporate, that the common-council should be elected annually by the several wards, fifteen days after the festival of St. Gregory ; that the wards should be at liberty to re-elect the same, or to choose new common-councilmen ; and that this court should be convened at least once a quarter, to consult and determine upon the public concerns of the city : and, the year after, this ordinance was confirmed, and the number of representatives of each ward settled, according to the size and population of the wards respectively.\* This year likewise (A. D. 1386), the kingdom being threatened with a formidable invasion from France, a royal writ was addressed to the city, enjoining an immediate and effectual repair of the walls and other fortifications, and for the defraying of this expense, his majesty empowered the lord mayor and citizens to levy a toll, for ten years to come, on all provisions and other merchandise brought into the city. The work was undertaken with great vigor, under the pressure of terror ; but as this speedily dissipated, zeal cooled, the ditches continued to be choked with filth, and the walls to crumble ; the tax was levied, and, as in more enlightened times, misapplied.†

The names of Exton and Sudbury, two eminent citizens of this period, are transmitted to us with respect. The former distinguished his office of mayoralty by the detection, discovery, and prevention of a horrid conspiracy to assassinate the duke of Gloucester, the king's youngest uncle and most faithful counsellor, as well as the people's most faithful friend. The latter, at the head of a deputation of sixty of the most respectable citizens, repaired to Windsor, where the court then

\* 9 Rich. II. Lib. Alb.

† Froissart, Hist. p. 3:

was, with a firm and manly remonstrance on the abuses of government; the insolence and oppression of the two royal favourites, Vere duke of Ireland, and de la Pole earl of Suffolk: and on the intolerable burdens under which the nation groaned, to support the prodigality of an extravagant and dissipated court, and to glut the rapacity of unfeeling, insatiable minions. This bluntness gave high offence. The king retired in disgust to Bristol, and had the weakness to listen to a proposal of reducing the city, and his obnoxious uncles, to obedience, by means of a Welsh army. It became necessary to arm in self-defence; and the duke of Gloucester, without waiting till the metropolis should be attacked, advanced boldly at the head of a gallant army, composed mostly of Londoners, and completely routed Ireland with his Welsh troops, at Radcot-bridge, near Oxford. The duke of Gloucester, with the lords of his party, returned in triumph to London, with his victorious army; he arrived at Clerkenwell, December 26th (A. D. 1387), where he was met by the lord mayor Exton, in all his formalities, and received from his hands the keys of the city. This wild and ungracious attempt of Richard lost him the affections of the citizens for ever, and laid the foundation of those commotions which were hastening to strip him of his kingdom and life. The most respectable of the ancient nobility, feeling themselves insulted by the elevation of upstarts to power and dignity, had entered into a close alliance with the city, for their mutual security; the king was under the necessity of submitting, which he did with an ill grace, and he reluctantly gave up the ministers of oppression to the hands of justice.\* In vain did he endeavour, on coming of age, and assuming the government (A. D. 1389), to recover lost popularity, by acts of grace, and promises of wiser conduct. In vain did he employ, the summer following, the splendour of a tournament, in his capital, to which all Europe was invited, in order to ingratiate himself with the people. The mischief was irrecoverably done. Profusion had rendered and kept him poor: poverty prompted him to seek a supply from the benevolence of the citizens: the citizens were deaf, and refused either to give or to lend: the king lost his temper, and vowed revenge: a riot in Fleet-street, in which an insult was offered, or threatened, to the bishop of Salisbury, furnished a pretext, and the contest issued in his majesty's withdrawing with his court to Nottingham, in revoking the city's charter, imprisoning the magistrates, and removing the courts of justice from London to York. The nobility had by this time made

\* Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 414.



their peace with the king, and left their late associates in the lurch, otherwise Richard durst hardly have ventured on such violent acts of injustice, nor would the citizens have so tamely submitted to them. Submit, however, once more they did; and thus did this inconsiderate prince sacrifice, for a transient gratification of resentment, and a beggarly supply to the necessity of the hour, the firmest support of his throne. The servility of the city, on this occasion, excites equal astonishment and indignation with the meanness and violence of the monarch. Having graciously expressed the conditions on which he would relent and return, he was met on Richmond heath by four hundred citizens on horseback, richly habited in uniform, and headed by the recorder, who addressed his majesty in a speech that breathed humility and contrition, and earnestly requested that he would grace his chamber of London with a visit. This invitation being condescendingly accepted, all possible magnificence of preparation was made for his reception. The conduits were set a-flowing with wine, an emulous display was exhibited of decoration and dress, and every demonstration of joy expressed on the entrance of the royal oppressor, as if he had come a triumphant deliverer from a foreign enemy. The procession moved through the Borough High-street, and entered London by the bridge, while the air rang with reiterated shouts of *Long live the King! King Richard for ever!* At the Standard in Cheapside there was reared a most splendid pageant, on the summit of which stood a beautiful youth representing an angel, habited in white apparel, who on the king's approach, presented him with wine in a golden goblet, and placed on his head a curiously wrought crown of the same metal, adorned with pearls and precious stones of various sorts, of an immense value. A similar compliment was paid to the queen. He was then conducted, in great state, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, to his palace at Westminster, and presented with two silver basons gilt, containing each one thousand nobles in gold, together with a curious representation of the Trinity, valued at eight hundred pounds. To these were added a silver tablet for an altar-piece, inscribed with the history of Edward the Confessor, worth a thousand marks, and a variety of other rich gifts which annalists are weary of enumerating. But before they could recover the right of electing their own chief magistrate, an exorbitant demand of ten thousand pounds was made, and complied with.\* Thus rapidly was the infatuated Richard hurrying on his own destruction.

\* Knyght. Fab. Walsing.

Things now reverted to their former channel. The courts of justice were transferred from York to London, and an act of parliament passed, declaring that the city liberties should not in future be liable to forfeiture for any erroneous judgment given, or other offence committed by the mayor, aldermen, or other magistrates. Sundry useful regulations were made respecting the cleanliness and salubrity of the city. The extensive ward of Farringdon was divided into two, by which a twenty-fifth ward was constituted, and the rate at which each ward should be assessed to the public burdens was settled by the authority of parliament; and whereas hitherto the aldermen had been elected annually, it was enacted that, in future, they should remain in office during their good behaviour. An act was passed for preventing frauds in the important article of malt, and for punishing sundry impositions practised on graziers bringing cattle to Smithfield market.\* All this proves that the police and good government of the metropolis was a growing concern of the legislature. This is likewise the era of the finishing of that noble and useful structure, once the house of assembly for the great council of the nation, and to this day the great seat of public justice, Westminster-hall;† and in the year 1397 the mayor and commonalty of London purchased the great range of building, adjoining to the Guildhall, named Blackwell-hall, and converted it into a market-house for the reception and sale of woollen cloths, to which valuable purpose it has ever since been applied.‡

Meanwhile the violence of government was growing every day more odious to all descriptions of men, till it became at length intolerable. The principal nobility again united with the ill-used city, in devising the means of deliverance from the tyranny which so grievously oppressed them. They cordially concurred in an invitation to Henry of Hereford, by the death of his father John of Gaunt now become duke of Lancaster, who had been sent into exile by his cousin Richard, and unjustly stripped of his vast paternal inheritance, to come over and assert his personal rights, together with those of a much-injured people. Henry, without long hesitation, complied, and, landing at Ravenspurgh in Yorkshire, was quickly joined by the nobility and gentry of the northern counties. As he marched southward, his force, continually on the increase, in a few days amounted to sixty thousand men. With this formidable army he directed his course to the capital, well assured that if the city declared for him, he had nothing to fear from the unpopular Richard, and the

\* Stat. 17 Rich. II. c. 4. 11, 12, 13.

† Andersf. vol. i. p. 219.

‡ Id. p. 223.



detested instruments of his tyrannical rapacity. Nor did his expectation deceive him. The gates were thrown open by the citizens to receive their deliverer, and the acclamation of *Lancaster for ever ! long live the noble duke !* echoed from street to street, from lips more sincere than those which welcomed the misguided monarch on his return from Nottingham a few years before, and who now saw, too late, that to have lost the affections of his once loyal metropolis, was to have lost his all. His person was perfidiously seized by the earl of Northumberland, who carried him to London a prisoner, and delivered him to the duke of Lancaster. Thus unhappily terminated a reign which commenced under such smiling auspices. Thus was the son of the Black Prince hurled from his throne, to be hurried into a prison, and thence into an untimely grave.

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During the period which is the subject of this section, the cause of liberty had been gradually and imperceptibly gaining ground. The crown indeed made frequent and violent stretches of the prerogative, but they were as frequently resented and checked. The parliament of England, after undergoing a great variety of changes, and assuming a diversity of forms, had, toward the commencement of the reign of Richard II., attained that improved state, which it hath almost ever since preserved. There was now a regularly constituted house of commons, over which one of their own number, elected by themselves, presided, by the name of *Speaker*. The first person on record who was called to fill that honourable station was, Sir Peter de la More, knight of the shire for the county of Hereford, in the first parliament of Richard, A. D. 1377.\* But the lower house, even after it was fully established, uniformly expressed itself in terms of extreme humility and deference, not to the king only, but likewise to the house of lords. The government of the city was likewise reformed, somewhat after the model of the state, consisting of a mayor, by this time decorated with the title of lord, a court of aldermen, one for each ward, and now elected into office without any limitation as to time, and a court of common council annually chosen, the whole resembling the three estates of the kingdom. The preaching of Wickliff had introduced freedom of discussion on religious subjects, and this in process of time generated the spirit of civil liberty. Learning kept pace with every other species of improvement, and so many

\* Cotton, Abrid. p. 155.

seminaries were founded in and about the metropolis, that it was, and not improperly, denominated a third university. Such as desire more particular information on this head, are referred to Sir George Bue's Third University of England, at the end of Stow's Chronicle. The useful arts, however, particularly agriculture, the parent of all the rest, were still sadly neglected. The consequence was frequent and destructive famine. At one time (A. D. 1258), no fewer than fifteen thousand persons died in London for want of food.\* The commerce of the country at large, and of London in particular, nevertheless, was rapidly extended. To this the recent discovery, and continued improvements of the mariner's compass greatly contributed. The piety of all ranks was strongly tinged with a gross and grovelling superstition. Heroic courage, romantic gallantry, profuse hospitality, are the favourable characters of those times. But on the other hand, justice was corruptly administered; the highways were infested with bands of robbers, under the protection of the most powerful barons, and even in confederacy with persons belonging to the royal household.† The people were kept in ignorance and bondage; and upon the whole, the state of our ancestors at the close of the fourteenth century presents nothing enviable by their posterity at the conclusion of the eighteenth.

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#### SECTION V.

*The History of London, from the Elevation of the House of Lancaster, A. D. 1399, to the Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485.*

HENRY was received into London by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and all the city companies in their formalities, and hailed as the saviour of his country. The fallen Richard was committed to the Tower, and the unopposed usurper of his throne made a solemn procession to St. Paul's to return thanks for his signal success. But even in that rude age, it was deemed necessary to observe something like decency of form, in disposing of that gaudy bauble a crown. The captive king, finding himself universally deserted, was easily persuaded to subscribe his resignation of royalty. A parliament, however, was summoned in his name, to meet at Westminster, September 30th. On the day preceding, the instrument of resignation,

\* M. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 653.

† Id. p. 225.



conceived in the clearest and strongest terms that language could furnish, was executed in the Tower, in presence of the duke of Lancaster, and of the prelates and lay peers who adhered to him. It was produced next day in parliament and read, and the members, being asked if they accepted this resignation, as one man replied in the affirmative.\* This was not reckoned sufficient. In order to remove every scruple, articles of accusation, to the number of thirty-five, were brought forward against Richard, sustained, and a vote of deposition passed. Of all the peers, temporal and spiritual, whom the ill-fated monarch had promoted, Merks, bishop of Carlisle, alone had the courage and the gratitude to speak a word in behalf of his benefactor. But he was presently silenced by an order from the duke to take him into custody, and carry him prisoner to the abbey of St. Albans. This put an end to all debate, and the usurpation commenced in an act far more violent and arbitrary than any one imputed to the degraded prince. The throne being thus formally vacated, Henry duke of Lancaster, though by no means the nearest heir, rose from his seat, and with great apparent devotion invoking the name of Christ, and crossing himself on the forehead and breast, advanced his claim to the crown in the following remarkable words: “ In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I  
 “ Henry of Lancaster challenge this rewme of Ynglonde, and the crowne, with  
 “ all the members, and the apurtenances, als that I am descendit be ryght lyne of  
 “ the blode, cumyng fra the gude lorde king Henry Thirde, and throughe that  
 “ ryht that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of my kyn, and of my  
 “ frendes to recover it; the whiche rewme was in poynt to be ondone for default  
 “ of governance, and undoying of the gude lawes.”—This bold claim, though flagrantly unfounded, was without hesitation recognised; and the primate, taking Henry by the right hand, conducted him to the vacant throne, and, assisted by the archbishop of York, placed him in it, amidst the joyful acclamations of the whole assembly: † an event pregnant with woes innumerable to this kingdom.

Having thus assumed the government, Henry adjourned both houses to October 9th, in order to make preparation for his coronation, which was performed at Westminster on the 13th of that month, being the anniversary of his going into exile. This solemnity was followed by a splendid entertainment, served up in the great hall adjoining to the abbey, recently finished by the deposed monarch, at

\* Walsingham, p. 359.

† Knyghton, c. 2757.

which the lord mayor and aldermen of London, in quality of chief butler of the realm, were placed in seats next to the side-board. These festivities being over, parliament re-assembled for the dispatch of business, and, through the favour of the reigning prince, sundry laws, highly beneficial to the metropolis, were enacted. The blank charters extorted from the citizens by Richard's ministers were carried to the Standard in Cheapside and publicly burnt. Certain statutes of Edward III. which seemed to bear hard on the city were repealed. An extension of privilege to merchants, relative to the package of goods, was granted, and the markets for provision, particularly fish, were subjected to useful and salutary regulations.\*

Such marks of grace were not thrown away; for the citizens, who had contributed so largely to Henry's elevation, continued to be the securest guards of his person, and the firmest supports of his throne. A dangerous conspiracy was formed among several of the discontented nobility to assassinate Henry at Windsor, and restore the captive monarch. On receiving intimation of it, the king hastened to London, and put himself under the protection of the lord mayor, who immediately ordered the citizens to arm, and Henry had the satisfaction of seeing himself, in a few days, at the head of six thousand Londoners completely armed, and devoted to his service. This force speedily increased to twenty thousand, with whom the king marched intrepidly to Hounslow-heath, where he encamped, to wait the approach of the rebels. But the news of this powerful armament quashed the attempt. The soldiery dispersed, and the leaders of the conspiracy expiated their guilt under the hand of the executioner. It proved fatal likewise to Richard himself. Henry seems to have, at first, entertained no design against his life, but had him conveyed from the Tower of London, where he was too near the public eye and tongue, to Leeds-castle in Kent, and thence to Pomfret in Yorkshire. But the plot formed against his own life instructed him that the crown tottered on his head as long as Richard lived. He gave his assent at least, therefore, if not his orders, to have him privately dispatched. In what manner, or at what precise period, this was executed we have no certain account; the most probable is, that he was starved to death, in Pomfret-castle, about the beginning of the year 1400. That no doubt might remain on the public mind respecting the certainty of his death, the body was carried to London, with the face uncovered, and exposed to public view in every

\* Stat. 1 Hen. IV. c. 15, 16.



town and village on the road, and afterwards for three days together in St. Paul's cathedral.\*

Next year a fresh charter was granted to the city, conferring on the corporation and their successors for ever, the custody of Newgate and Ludgate, and of all the other gates and posterns of the city, together with the office of collecting the tolls and customs in Cheap, Billingsgate, and Smithfield; and tronage or fee, for weighing fundry commodities particularly enumerated. The prison called the Tun, in Cornhill, was, in 1401, converted into a conduit for receiving and dispersing the stream of water conveyed from Tyburn into the city, with the formidable decorations of a cage and stocks, for a terror to night-walkers on the one side, and a pillory for the punishment of fraudulent millers and bakers on the other.

Before Henry's advancement to the throne, he, as well as his father old John of Gaunt, was believed to be favourably disposed toward the doctrines and followers of Wickliff. If it were so, reasons of state now induced him to disguise his sentiments. He dared not to irritate a body so powerful as the clergy, but went down with the stream, and gave assent to acts of parliament which doomed all heretics remorselessly to the flames. These statutes were not permitted to slumber as a dagger in the scabbard, but executed with all the rigour of religious animosity.† Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, was a most furious bigot, who had formed a resolution of exterminating heresy by fire and sword. The first victim of this pious rage was Sir William Sawtrè, rector of St. Osyth's, London. While the parliament was yet sitting which passed the bloody act, this man was brought to trial for heresy, before the convocation of the province of Canterbury at St. Paul's. He was accused of refusing to worship the cross, and of denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. The unhappy culprit, shrinking from the prospect of a death so tremendous, endeavoured to explain away his errors. He consented to yield an inferior homage to the cross for the sake of him who died on it; but this was not considered as satisfactory. He acknowledged the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; and that, after the words of consecration were pronounced, the bread became the true spiritual bread of life. At an examination of three hours on this subject, the primate sternly urged him to profess his belief: "That after consecration the substance of the bread and wine no longer remained, but was con-

\* Walsing. p. 363.

† Wilkin. Conciliar. tom. iii. p. 238, 239.

“ verted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, which were as really  
 “ and truly in their proper nature and substance in the sacrament, as they were  
 “ in the womb of the Virgin, as they hung upon the cross, as they lay in the grave,  
 “ and as they now resided in heaven.”—Propositions so wildly extravagant and  
 absurd shocked Sawtrè in the extreme, and after a short hesitation he declared,  
 “ That be the consequence what it might, he could not understand, nor ever would  
 “ give his assent to such doctrine.”—On this the archbishop pronounced him an  
 incorrigible heretic, degraded him from all the ecclesiastical orders which he had  
 attained, and delivered him over, in terms of the act of parliament, to the secular  
 arm, the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, with the usual canting injunction—  
 that they would deal kindly with him, with the perfect knowledge that all the  
 kindness in their power to express, was to commit him to the flames. He was  
 accordingly burnt in Smithfield, the first English martyr to those simple truths  
 which are now the glory of all protestant churches.\*

While the English parliament and nation were thus blind to the plainest dictates  
 of common sense, and steeled against every feeling of humanity, commerce was  
 keenly intelligent, and tremblingly alive to its interests. The woollen manufacture  
 was hastening to become the staple of the country, and a law passed (A. D. 1404),  
 that all woollen cloths made in London should be marked with a leaden seal affixed  
 to each piece, to distinguish them from those of inferior texture, and prevent im-  
 position in the sale. But the price of provisions continuing to increase with the ex-  
 tension of trade, and the growing population of the metropolis, this manufacture  
 gradually removed, and settled in the more remote counties, where it to this day  
 resides, particularly in the counties of York, Somerset, and Wilts.† The Lombard  
 merchants were esteemed the wealthiest of all foreigners, and were regarded with  
 that jealousy of observation which the citizens of London have in all ages turned  
 upon prosperous aliens. This had been carried so far, that, by the law of the land,  
 they had been restricted as to the choice of their place of habitation, which was  
 placed under the discretion of the mayor and court of aldermen. This scandalous  
 restriction was now by act of parliament removed, and they were left at liberty to  
 choose their place of residence. They likewise obtained, that in all matters of debt,  
 accompt, or trespass, they should be subjected to the general law of merchants,

\* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 262.

† And. Com. vol. i. p. 229.



and not to municipal regulations. Country traders had been hitherto restrained from disposing of their commodities, within the city, except to London merchants, which necessarily enhanced the price to strangers. This restraint was now likewise abolished, and a more liberal policy adopted.\* An English merchant company, denominated the *Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket*, in honour of that martyr, the most ancient of which there is any trace in our history, and which had been established toward the close of the thirteenth century, had for its object the exportation of woollen cloths, and now (A. D. 1406) received the sanction of a royal charter, under which it long flourished, greatly to the emolument of the adventurers, and of the country.† So quick-sighted is mankind to discern, and so eager to attain temporal and transient objects ; so dull and dead to intellectual, moral, and religious feeling.

Another instance to the same purpose occurs at this same period. By virtue of an act of the late reign, 17 Richard II., the conservancy of the navigation of the river Thames had been confirmed to the magistracy and corporation of London. In the execution of this trust, by the removal of all obstructions from Staines down to the Medway, the lord mayor met with much opposition from the archbishop of Canterbury and other interested persons, which involved the city in a tedious and expensive litigation. They, however, at length prevailed, and their right of conservancy was finally established.‡ Thus the same man who felt no pity or remorse at adjudging to the stake one who had the sense not to swallow a palpable theological absurdity, and the spirit to avow what he thought, could enter seriously into the right of property of the fry in the Thames, and maintain a law-suit to ascertain it !

The kingdom meanwhile was torn with internal dissension, and threatened with foreign invasion ; and upon the calamities resulting from these was accumulated (A. D. 1407) another heavy judgment, the pestilence, which this year carried off thirty thousand of the inhabitants of the metropolis, and raged with great violence all over the country. Its ravages being most destructive in London and the vicinity, the king and court thought proper to withdraw, for the greatest part of the summer, to Leeds-castle. But thinking himself still too near the capital, he took shipping at Queenborough, in the isle of Shepey, escorted by a small squadron

\* And. Com. vol. i. p. 231.

† Id. p. 233. 260.

‡ Fab. Chron.

under the command of Thomas lord Camois. They were attacked in the mouth of the Thames by a fleet of French pirates, who captured four of the ships, having on board several persons of distinction, and the king himself with much difficulty effected his escape by the velocity of the vessel merely.

But no species of danger or disaster could allay the thirst of dissipation on the one hand, or the fury of religious zeal on the other. Clerkenwell exhibited displays of the former, and Smithfield of the latter. In 1409 the company of the city clerks presented a magnificent series of spectacles, for eight days successively, and with much applause, the subject of which was the creation of the world. These were attended by all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom; and succeeded by jousts and tournaments, the grand diversion of the nations of Europe at that time, when all virtue consisted in military skill and address.\* The clergy were preparing a far different entertainment for the public mind the spring following. The unrelenting primate, Arundel, held a convocation of his province at St. Paul's, January 14th, 1409, in which thirteen canons were passed, whose declared intention it was at once, and for ever, to extirpate Lollardy, that is, the doctrine of Wickliff, and all who dared to profess it. One Thomas Badby, a taylor, fell under suspicion, was apprehended, tried, and convicted of heresy. The archbishop earnestly pressed him to renounce his erroneous opinions, and adopt the creed of the church, declaring that if he would comply, he, the primate, would gage his soul for him at the day of judgment. Badby not liking the security, persisted in the confession of his own faith; on which he was pronounced a contumacious heretic, and delivered over to the secular arm, with an earnest request that he might not be put to death, which amounted to saying—"See that you show him no favour." He was accordingly conducted to Smithfield, the afternoon of the same day, placed in a great cask, with dry wood piled all round his body, and fastened to a stake by iron chains. It must have been a case of much interest and celebrity, for the prince of Wales himself interposed, and attempted to save him. He went to the place of execution, and, before the fire was lighted, entreated the unhappy man to recant, with an assurance that he would apply for and procure his pardon, and bestow on him a competent provision for life. With many an affecting acknowledgment of the prince's goodness, he avowed that he firmly believed his opinions to be true, and that he durst not retract them even to save himself from the cruel death to which he was doomed.

\* Stow, Engl. A. D. 1409.



The fire being then applied, the violence of pain quickly extorted from him an exclamation for mercy. Young Henry imagining his fortitude subdued, once more humanely interposed, ordered the fire to be extinguished, and renewed his importunity to the prisoner to relent and live. But he had now collected fresh courage, and declared he would not deny the truth, be the consequence what it might. The faggots were re-placed, the fire re-kindled, and his body speedily reduced to ashes.\*

The remainder of this reign produced nothing memorable, as far as the city is concerned. The magistracy discovered a laudable zeal in promoting the comfort, and preserving the peace of the metropolis. The guildhall in Aldermanbury being found too small and incommodious for transacting the business of the corporation, the venerable structure which now serves for that purpose, was planned and begun. A new market was established on the spot now occupied by the mansion-house. The lord mayor and sheriffs had the spirit to suppress a riot in East-cheap, though two of the king's sons, Thomas and John, were parties in it; which his majesty was so far from resenting, that he sent them his thanks for their manly and impartial conduct. One of the last acts of this king, was to bestow on his son, the prince of Wales, by a writ of privy seal, a grant of a very magnificent building in Thames-street, called Cold-Herbergh, or Inn, from its vicinity to the river. The place where this royal residence anciently stood, is that portion of the ward of Dowgate which still retains the name of Cold-Harbour-lane. The thirteen years during which Henry IV. filled the throne of England, were, upon the whole, a period of much progress, improvement, and prosperity to the city of London.

The old king having lost much of his popularity, little regret was expressed on occasion of his death: and though young Henry had rather tarnished his character by frequenting loose company, and committing several excesses unworthy of his high rank, and the important station which he was destined one day to fill, his accession produced general satisfaction, and inspired hope. The lameness of his title to the crown was never looked into, but he was proclaimed at London, the day after his father expired, March 21st, A. D. 1413, amidst the acclamations of all ranks, and was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnities, on April 9th following. The public expectation was not disappointed. Never did prince expiate his errors more nobly, or display virtues of a higher order. Indeed, respect to the rights of conscience excepted, which was hardly deemed a virtue in that rude age, he seems to have

\* Fox, p. 477, &c.

eminently possessed all the qualities of a wise, great, and good king.\* His youthful extravagances had, however, raised him up several formidable enemies, and a plot was actually formed in the city against his crown and life. Having received information of it, he issued orders to Sir Thomas Falconer, lord mayor of London, to apprehend all suspicious persons within his jurisdiction. Falconer directed a strong guard to be kept on foot, by each alderman in his particular precinct; and going in person, about midnight, to a house of doubtful character, the Axe without Bishopsgate, he seized eight desperadoes, who on examination acknowledged their guilt; and their detection suppressed the conspiracy. To prevent future surprise, the city ditch and other bulwarks were ordered to be immediately cleaned and repaired; and the vigilance and loyalty of the magistrates were repaid to the community by many acts of royal favour.†

But the great blot of this age and reign was the prosecution, condemnation, and, at last, the punishment of Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, the most valiant and virtuous nobleman of his day. His high rank, valour, and amiable qualities had endeared him particularly to the king, who greatly resembled him in all things, except blind submission to clerical authority. The archbishop was the rather determined, by striking a mortal blow at him, to discourage and disconcert the whole party of which he was the chief and champion. The severities hitherto exercised had rather promoted than extinguished the spirit of Lollardy. Soon after the coronation of Henry V., therefore, a parliament was assembled at Westminster, and a convocation at St. Paul's. In this last assembly a copy of each of Wickliff's works was, with great solemnity, publicly burnt by the primate's own hand: and it appearing that one of the books thus stigmatized was the property of lord Cobham, he was presented by the proctors of the church as a favourer at least of heresy, and summoned to answer for his conduct before the convocation.‡

Still, however, Arundel hesitated to proceed against a person of Cobham's rank and character, till he consulted the king, and obtained his acquiescence. Henry desired that no farther steps might be taken, till he himself had an opportunity of conversing with that nobleman, and of endeavouring to convince him of his errors. He took, accordingly, a private opportunity of arguing the point with Cobham, in which he earnestly entreated him to shun the impending storm, and return to the

\* Walsing. p. 382.

† Stow, An. Engl. A. D. 1414. Cot. Abr.

‡ Fox, p. 574.



faith and obedience of holy mother church. He replied to his majesty in terms of the highest respect and deference, but spoke with such freedom and acrimony of the pope, whom without reserve he denominated antichrist, that Henry left him in disgust, and resigned him to the will of the clergy.\* This was all the primate wanted. Cobham was summoned three several times to appear before the spiritual court, and on his neglect, was declared contumacious, and was excommunicated. Being by and by apprehended, he was committed close prisoner to the Tower of London, and brought to trial. He produced in his defence an ingenious confession of his faith, which he delivered into the court, who, in return, presented to him the only orthodox articles of faith, those of the church of Rome, demanding a complete and immediate assent. On his repeated refusal, the archbishop, modestly, mildly, and sweetly, to use his own expression, pronounced sentence of condemnation upon him as an irreclaimable heretic, and turned him over to the civil power; he was then remanded to his prison in the Tower.†

The king, though offended at Cobham's inflexibility, could not help venerating his integrity and firmness; he, therefore, thought proper to delay execution, in hope that he might be induced to retract. The condemnation of such a subject was besides so very unpopular, that the archbishop shrunk from the odium of it, and consented to, perhaps solicited, this delay. However it were, the prisoner contrived to effect his escape from the Tower, and, flying into Wales, concealed himself from pursuit for several years.‡ It is painful to relate the sequel. A reward of a thousand marks was promised to the person who should apprehend Cobham, so as that he might be brought to justice. This bribe, co-operating with the malignity of an unrelenting church, at length reached its victim. He was seized in his retreat, delivered up to the will of his enemies, first hanged as a traitor, and afterwards burnt to ashes as a heretic.§

Though both the king and parliament were hurried away by a blind zeal for what they called the true faith, which produced a persecuting spirit towards all who dared to think for themselves, yet they were equally aware of the encroaching, selfish, and tyrannical disposition of the church, and were determined to repress it. An inquiry was instituted into the irregular lives of the ecclesiastics, and a resolution formed to apply part of their overgrown revenues to the public service. In

\* Wilkins, Concil. p. 353.    † Id. ibid.    ‡ Walsing. p. 385.    § Id. Ypod. Newst. p. 591.

order to avert the impending storm, the primate artfully directed the king's attention to France, at that time torn by intestine dissension, and trumped up for him a claim to the throne of that kingdom, which Henry had the weakness to imbibe, and prepared to prosecute his title. And thus he whose right to the crown of England was so slender, unhappily for both kingdoms, was persuaded to grasp at that of France. To follow him on this adventurous expedition would be to depart from our subject. It is sufficient to say that his victory over the French, on the plains of Agincourt, October 25th, 1415, revived the memory, and rivalled the glory of the Black Prince, in the fields of Crecy and Poictiers. The news of this great event reached London on the lord mayor's day, as Wotton, the chief magistrate, was riding in the usual state to Westminster, to be sworn into office. On his return, he repaired with his train, which had been joined by the bishop of Winchester, lord high chancellor of the kingdom, to St. Paul's cathedral, where *Te Deum* was sung with all possible solemnity. On the day following a most magnificent procession of the nobility, clergy, mayor, and court of aldermen, with the city companies in their formalities, moved, on foot, from St. Paul's to Westminster, where a splendid oblation was presented at the shrine of St. Edward, after which this illustrious assembly returned to the city in great triumph.\*

The victorious monarch's return to his capital, loaded with the spoils and trophies of Agincourt, was a renovation of pomp and festivity. He was met on Blackheath by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, dressed in scarlet robes, and attended by three hundred of the principal citizens superbly mounted. As he approached the city, a procession of the clergy advanced to receive him, with all the costly insignia of their several orders. The streets were decorated in a style of magnificence unknown before. Banners innumerable were displayed, bearing a representation of the illustrious exploits of his majesty and his renowned ancestors. Beautiful children, habited like angels, at intervals chanted the praises of the Eternal King, to whom Henry piously ascribed all the glory of his late brilliant success. The conduits were set a-flowing with wine to regale the populace; and next day, the corporation attended his majesty at Westminster with a still more solid mark of affection, consisting of one thousand pounds in gold, served up in two superb cups of the same metal, and of equal value.† Similar honours were bestowed soon after on the emperor Sigismund, who paid Henry a visit at his own

\* Fab. Chron. part vii. p. 358.

† Walsing. p. 393.



court, in the benevolent view of mediating toward the restoration of peace between France and England.\*

This was an era of considerable improvements in the metropolis : a new gate was built leading to the manor of Finsbury, then a barren waste, from which the newly-erected edifice was denominated *Moor-gate*. The last ten years have transformed the adjacent fields from a receptacle of rubbish, a haunt of thieves, and the scene of vulgar amusement, into a spacious and elegant square inhabited by merchants and tradesmen of the very first order. That grand inlet into the city, Holborn, was now for the first time paved ; and now, first, during the mayoralty of Sir Henry Barton, lanterns were suspended in the streets, for the accommodation and safety of the inhabitants by night.† In the year 1419 Leadenhall was built at the sole expense of Sir Simon Eyre, to serve as a public granary for depositing corn, against a season of scarcity. How the destination of the founder came to fail, we have no information. It is at present the well-known mart for hides, leather, and provisions of every sort.

In 1420 peace was concluded between England and France, founded on this important basis, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine, daughter of Charles the French king, and, on the demise of his father-in-law, should succeed to the throne of that kingdom : a destination which, happily for England, was not realized, though the long conflict which ensued to establish and to overthrow it, proved a source of unspeakable distress to both countries. Henry and his royal consort were received, on their arrival at London, with every expression of joy, loyalty, and affection ; and the queen was crowned at Westminster, February 22d, 1421, with the usual splendour and solemnity.‡ The king survived this event only eighteen months. He was seized with a fever at Senlis, amidst the ardour and exertion of military exploits, which terminated his short, though glorious career, August 31st, 1422 : the heir of his crowns being an infant son of eight months old. The body was brought over to be deposited with the ashes of his royal predecessors, and passed with every funeral honour through the streets of the metropolis to the place of interment in Westminster. At such slender distances do coronation and funeral processions move.

The young king was carried with great state through the streets of London, in

\* T. Elmham, c. 31.

† Stow, Surv. Lond.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. x. p. 49.

an open sedan, in his mothers's lap, November 14th, to Westminster, whither the parliament had been summoned; his title was recognised by that assembly, and he was proclaimed king by the name of Henry VI. His uncle, the great duke of Bedford, then in France, was declared protector of the kingdom and church of England, and, during his absence, the government was entrusted to his younger brother the duke of Gloucester. The improvements of the city rapidly proceeded. The prison of Newgate was rebuilt, by a bequest of Sir Richard Whittington, who had been called at three several periods to fill the city chair. Water conduits were erected at Billingsgate, Paul's Wharf, and St. Giles's Cripplegate; a proof that the population of these different districts of the town was increasing. Thus every thing wore the appearance of peace and prosperity, and even the prospect of a long minority was brightened to the nation, by the known wisdom and ability of the king's uncles, who, though only in the flower of their age, had attained the full maturity of understanding, enlarged by much experience.

But the public tranquillity, and particularly that of the city, was quickly disturbed by the restless ambition of the bishop of Winchester, uncle to the protector, and grand uncle to the king. That haughty prelate, not contented with a share in the public counsels, but aiming at the sole and sovereign direction of them, formed a design of making himself master of the city by surprise, on the night that succeeded the lord mayor's day, when the citizens were occupied with the usual festivities, in honour of their new chief magistrate. The protector having received intelligence of this intention, sent for the lord mayor, imparted to him his information, and strictly charged him to preserve the security and independence of the metropolis, by arming a force capable of repelling any attack which could be made upon it. Next morning demonstrated that it was not a groundless alarm, for at an early hour a great multitude of the bishop's party endeavoured to force their way into the city, from the borough of Southwark, along the bridge. The gates were strongly barricadoed, the shops shut up, and the citizens under arms repaired to the bridge, with a resolution to sally forth upon the assailants. They were restrained however by the prudence of Coventry the mayor, and the effusion of blood was prevented. But it being impossible to effect a reconciliation between the deputy lord protector and the bishop of Winchester, the duke of Bedford, regent of France, found it necessary to come over and preserve the peace of the country, and particularly of the capital, by his presence and authority. He was met at Merton,



in Surry, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens on horseback, who conducted him in great state through the city to Westminster, and the day after presented him with a thousand marks in gold, in two gilt silver basons.

The name of another public-spirited chief magistrate of this period is transmitted to posterity with tokens of respect, for an exertion first of his authority, and then of his benevolence. Sir John Rainwell having received information against the Lombard merchants, of gross mal-practices in the adulteration of wines, to the great prejudice of the health of his majesty's subjects, commanded proper inquiry to be made, and the charge appearing to be well-founded, he ordered the noxious compound, to the number of a hundred and fifty butts, to be poured into the kennel. His benevolence he expressed by a gift of certain lands and tenements, his property, the revenue of which was to be applied toward defraying the parliamentary taxes, for the ease of the poorer classes of the inhabitants of the three wards of Aldgate, Bishopsgate, and Dowgate. About this time the magnificent edifice called Baynard's-castle, was destroyed by fire, but restored immediately in more than its former splendour, by order of the duke of Gloucester.

From time immemorial, and by an express law of Edward the Confessor, London had claimed and exercised the privilege of conferring liberty on servants, that is, on slaves, who should reside for a year and day, within the city, unreclaimed by their lords. This was now solemnly recognised, and extended to all other cities, walled boroughs, and castles: another small step made in the progress of freedom. A most odious and offensive statute was likewise at this time repealed, and the spirit of manufacture and commerce began gradually to encroach upon, to undermine, till it at length totally subverted, the proud fabric of feudal subordination. In order to keep the lower ranks in a state of insuperable subjection, it had been recently enacted,\* That no person whatever, not possessed of land to the annual amount of twenty shillings, should be at liberty to put out a child or children, as apprentice to any trade; and the tradesman taking such unqualified person for an apprentice, was subjected to a grievous penalty expressed in the statute. The city of London had the honour to take the lead in an application to parliament for a complete repeal of it, and had the felicity to prevail.†

Meanwhile the English power in France was rapidly declining, and was threatened with a speedy and total extinction. With a view to revive it, the duke of Bedford

\* 7 Henry IV. c. 17.

† 8 Henry VI. c. 11.

had recourse to the feeble expedient of carrying over the young king to Paris, and of having him crowned in that metropolis with an affected pomp and solemnity. Henry was met, on his return, at Blackheath, February 21st, A. D. 1431, by the magistrates of London in their formalities, and conducted by them to town. Two days after they attended his majesty at Westminster, with a fresh token of their affection, a golden hamper containing a thousand pound in nobles.

For many years posterior to this period, the history of London consists of a variety of minute particulars, of high importance, no doubt, in their day, but whose force is long since entirely spent, and whose memory, but for the chronicles of the times, would have been entirely obliterated. Of these it would be difficult to make a selection, such as might be formed into a regular narrative, amusing or interesting to the present generation. Many of the monuments of those times afford a pleasing proof that public spirit was a growing principle in the nation, and particularly in the metropolis. When the embellishments of a great city are attended to, when the accommodation and comfort of the humbler orders of society become objects of general consideration, when an emulation appears among the great and affluent to employ power and wealth in forwarding works of benevolence, there is a demonstration that the body at large is in a sound and vigorous state. Under the influence of this principle, more conduits, both for ornament and use, were now erected in various districts of the city, Cheapside, Fleet-street, Aldermanbury, Cripplegate, and supplied with abundance of wholesome water from the springs of the adjacent villages, partly by private munificence, partly by the wisdom and generosity of the corporation. To these, however, we are under the painful necessity of contrasting a temper and conduct which would reflect disgrace on any nation, and on any times. Pretended heretics were still in cold blood adjudged to the stake; atrocious murders were daringly committed in the streets, to the disgrace, and in defiance, of magistracy; the absurd decision of disputes by single combat was still not only permitted but encouraged; and private revenge, glutting itself with the blood of its victim, as in the case of the good duke of Gloucester, was still too formidable to the tribunal of public justice, and the boast of ferocious partisans. This wise and virtuous nobleman, worthy of a better age, after having had the mortification of seeing his dutchess accused, by a malignant faction, of practising against the king's life by the arts of witchcraft, condemned to an infamous public penance, and imprisoned for life, was himself arrested upon a charge of high treason, at the instiga-



instigation of the bishop of Winchester, now decorated with a cardinal's hat. That furious and resentful prelate, not daring to bring forward his charges against the duke in London, where he was equally known and beloved, had the influence to procure the assembling of a parliament at St. Edmund's Bury, February 10th, 1447, to proceed on the trial; but, even then, diffident of the issue, a shorter and surer method was employed to get rid of an enemy, and Gloucester was found dead in his bed in prison, before the parliament met.\*

As Henry advanced in life, he increased in bodily and mental imbecility. Timid and irresolute himself, his name gave sanction to measures the boldest and most determined: and these produced intestine dissensions which deluged the kingdom with blood. Not only had he lost for ever all title to the kingdom of France, but even the hereditary and undisputed dominions of his predecessors in that country had been recently alienated from the crown of England; nay, his title to this crown now began to be openly and boldly called in question. The capacity, severity, and address of his grandfather Henry IV. had stifled inquiry into the validity of his claim. The lustre of his father's military character, the success of his arms, and the spirit of the age, had silenced every murmur against his succession to a paternal throne, while victory, treaty, and matrimonial alliance seemed to have secured for him a still fairer inheritance beyond seas. Had a third prince of the house of Lancaster, of equal or similar capacity, succeeded, it is impossible to estimate the consequences which might have resulted to these nations, to Europe, to mankind. The seat of government would in all probability have been transferred from London to Paris, the English throne might have sunk into a secondary object; the sanguinary civil wars which so long desolated South-Britain might indeed have been prevented, but the national dignity and importance must undoubtedly have suffered. Though pusillanimity, therefore, be in itself a despicable quality, to that quality in Henry VI. Great Britain is perhaps more indebted than to all the gallantry and heroism of his illustrious father. The loss of the crown of France transmitted to his successors a crown far more honourable, and secured to future ages and generations of Britons their liberties and independence.

The cardinal bishop of Winchester did not long survive the destruction of his rival the duke of Gloucester. He is said to have died in great horror of mind, bitterly inveighing against his immoderate ambition and ill-gotten wealth, which

\* Hall, fol. 69.

could not purchase for him a release from death.\* On his demise, the marquis of Suffolk became the sole minister of state, having a complete ascendant over the queen, who possessed in her turn unbounded sway over the person and inclinations of the king. No one stood so directly in the way of the queen and her favourite as Richard duke of York, Henry's nearest relation, and indeed whose title to the crown, though dormant, was considered by many as superior to that of the reigning monarch. Instead of soothing and caressing a prince of such high birth and pretensions, Suffolk understood his own duty and his master's interests so ill as to treat the duke of York with all the insolence of power and office. Though the duke had received from the king in council complete approbation of his conduct as regent of France, together with a re-appointment to that honourable situation for five years longer, the queen had the address, and the weakness, to procure a revocation of this commission, and transferred it to a creature of her own, Edmund duke of Somerset.† This insult sunk deep into the heart of Richard, and set afloat all those passions which prudence had hitherto suppressed. He resolved henceforth to keep no measures with persons who had treated him with so little respect; and knowing how meanly Henry's talents were rated, and how justly odious the queen and Suffolk had rendered themselves to the nation, he began to turn his eyes towards the crown, employed emissaries in various parts of the kingdom to explain his title, to extol his merit, and to urge the necessity of a revolution in his favour. In the present disposition of the public mind, these suggestions produced their full effect, and sowed the seeds of that long and fierce contention between the houses of York and Lancaster which reduced England to the brink of ruin.

After several insurrections of inferior note, which proved fatal to many of the subordinate agents of administration, and at length brought Suffolk himself to an untimely and inglorious end, one took place which shook the throne and royalty itself to the foundation. The queen breathing revenge against those who had been more immediately concerned in the death of her minion, directed the storm of her indignation chiefly against the inhabitants of Kent, because at Dover in that county Suffolk met the fate which his own violence had drawn down upon his head. The violence of her resentment roused the people to resistance. The insurgents were headed by an artful and intrepid adventurer, whose real name was John Cade, but who thought proper to assume that of Mortimer as a lure to the adherents of

\* Hall, fol. 70.

† Id. fol. 67.



that family, and to such as favoured the pretensions of the duke of York. It is alleged by some historians that this enterprize was actually set on foot by the duke, to sound the general mind, that according as the experiment succeeded he might advance or recede.\* Whatever be in this, Cade having assembled a considerable body of the commonalty, under the popular pretext of procuring a reform of abuses in government, which procured him the appellation of *John Amend-all*, he advanced boldly towards London, and encamped on Blackheath, June 1st, 1450. From thence he dispatched two addresses to the king and council, under the following titles: *The Complaints of the Commons of Kent, and Causes of the Assembly on the Blackheath*; the other, *The Requests of the Captain of the great Assembly in Kent*. These addresses were conceived in very plausible and conciliatory terms, expressive of very strong affection and high respect for his majesty's person; but withal requesting the redress of sundry real grievances, the punishment of certain pernicious counsellors, who had oppressed the people at home, and bartered away the foreign possessions of the crown, and that the king would hereafter govern by the advice of the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, Norfolk, and the well-affected barons of the kingdom.† Of those marked out for destruction several were members of the council, who had influence sufficient to procure the rejection of these addresses, followed up by a resolution to subdue the insurrection by force. An army of fifteen thousand men was accordingly levied, and marched against the insurgents, who had retired to the woody country surrounding Sevenoaks. Here they were attacked by a considerable body of troops, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, whom they defeated, and returned triumphant to their former station on Blackheath‡ (June 29th, 1450). The aspect of affairs had now become seriously alarming, as not the common people only, but many persons of rank and fortune gave countenance to the revolt, while the vassals of the great nobility discovered the utmost reluctance to take up arms in the cause. It was deemed prudent, therefore, to employ lenient measures; and a prelate and a peer of the highest rank, the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham, were sent to propose terms of accommodation. Cade, in a long conference with these noblemen, conducted himself with great decency, but with equal firmness. His language was respectful, but in name of his followers he positively refused to disarm, till the demands contained in his address should be granted. On their returning with this

\* Hall, fol. 77.

† Stow, p. 390, 391.

‡ Id. *ibid*.

report, it was thought advisable to take lord Say into custody, against whom the insurgents had expressed particular resentment. The court not daring to confide in the protection of a disaffected army, withdrew to Kenilworth-castle, after leaving a sufficient garrison to guard the Tower of London. With a constantly increasing retinue Cade advanced to Southwark, July 1st, and after a little hesitation, was admitted by the bridge into the city. He immediately ordered lord Say and Seale to be seized, and, without the formality of a trial, to be beheaded, together with his son-in-law Sir James Cromer, sheriff of Kent. But this act of violence was speedily followed by others of a different kind. Cade, with an opulent city at his mercy, possessed not virtue enough to restrain his eyes and his hands from the rich plunder which tempted them. The example of the leader served as a signal to his followers, and the good citizens had soon cause to repent the evil hour in which they had submitted to the power of a lawless and ungovernable multitude. This licentious spirit proved fatal to the confederacy. The wealthier inhabitants formed associations for the defence of their property; and at length, supported by the garrison in the Tower, drove their rapacious guests out of the city. They made a violent effort the day after, July 6th, to force their way back; but after a long and bloody conflict were repulsed. This check melted their pride and courage, and the two archbishops, who had taken refuge in the Tower, wisely taking advantage of the moment of dejection and consternation, issued a proclamation under the great seal, which they carefully disseminated over Southwark, promising a pardon to all who should quietly depart to their own home. The effect was wonderful. In a few hours that mighty host, which overawed court and country, had totally disappeared. The ringleader, finding himself abandoned, put his booty on board a barge to proceed to Rochester by water, while he himself attempted, with a handful of attendants, to get thither over land. But being refused admittance into Queenborough-castle, he dismissed his few intimidated associates, and assumed a disguise in order to escape the search now made for him, with the reward of a thousand marks upon his head. This rendered his fate inevitable. He had made himself too conspicuous to elude observation, and was detected lurking in a garden at Hothfield in Suffex, by a man of Kent named Alexander Eden, who put him to death, carried the body to London, claimed, and received, the reward.\* Such was the termination of a revolt which, under a leader of higher rank, more cultivated

\* Rym. Fœd. tom. ii. p. 275.



talents, and a purer sense of military honour, might have subverted the government of a great kingdom. Indeed though this did not immediately take place, the precipitate attempt of Jack Cade excited in the country a discussion of royal pretensions that soon produced a civil war, which for many years converted the great southern division of our island into a field of blood. As the brilliant successes of the English arms in France are, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the internal divisions which prevailed in that kingdom; so the loss of every advantage gained in France, from the imperial diadem, down to each petty fief claimed and enjoyed by our English monarchs, is to be ascribed to the miserable contentions which now took place between the houses of York and Lancaster, for the sovereignty of England. Into a detail of these we must not enter, though our metropolis in this, as well as in every other national convulsion, from the beginning until now, has taken a considerable share.

To services performed, during the Kentish insurrection, by the chief magistrate, the city is perhaps indebted for the honour conferred on the lord mayor of 1452, Godfrey Fielding, Esq. of being nominated of his majesty's privy council. Two years afterward commenced the annual pageant, now fast hastening to its deserved nothingness, of the lord mayor's procession to Westminster by land and by water, on the day of entering into office. Hitherto the ceremony had been performed in a cavalcade; but this year, 1454, John Norman, lord mayor elect, thought proper to build a magnificent barge for the use and honour of his mayoralty: the city companies followed the example; and the element to which London owes all its greatness began to exhibit the yearly spectacle of a harmless naval festivity, the delight of myriads to this day, after a lapse of three centuries and a half.\*

The torch of civil dissension was by this time kindled. The king, timid and irresolute, weak in body and in mind, had surrendered himself entirely to the direction of a termagant queen and her two favourites, Somerset and Buckingham. This encouraged the duke of York to advance pretensions which aimed, in the first instance, only at regulating the government, not at subverting it. He had acquired popularity in Ireland, in Wales, and above all in London; and, irritated by a series of insults from the queen and her minions, resolved to employ that popularity for the vindication of his own native honour, and for the general good. The effect was mutual and declared hostility, which issued in a fierce conflict near St. Alban's,

\* Fab. Chron.

the week before Whitsuntide, 1455. The royal army was completely discomfited, and the king himself wounded and taken prisoner. The duke of York, whether from principle or policy, used his victory with great moderation. He hastened into his majesty's presence, condoled with him in the most affectionate terms, throwing himself on his knees, professed all the loyalty of the most dutiful of subjects, conducted him in person to London, lodged him in the bishop of London's palace, with a solemn declaration that he had no object in view but the removal of evil counsellors from about the throne.\*

The distraction of the nation, as may be supposed, produced much confusion in the metropolis, in the calmest times disposed to licentious or mischievous riot. The street called St. Martin's-le-grand is locally within the precincts of the city of London; but for time immemorial, and to this day, forms a distinct liberty, anciently subject to the abbot of Westminster, and now constituting a part, and enjoying the privileges, of that city. In times of disorder, the exercise of those privileges frequently excited tumult. At this period, when the arm of magistracy was feeble, the inhabitants of this district, trusting to their right of sanctuary, committed many outrages on their peaceful neighbours, fled to their monastery, and bid defiance to justice. This had been carried to such a daring height, that the city magistrates at length assumed a proper spirit, repaired with a sufficient force to the sanctuary of St. Martin, broke it open, and seized the delinquents: on which the dean of Westminster took fire, and, as if religion could be designed to sanction or protect crimes, complained loudly to the king of the violation committed by the lord mayor and citizens, demanded the restoration of the prisoners to their refuge, and a severe censure on such a flagrant breach of privilege. Henry had the good sense to dismiss the complaint, and to direct the magistracy to detain the offenders in close custody, till he himself should have an opportunity of hearing all parties on the spot.† Another riot, which threatened the extinction of all municipal authority, was excited the year after, 1456, from the violence of an individual. A high-minded resentful young mercer, lately returned from his travels, who had received, or imagined he had received, an insult, in passing through one of the cities of Italy, thought proper to retaliate on a young gentleman of that country, whom he met in Cheapside. He snatched the stranger's dagger from his side, and with a torrent of opprobrious language, beat him about the head with his own weapon. On com-

\* Fab. Chron. part vii. p. 412.

† Id. p. 415.



plaint made to the lord mayor, the mercer was taken up, examined, and ordered to Newgate. The mob interposed and rescued the prisoner, who took advantage of the tumult, to make his escape to Westminster, and fled for sanctuary to St. Peter's. The furious multitude meanwhile proceeded to the houses of the most eminent Italian merchants, plundering and destroying without discrimination, and without mercy. Resistance was made, and blood shed in the contest. The lord mayor and aldermen, supported by the more respectable part of the community, at length quelled the riot, and committed several of the ringleaders to prison. The court took the alarm, apprehending that this scene was only the prelude to a more serious political drama. A special commission was issued under the great seal, appointing the dukes of Exeter and Buckingham, with several others of the nobility, as assessors to the city magistrates and the ordinary judges, in the trial of the rioters. But on opening the commission at Guildhall, the multitude assembled in greater numbers, and with a more ferocious spirit than before, threatening immediate and signal vengeance on every one who should presume to try or to punish their fellow-citizens in prison. The noble commissioners, intimidated by these threats, hastily retired from the bench. But the lord mayor, foreseeing the dissolution of all government in the triumph of a mob, adjourned the court, summoned the common council of the city, and issued strict orders to the wardens of the several companies to assemble their fraternities in their respective halls, in order to form one great association of the better sort, to restore the peace and good order of the metropolis. This being executed with a wisdom and firmness similar to that which had planned it, the multitude were overawed in their turn, the commissioners were invited back into the city, the trials proceeded, several of the prisoners were convicted, three suffered death at Tyburn, and some were fined and imprisoned.\*

Ignorance in letters and in arts was one of the strong features of the times, and was undoubtedly a plentiful source of rudeness in manners, and irregularity in conduct. This began to be felt and deplored, and a partial remedy was applied. In the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI., on petition to parliament from the clergy of London, four parochial schools were established, those of Great Allhallow's, St. Andrew's Holborn, St. Peter's Cornhill, and St. Mary Colechurch. These

\* De Word. Ad. Polychron.

establishments becoming at once honourable and profitable situations to the masters, private seminaries speedily multiplied, and persons very slenderly qualified, as is still the case, undertook the important task of instructing youth. The archbishop of Canterbury, as guardian of the public morals and literature, was thence induced, about nine years afterwards, to apply for, and obtained, letters patent for the further establishment of five public schools within the city : one in St. Paul's Church-yard ; a second at the collegiate church of St. Martin's-le-grand ; a third at St. Mary de Arcubus, that is, Bow-church, Cheapside ; a fourth at St. Dunstan's in the East ; and a fifth at the hospital of St. Anthony.

But the peaceful pursuits of literature were soon absorbed in the fiercer contention for supreme political rule. The king's incapacity for government became every day more apparent, and the queen's impetuosity more intolerable. The doctrines of Wickliff were gaining ground, and theological produced political discussion. The elevation of the house of Lancaster was now denominated a palpable usurpation, and serious preparation was made to restore the legal order of succession. Great events frequently originate in trivial circumstances. A drunken quarrel took place between a servant of the king's household (A. D. 1459) and one of the earl of Warwick's. The fellow-servants on both sides became parties, the contention rose to the principals, and the flame spread wider and wider. Warwick in a rage fled to his government of Calais, and open hostility commenced. The earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and March, landed with a considerable force in Kent ; lord Scales took possession of the Tower of London in the name of the king, and demanded admission into the city, to defend it against what he called a traitorous invasion. But events transfer the charge of treason from party to party. The citizens had become warm partisans of the York faction, and the lord mayor boldly replied to the requisition of Scales, That he stood in no need of assistance either to defend or to govern the city, and that he would permit no armed force to encroach on the limits of his jurisdiction. On this he was threatened with a bombardment from the Tower, which was never executed ; for next day, July 2d, the earl of March, son of the duke of York, and afterwards king Edward IV., was at the gates of the city, with a formidable army of forty thousand men.\* The gates were immediately thrown open to receive him, and he took possession of the metropolis amidst the loud acclamations of all ranks. The earl having left a sufficient force to protect London,

\* J. Wethamstede, p. 478.



under the command of lord Salisbury, advanced at the head of twenty-five thousand of his best troops to meet the royal army, which was hastening to dispute with him the possession of the metropolis. They met at Northampton, July 10th, 1460, and a bloody conflict immediately ensued, which terminated in a complete victory on the part of the Yorkists. The duke of Buckingham, who commanded the royalists, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, with many knights and gentlemen, perished on the field; for orders had been given by the earl of March to spare none of the nobility or gentry. The queen with the prince of Wales, and a very few attendants, escaped into Scotland, where they arrived in a most miserable condition, having been plundered of all their effects by the way.\*

The ill-fated Henry himself was found in his tent, after the battle, with hardly an attendant; but was treated by the victorious earl with the most profound respect, and conducted with great ceremony to Northampton. After a repose of three days, they set out on their return to London, and entered the capital triumphant, July 16th, and his majesty was lodged in the bishop's palace.† The contest seemed to be now terminated. The most powerful supporters of the house of Lancaster had either been slain or taken prisoners; the queen and her son driven out of the kingdom; and the dispirited feeble monarch fallen into the hands of his enemies. But the timid policy of the duke of York, on the one hand, and the undaunted, persevering activity of queen Margaret, on the other, lengthened out the dreadful contention to the effusion of torrents more of the best blood of England.

The victorious Yorkists being now in complete possession of the king's person, and of the capital of the kingdom, lord Scales proposed to surrender the Tower on capitulation. But conscious of having fallen under the just displeasure of the citizens, and not considering the articles under which he had surrendered as a sufficient security against their resentment, he attempted to make his escape in disguise by water. He was, however, unfortunately discovered by some of the earl of Warwick's bargemen, put to death, his body stripped, and left exposed on the beach for several days, without exciting one symptom of compassion or regret.

The duke of York himself was in Ireland while these rapid and brilliant successes crowned the exertions of his friends in England. They now earnestly requested him to return, and in the mean time, having both the person of the king, and the authority of his name at their disposal, they thought proper to employ it.

\* J. Wethamstede, p. 480.

† Stew, p. 409.

July 30th, in summoning a parliament to meet at Westminster, October 7th ensuing. The writs were directed to peers of all parties, and the elections of commons were permitted to proceed according to law.\* The duke reached London two days before the meeting of parliament, rode through the city in great state, to Westminster-hall, where he alighted, and proceeded to the house of peers. Henry being actually a prisoner in the bishop's palace, the chair of state stood empty. York advanced to the royal canopy, and laying his right hand on the cushion, seemed to look for an invitation to step into the vacant seat. But a mortifying silence ensued, till at length the archbishop of Canterbury asked him, if he would accompany him (the archbishop), and pay their joint respects to the king. The duke, with visible emotion, replied: "I know no person to whom my respect is due, having a right to claim it from every other." With these words he hurried out of the house.† His pretensions to the crown being thus openly avowed, neither of the parties thought it now necessary to observe measures with their adversaries. Moderation and impartiality were considered as crimes; and the Lancastrian red rose, and the white rose of York, divided between them a great and gallant nation, and animated to mortal conflict the father against the son, a man against his brother.

The horrors of civil war it is painful to detail and to contemplate. To that pain we are not from the nature of our undertaking subjected. Though London took a considerable share in the fierce disputes of those miserable times, it was not the actual scene of much bloodshed. Had the queen's party ultimately prevailed, the metropolis would have had indeed every thing to fear from the resentment of a violent and vindictive woman; for it was throughout the main prop of the house of York. The frequent and sudden transitions of victory give this period of English history an air of romance. Within the space of two months no less than three bloody battles were fought, two of which terminated decidedly in favour of Margaret. In the former, that of Wakefield, December 30th, 1460, the duke of York was left dead on the field with near three thousand of his brave followers. By the second, fought at St. Alban's, February 17th, 1461, she recovered possession of the king's person, and was enabled to advance almost to the gates of London, which she threatened with exemplary marks of vengeance. Fortunately for the city, the victorious soldiery, in defiance of all command, spent several days in plundering the town of

\* Cotton Abridg. p. 665.

† J. Wethamstede, p. 482.



St. Alban's, and the country adjacent. This at once demonstrated to the citizens what they had to apprehend in the event of her obtaining forcible possession, and afforded time to recover from the consternation which the late defeat of the Yorkists had occasioned. They prepared, therefore, for a resolute defence. She sent to demand from the city an immediate supply of provisions, with which the lord mayor had the timidity to comply. But the populace interposed, and stopped the convoy, as it was preparing to pass through Cripplegate. At the same time she had the mortification to receive intelligence of the total defeat of an army of Welsh and Irish on their march to join her under the command of the earl of Pembroke, and that Edward earl of March, by the death of his father, now become duke of York, was hastening with his victorious army to relieve the capital. As he approached, she thought it prudent to retire. The earl of Warwick joined the duke with a considerable force at Chipping-Norton, which augmented his army, already flushed with conquest, to such a degree, as enabled him to hasten to a decision in confidence of success. He was better pleased, however, to find that the enemy had decamped, and instead of pursuing them, marched directly to the metropolis, into which he was received, February 28th, with universal and unfeigned satisfaction. Immense crowds of people from Kent, Essex, and the other adjacent counties, flocked to London for several days together, and many enlisted under his banners. Edward was in the prime of youth and beauty, and, possessing much greater resolution and political sagacity than his father, he determined to avail himself of this tide of popularity. He mustered his great army in St. John's-fields, on Sunday March 2d, in presence of a vast multitude of spectators. Lord Falconbridge seized that opportunity to harangue the people on Henry's unfitness to govern, and on the rashness and violence of those who ruled under him; on the preferable title of the duke of York, and his personal amiable qualities; and concluded with demanding, if they would have Henry to reign over them any longer? This was answered by an universal shout of No! No! The way being thus paved for a second question, he proceeded to ask if it was their pleasure that Edward duke of York should be called to fill the throne? to which they replied in the affirmative with equal unanimity and applause. A deputation was immediately dispatched to Edward, requesting him to assume the government. A great council, consisting of all the nobility, prelates, magistrates, and other persons of distinction in London and the vicinity, was next day assembled, in which, after a very short deliberation, it was unanimously voted,

“ That

“ That Henry of Lancaster had forfeited his right to enjoy the crown during his life; and that it had now devolved to Edward duke of York.” He was accordingly entreated to accept that crown which was his undoubted right. Edward, after modestly claiming the candour and indulgence which his youth and inexperience needed, declared his compliance. On Tuesday March 4th, he went in procession to St. Paul’s cathedral, where *Te Deum* being sung, he proceeded to Westminster-hall, and, seated on the throne with the royal sceptre in his hand, he received the homage of the great men present. He was thence conducted to the church and seated in the chair of state, and the ceremony concluded with an oblation at the shrine of St. Edward.\*

The king returned that same day to the city, and dined at the palace called Baynard’s-castle. He had hardly completed his nineteenth year when he mounted the throne of England. He was elegant in his person, engaging in his address and deportment, expert in all manly exercises, brave, active, and prudent beyond his years. Instead of wasting time in the vain amusements of youth, he applied himself diligently to business; and knowing he had a powerful rival in force, who was not to be subdued by the acclamations of a multitude, he exerted himself so vigorously, that the first division of his army, under the command of the earl of Warwick, was in readiness to march from London, in quest of the queen’s forces, on the 7th of March; and he himself followed with the remainder of his army, five days after. But the commencement of his reign was stained with an act of severity, which marked a sternness of disposition ill assorted to the rest of his character, and highly unbecoming the tenderness of his age. One Walter Walker, an eminent grocer in Cheapside, who lived at the sign of the Crown, happened to say jestingly to a neighbour, that he would make his son heir to the Crown, meaning his house and business. This was officiously reported to the king, who was weak enough to resent it as a sneer at the lameness of his own title: the grocer’s harmless jest cost him his life. Edward ordered him to be beheaded in Smithfield the very day that he left London on his expedition to the north.†

This expedition issued in one of the bloodiest battles which pollute the page of history. The two armies met, with mutual animosity, between the two villages of Towton and Saxton, ten miles south of York, on the morning of March 29th. Edward issued orders to his troops to take no prisoners, and to give no quarter;

\*J. Wethamstede, p. 509, &c.

† Stow, p. 415.



and the orders on the other side being most probably of the same sanguinary complexion, the carnage was dreadful beyond all example. Those who were appointed to number and bury the dead, declared, that they amounted to thirty-eight thousand.\* The victory was decidedly in favour of Edward, and was followed up by him, in the same savageness of spirit, by a farther unrelenting effusion of blood on the scaffold. He returned to London, June 26th, and three days after was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity.

Edward now thought it necessary to call in the assistance of law to confirm a right which the sword had conferred on him. He summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, July 6th; but so unsettled was the state of the nation, that by repeated prorogations the meeting of that assembly was deferred till November 4th. It exhibited a melancholy view of the ravages of civil discord; for so many of the nobility had perished in the field, or by the hand of the executioner, and so many were intimidated or driven into exile, that there remained only one duke, four earls, one viscount, and twenty-nine barons, to be summoned to this parliament. What they wanted in point of number was, however, amply compensated in unanimity, vigour, and efficacy of resolution. Henry IV. was declared to have been an usurper, and his posterity pronounced incapable of holding any estate or dignity, in any part of the English dominions for ever. Henry VI. the late king, Margaret the late queen, Edward called prince of Wales, with all the peers, knights, and gentlemen who had adhered to them, were attainted. The right of Edward IV. to the crown was solemnly recognized and established. The heirs of such of the York party as had been found guilty of high treason, while the Lancastrians enjoyed the plenitude of power, had their honours and estates restored; in short, nothing was omitted which the victorious prince was pleased to dictate; and their complaisance was recompensed with many expressions of gratitude, and many a fair promise, in a speech from the throne, at the close of the session.†

The king was abundantly sensible of the manifold and solid obligations under which he lay to the city of London, and in the second year of his reign (A. D. 1462) granted the corporation a new and very ample charter, which repeated and confirmed all their ancient privileges, and conferred, among others, the following rights:—The lord mayor, recorder, and aldermen past the chair, were appointed perpetual justices of the peace, and judges of the court of oyer and terminer, for

\* Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 533.

† Parliam. Hist. vol. ii. p. 311, &c.

the trial of malefactors within the jurisdiction of the city : the lord mayor and aldermen, by the mouth of the recorder, were invested with the power of deciding all points of controversy respecting the customs of the city : they were exempted from all obligation to serve on foreign assizes, or public duties beyond the jurisdiction of the city : the grant of the borough of Southwark was confirmed, with power to hold an annual fair there, at the ancient fee-farm rent of 10*l.* per annum. A farther explanatory charter, with an extension of privilege, was granted the year after, and the consequence of the city magistracy daily increased. An instance to this purpose has maintained a place in history, and must not therefore be now omitted. On occasion of a call of new sergeants at law, a grand entertainment was given at Ely-house, Holborn, to which, together with the officers of state, the magistrates and some of the principal citizens of London were invited. As the company prepared to seat themselves at table, baron Ruthen, the lord high-treasurer, assumed the principal place. This the lord mayor considered as an insult, alleging that, within the precincts of the city, he was, in virtue of his office, the king's representative, and accordingly entitled to the post of honour. Ruthen refusing to give way, the spirited magistrate with his numerous retinue quitted the hall. He entertained them sumptuously in the city, leaving the treasurer to the mortification of sitting at the top of a board thinned of its guests.

The intrepid and undaunted Margaret was meanwhile stirring up heaven and earth to effect her spiritless husband's restoration ; and her exertions in Scotland, and on the continent, were such, that Edward seriously took the alarm, and lived in perpetual apprehension of an attack from the northern kingdom, or from France. She was actually in a condition to enter England, on the north, at the head of an army composed of the collected fragments of the Lancastrian faction, and of Scots and French, in April 1464, and was attended by Henry and her son. The tide seemed to have turned. The castles of Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick received her ; and several noblemen who had made their peace with Edward, on hearing of her progress and successes, joined her standard with their numerous retainers.\* So great was the terror of Edward, that he issued a proclamation, commanding all the men of England, from the age of sixteen to sixty, to hold themselves in readiness to attend him, and to march against his enemies at a day's warning. He accordingly set out from London, accompanied by a splendid court and a powerful army, and reached

\* Hall, Ed. IV. f. 2.



York toward the end of May. But before his arrival at that city, the fears of Edward were for the present removed, and the hopes of Margaret crushed by two successive victories gained by his army under the command of the lord Montacute, the first at Hedgeley near Wooller, April 25th, and the second at Hexham, May 15th. Henry escaped by the swiftness of his horse, and was conducted into the county of Lancaster, where he was kindly entertained, and long concealed by the friends of his family.\* Margaret and her son pursued a different route, took refuge for a few days in Bambergh-castle, from whence they embarked for the continent, and arrived safely at Sluys.

On his return to London, Edward declared his marriage with Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Grey of Groby, which had been consummated eighteen months before, but kept a profound secret. She was crowned at Westminster, with more than usual pomp, May 23d, 1465; for in honour of this solemnity the king made no fewer than thirty-seven knights of the Bath, and, among others, Thomas Cook, the lord mayor of London, had that honour conferred on him. After the coronation the public was regaled with magnificent tournaments for several days successively. The measure of Edward's felicity and security was filled up two months afterward, by acquiring possession of the unfortunate Henry's person. That degraded monarch, after undergoing innumerable indignities and distresses in a state of concealment, in various places of Westmoreland and Lancashire, was at length betrayed by a monk of the name of Cantlowe, and apprehended by Sir James Harrington, as he sat at dinner in Waddington-hall, one day of July 1465. Harrington conducted him to London, and as a reward for this important service received a grant of the forfeited estate of Sir Richard Tunstall. Henry was met at Islington by the inveterate enemy of his family, the earl of Warwick, who ordered his feet to be tied under the horse's belly, and behaved to him with every other mark of derision and harshness. In this disgraceful situation he was led through the streets of London to the Tower, proclamation having been made that no person should show him any token of commiseration or respect. On reaching Tower-hill, he was compelled to ride thrice round the pillory, was then lodged in the Tower, and there treated with a contempt and cruelty which a generous mind could not have offered; and which to a high spirit would have been more bitter than death.†

At this most calamitous period of English history, while destructive civil discord lay smothered rather than extinguished, and threatened daily to break out with

\* Hall, Ed. IV. f. 2.

† Monstrelet, tom. iii. p. 119.

renovated fury, it is worthy of remark, that the most abominable luxury, both of the table and in drefs, prevailed all over the country, efpecially in the metropolis. It is confirmed by uniform experience, that fashions the moft incommodious and abfurd, and the moft expofed to ridicule and cenfure, with the greateft obftinacy maintain their ground. The fashionable fhoe of the days of Edward IV. was decorated with a long projecting point, bent upward till it almoft touched the knee, to which it was attached by chains of gold and filver and other metals. This awkward and cumbersome extravagance was carried to fuch a height, that parliament thought it neceffary to interpofe, and prohibited the ufe of fhoes and boots with points longer than two inches, under fevere penalties to be inflicted on both the maker and wearer. This was found infufficient to abolifh the practice, and the civil power was obliged to call in the terrors of the church to affift in reducing the fhoe-toe to a moderate fize. It would hardly give way to papal bulls, the decrees of councils, and the inveftives of the clergy; till at length the awful fentence of excommunication was denounced againft the delinquent, in addition to all the civil penalties exacted; and the fear of being delivered over to Satan, operated toward effecting a reform in drefs.\* Of luxury in the pleasures of the table, a noted contemporary instance has been tranfmitted to us, in the bill of fare at the installation feaft of Neville archbifhop of York. For the information of the curious in fuch articles of ancient convivial manners, it is inferted below.†

\* Stat. 3 Edw. IV. ch. i. Stow, p. 419.

† *The goodly Provision made for the Installation Feaft of George Neville, Archbifhop of York, A. D. 1466.*

In wheat, quarters	-	-	-	-	300	In pigeons	-	-	-	-	2000
In ale, tuns	-	-	-	-	300	In connies	-	-	-	-	4000
In wine, tuns	-	-	-	-	100	In bittors	-	-	-	-	204
In ipocraffe, pipes	-	-	-	-	1	In heronshaws	-	-	-	-	400
In oxen	-	-	-	-	104	In phefants	-	-	-	-	200
In wild bulls	-	-	-	-	6	In pertridges	-	-	-	-	500
In muttons	-	-	-	-	1000	In woodcocks	-	-	-	-	400
In veals	-	-	-	-	304	In curliews	-	-	-	-	100
In porkes	-	-	-	-	304	In egrits	-	-	-	-	1000
In fwanns	-	-	-	-	400	In stags, bucks, and roes	-	-	-	500 and more	
In geefe	-	-	-	-	2000	In pasties of venifon cold	-	-	-	-	4000
In cappons	-	-	-	-	1000	In parted dishes of jellies	-	-	-	-	1000
In piggs	-	-	-	-	2000	In plain dishes of jellies	-	-	-	-	3000
In plovers	-	-	-	-	400	In cold tearts baked	-	-	-	-	4000
In quailles	-	-	-	-	1200	In cold custards baked	-	-	-	-	3000
In fowls called rees	-	-	-	-	2400	In hot pasties of venifon	-	-	-	-	1500
In peacocks	-	-	-	-	104	In hot custards	-	-	-	-	2000
In mallards and teales	-	-	-	-	4000	In pikes and breams	-	-	-	-	308
In cranes	-	-	-	-	204	In porpoises and seals	-	-	-	-	12
In kidds	-	-	-	-	204	Spices, sugared delicates and wafers plenty.					
In chickens	-	-	-	-	2000						



Sir Thomas Cook, who had, during his mayoralty the year before, been decorated with the order of the Bath, was this year accused of high treason, tried, and honourably acquitted. But, what the prosecution probably aimed at, he was detained close prisoner till he wiped away all suspicion, made his peace, and recovered his liberty, at the exorbitant price of eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred marks to the queen, besides the embezzlement of his property, to an incredible amount, by the persons who had it in trust during the progress of his impeachment. The administration of justice continued sadly partial and impure, not only from the corruption of the bench, but of persons serving on juries. In 1468 several of the London jurors were tried before the lord mayor, and convicted of perjury, it being proved that they had been bribed to give a false verdict. They were sentenced to ride from Newgate to Cornhill with paper mitres on their heads, and after being exposed the proper time to the derision and insults of the multitude, were re-conducted to prison in the same state.\*

By this time Warwick, and the whole family of the Nevilles, who had contributed so largely toward Edward's elevation, and who for some time engrossed his favour, and directed his councils, were regarded with a jealous eye by the Widvilles, and the queen's other relations, who gradually supplanted them in the king's affection. The haughty earl feeling his power and influence decline, and considering himself as the maker of a king, conceived the proud design of unmaking him again, and had well nigh succeeded. The intrigues and exertions employed to this effect, it is foreign to our subject to detail. Suffice it to say, that after various successes and disasters, Edward was reduced to consult his safety by flying out of the kingdom, and arrived at Almar in Friesland with hardly an attendant, and without money sufficient to pay the freight of the vessel which carried him. By another of those revolutions of which that age was so prolific, the captive Henry was restored to the vacated throne. Warwick was on his way to the north with his army when the agreeable intelligence of Edward's flight reached him. He immediately directed his march to London, into which he entered in triumph, October 5th, 1470. Next day he relieved Henry from his tedious imprisonment in the Tower, proclaimed him lawful king, and conducted him with great ceremony through the streets of London to the bishop's palace, where having rested and refreshed himself for a week, he went in solemn procession to St. Paul's cathe-

\* Stow, An. Engl. A. D. 1468.

dral, with the crown on his head, attended by the prelates, nobility, and gentry, to return thanks to God for his happy restoration.\*

Elizabeth, Edward's queen, dreading the event, had retired privately from the Tower, during the night of October 1st, with the young princesses, and a few select friends, and took shelter in the sanctuary at Westminster. In this melancholy retreat she was delivered, November 4th, of her eldest son, the unfortunate Edward V., afterward murdered with his younger brother in the Tower, by order of his uncle Gloucester. The whole power of the kingdom was now in Warwick's hands, for Henry was made to be governed, not to govern. Clarence, Edward's next brother, had lately married Warwick's eldest daughter, and adopted all his father-in-law's passions and interests. His attachment to the new government was secured, by being admitted to a share of the regency, by the appointment of lord lieutenant of Ireland, and by a grant of all the estates of the house of York.† The earl retained to himself the office of admiral, and nominated his brother, the marquis of Montague, warden of the marches. Every friend of Edward was turned out of office, and their places filled with creatures of his own. In order to give a legal sanction to these acts of power, he summoned a parliament, which complaisantly voted whatever he was pleased to dictate. Every thing done in parliament ten years before was reversed. All the acts of attainder against Henry's friends were repealed, and their estates and honours were restored; Edward and his partisans were in their turns attainted, and their estates confiscated; the succession to the crown was settled on Edward prince of Wales, Henry's only son, and his issue, and failing them, on the duke of Clarence and his issue. But the change was too sudden and too violent to be of long duration. By the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, Edward was soon in a condition to return to England to attempt the recovery of his crown. He failed, with a little army of two thousand men, from the port of Vere in Zealand, March 11th, 1471, and landed on the coast of Yorkshire the 14th of the same month. The events which ensued, followed each other so rapidly, that they have the appearance rather of the shifting scenes of poetic invention, than of the sad drama of real life. In fourteen days from his landing Edward found himself in sufficient force to offer battle to his enemies, which they thought proper to decline. Clarence contrived the means of reconciliation to his brother, and joined him with the division of the army under his command, and did not blush to send notice of

\* Stow, p. 423

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 693.



his defection to his father-in-law, accompanied with a promise of interposing his best offices with the king, toward making his peace likewise. Warwick rejected this offer with disdain, and prepared to meet the worst that could happen. On this Edward called a council of war, to deliberate whether it were more advisable to attack the earl in his camp, or to march directly to the metropolis, where he still had many friends, who wanted his presence only to declare in his favour. The latter alternative was adopted, and immediately put in execution. He arrived at Westminster on Monday April 9th, but found the gates of London shut against him. It was not difficult however to overcome this resistance without employing force. Every sanctuary in the two cities was filled with his friends to the number of more than two thousand, all of them persons of considerable rank and influence; for among them were no less than four hundred knights, to a man disposed to use that influence to his advantage. Besides, Edward stood indebted to the good citizens in very considerable sums, and they had no prospect of payment but in his re-establishment. It is likewise insinuated by historians that he had a powerful interest in the city dames, many of whom were his fond admirers, and zealous advocates. However it were, he gained quiet admission, April 11th, and proceeded immediately to the bishop's palace, where he found the wretched Henry, that foot-ball of fortune, and remanded him to his former apartments in the Tower, from whence he was never more to escape.\*

Warwick, being joined by his brother Montague, resolved to make a desperate effort to maintain what he had done, and followed the king with all possible dispatch, in hope of overtaking him before he could force his way into London. But on his arrival at St. Alban's, April 12th, being Good Friday, he had the mortification to learn that Edward was already in possession of the city. He had now, however, advanced too far to recede; and both his merits and demerits with him were too high to admit of cordial reconciliation, or meet forgiveness. The day after, therefore, he proceeded forward to Barnet, with a determination to force an action, wherever he could find his foe, and whatever might be the consequence. Edward did not wait to be attacked in his capital, but marched out that same day, and encamped in the evening within sight and hearing of the enemy. By day-break on Easter-Sunday the two armies were on the field, and in order of battle, and immediately rushed into action with a fury to be imagined, not described. The

\* Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 554.

conflict was long, fierce, and sanguinary ; but terminated in a complete victory on the part of the king. Both the Nevilles, Warwick and Montague, were slain in the battle, after performing prodigies of desperate valour. Edward returned in triumph to London ; but had scarcely time to breathe there, till he received news that Margaret and her son had landed at Weymouth, and that a party was forming to support her in the west. This, however, proved the last dying effort of the house of Lancaster. Margaret reached England the very day on which the fatal battle of Barnet gave a death's wound to all her hopes. This unhappy woman, totally unapprised of the sudden revolution which had taken place, imagined she had nothing to do but march with the state of a queen to the metropolis, and take possession of her former dignity. What must have been her consternation on hearing that her husband was again in captivity, Warwick and his brother killed, and almost all the friends of her family slain or dispersed ? She is said to have fainted away, and, with difficulty recovered, to have abandoned herself to inconsolable sorrow. In the first paroxysms of despair, she fled with her son for sanctuary to the abbey of Beaulieu,\* where in a few days finding herself joined by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Oxford and Devonshire, and many other persons of distinction, her spirits underwent a transitory revival, and she permitted herself and the prince of Wales to be escorted to Bath. Her adherents exerted themselves with so much vigour and success, that in the space of ten days they had assembled an army of forty thousand men, with which they proposed to march into Wales, where they had many friends, with the earl of Pembroke at their head, and joined by these to return to England in full force, by way of Chester, a formidable body of archers being there ready to join them.†

But Edward, instructed by experience of the importance of dispatch, afforded them not time to execute their plan. He left London April 19th, leading an army crowned with laurels from the recent victory at Barnet ; and being reinforced with powerful bodies of his friends in his progress westward, he came up with the enemy, May 3d, encamped on the banks of the Severn near Tewkesbury, and resolved to attack them immediately. Here again his arms were finally victorious. The queen and her ill-fated son fell alive into the victor's hands. This unfortunate princess, the author and the sufferer of so many calamities, was now sent to the Tower of London, to undergo a tedious and rigorous captivity. The prince of

\* Hall, f. 30.

† Hollingsh. p. 336.



Wales, being conducted into Edward's presence, and asked by him with a stern countenance, How he had dared to enter his kingdom in arms, boldly replied: "I came to recover my father's kingdom."—The irritated monarch forgot his dignity so far as to smite the youth on the face with his gauntlet. This was hint sufficient to the royal attendants, who instantly drew their swords and dispatched him. The dukes of Clarence and Gloucester are accused by some historians of taking an active part in this horrid murder. They were at least present, without affording the unhappy victim any protection; and indeed the savage spirit of the times gives credibility to relations the most exaggerated of violence and cruelty.

This was the twelfth pitched battle fought in deciding the fatal contest between the houses of York and Lancaster. In these, and on the scaffold, within the compass of less than twenty years, perished above sixty princes of the blood royal; more than one half of the nobility and gentry of the realm, and upwards of one hundred thousand of the common people.\* But this victory was finally decisive; for all that now remained was to dispose of the poor prisoner in the Tower, which, considering the complexion of the age, and the state of men's minds, could be no difficult enterprise. Edward re-entered London triumphant, May 21st, and next morning Henry VI. was found dead in the Tower. An event which was covered with an impenetrable veil, at the time it passed, is not likely to be placed in a clearer light at the distance of three centuries and upwards. It is not probable that, circumstances considered, Henry died a natural death, but the manner of it must remain for ever a secret, though it seems to have been the general opinion at the time, that it was a violent one. "I think it prudent," says a contemporary historian, "to say nothing respecting the manner of Henry's death. May God grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who laid his sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed."†—Writers of the next age are not so reserved, but without scruple impute the guilt of this murder to the king's brother, the duke of Gloucester;‡ and the drama of our immortal Shakspeare makes him actually the perpetrator of the bloody deed.

The metropolis was about this period threatened with pillage by an army of abandoned ruffians under the command of Thomas Neville, a natural son of lord Falconbridge, and a man of debauched morals and desperate fortune. He had sub-

\* Ph. de Comines.

† Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 556.

‡ Hall, f. 33.

sisted several years by piracy, and now thought of acquiring immense wealth at a stroke, by plundering the city. This design he covered under pretence of succouring the captive king, for the news of his tragical end had not yet been diffused over the country, and he conducted himself so artfully, that on his landing in Kent with the companions of his infamous depredations at sea, he found himself at the head of a formidable body of seventeen thousand men, composed of free-booters, and the remains of the scattered Lancastrians. He marched directly to London, and took possession of Southwark without opposition, but found every avenue into the city shut against him. Determined to obtain admission, he transported a detachment of his army to St. Catharine's, to make an attempt on Aldgate and Bishopsgate, while he himself prepared to force the bridge. These three attacks were carried on with the fury and valour of men accustomed to bold and hazardous enterprises, and were repelled with equal resolution and courage by the citizens, under the command of their magistrates; for they not only maintained their ground against the assailants, but sallied out, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. The bastard Falconbridge himself was taken prisoner, and, with several of the most notorious of his crew, was condemned and executed, and their heads placed on the bridge. Twelve aldermen and the recorder received the honour of knighthood for their gallant behaviour on this occasion.\*

Civil discord being now apparently repressed, the employments of peace began to be cultivated; and the city magistracy which had acquired respectability from good conduct in times of difficulty and danger, increased that respectability by virtue and wisdom in the discharge of their civil trust. The police of the city was improved. The sheriffs of London and Middlesex had their powers enlarged. The mode of electing the chief magistrate and sheriffs for the city and county, was settled by a bye-law of the corporation, nearly on the footing which it maintains to this day. One pair of stocks alone, in the market which bore that name, and which occupied the ground on which the Mansion-house now stands, hitherto sufficed for the punishment of offenders of a certain description; but these being on the increase, an industrious, reforming lord mayor, Sir William Hampton by name, had stocks fixed in every ward of the city, and executed the laws against disorderly persons of both sexes with firmness and spirit. (A. D. 1472, 1473.)

Edward having now no competitor for the throne of England, began to advance

\* Stow, Ann. Eng.



the claim of his predecessors to that of France; but though war with this country has ever been an object too much the favourite of the English, the nation was so exhausted by long and sanguinary civil war, that it was found impracticable to raise the necessary supplies, both of men and money, adequate to the support of such a claim. This reduced the king to the necessity of employing a new method of obtaining the sinews of war. It consisted, under the specious name of a *benevolence*, of a requisition partly supplicatory, partly minatory, of a certain proportion of a man's wealth, from an arbitrary estimation. He took care not to overlook his good friends of the city on this occasion, and made his application so effectually, that the lord mayor contributed thirty pounds, the aldermen from twenty marks to ten pounds each, and the better sort of citizens at the rate of four pounds eleven shillings and fourpence per man, which amounted to half the subsistence of a soldier for one year. By means of these contributions Edward was enabled to raise an army of thirty-one thousand men, with which he embarked at Sandwich about the end of June, 1475, and landed, after a short and pleasant passage, at Calais. The expedition, however, produced nothing memorable. Lewis XI. of France had the address to purchase Edward's absence by the payment of fifty thousand crowns a year in London, during their joint lives, and by a promise, which was never fulfilled, that the dauphin should marry the princess Elizabeth of England. The English monarch returned inglorious to his capital, but was nevertheless met on Blackheath by the corporation in their formalities, and conducted by them in great state to Westminster.

This period of the history of our metropolis is rendered illustrious by the introduction into it of the valuable and important art of printing. It had been invented about forty years before, as is generally believed, by Laurentius Coster, keeper of the cathedral church of Haerlem. After attaining many improvements at various places on the continent, it was at length imported into our island and city, by Mr. William Caxton, mercer and citizen, whose name, therefore, well merits a place in a history of London. The little learning which hitherto existed in the country was in possession of the clergy, who did not always make a good use of it. The few manuscript books which existed were at once worthless and expensive, being for the most part silly legendary tales, calculated to nourish a spirit of superstition. This era may, therefore, be considered as the dawning of general good sense and knowledge, and Caxton must be ranked among the benefactors of his country. He was likewise a historian of consi-

derable

derable eminence, and the translator of several works from the French into his native language. His fifty-sixth year had elapsed before he seriously applied to the printing business; but such was his zeal, application, and perseverance, that he acquired, “at grete charge and dispenſe,” to use his own words, so complete a knowledge of the new and admired art of printing, that he actually printed, A. D. 1471, at Cologne, a book which he had translated from French into English, entitled, *The Recule of the Histories of Troye*. He came over to England the year after, and brought with him this and other printed books, as specimens of his skill in the art. Under the patronage of Thomas Milling, abbot of Westminster, he set a press to work, A. D. 1473, in the almonry of Westminster-abbey, from whence he produced, in March 1474, a little book which he translated from the French, called *The Game at Cheſs*: and this is the first book ever printed in England. His second production was a translation by the earl of Rivers, of a collection of the *Diſta Philoſophorum*, a fair copy of which translation is said to be preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, embellished with an illuminated drawing which represents the earl introducing Caxton to Edward IV., his queen, and the prince. Mr. Walpole has prefixed a copy of this drawing as a frontispiece to his catalogue of royal and noble authors. From this period, to that of his death (A. D. 1491), he applied himself so indefatigably to the work of translating and printing, that he published about fifty books, some of them very large volumes, and many of them his own productions.\*

A ſucceſſion of wiſe and ſpirited magiſtrates meanwhile promoted the credit, ſecurity, and comfort of the city. A third and fourth charter of the ſame date, June 20th, in the eighteenth year of Edward, were purchaſed from the crown, at a high price indeed, but conveying very ample rights and privileges, ſtill enjoyed by the corporation. Sir Ralph Joceline, the lord mayor for 1476, obtained an act of common-council, for repairing the city walls with brick, made of earth dug, tempered, and burnt in Moorfields; the expenſe to be defrayed by a weekly aſſeſſment of fixpence a head on the inhabitants of the ſeveral pariſhes. Knowing the powerful influence of example, he prevailed with his own company, the drapers, to undertake and finiſh a particular portion of the work, which they did, and were imitated by other companies. The year following Richard Rawſon, one of the ſheriffs, bequeathed conſiderable ſums to the priſons, lazar-houſes, and hoſpitals,

\* Biog. Brit. under the name of Caxton.



for the relief of the poor, and for the preservation of the highways and water-conduits, besides three hundred and forty pounds to portion out a certain number of poor maidens in marriage.\*

The conclusion of Edward's life and reign was stained with the grossest enormities and excesses; and exhibited the disgusting union of thoughtless dissipation, insatiable avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. His gallantries among the city dames are the subject of both fiction and history. He extorted money from every purse he could reach, and laid it out on degrading, unmanly pleasures.† Conscious that his title to the throne was in many respects defective, and foreseeing the probability of its being at a future period disputed, he regarded with a restless jealousy every symptom of inquiry and discussion. To produce instances of these would not be to our purpose, as they affected London only in common with the rest of the kingdom. In one case only the magistrates of the city were called to take a part. Clarence, the king's own next brother, had fallen under his displeasure, and he pursued his resentment to the death. He called a great council of the peers and prelates of the realm, and at which the lord mayor and aldermen were invited to assist. Before that august assembly, he personally accused the duke of many enormous crimes, with such colouring as hatred and revenge could supply. It was not easy to escape from such an accuser, and such a tribunal. On a charge of high treason, the articles of which were either grossly absurd, or contemptibly frivolous, Clarence was convicted, and sentence of death pronounced upon him, by Henry duke of Buckingham, who acted as high steward on the occasion. Such was then the influence of the crown, that the commons were prevailed on to appear at the bar of the house of peers, and to demand the execution of this sentence. Even then Edward did not deem it safe to expose such a bloody scene to the public eye, and had it exhibited privately in the Tower, March 11th, 1478, but in what manner the historians of the day do not relate, because probably they did not know.‡ Fabian tells us that he was drowned in a butt of sweet wine.

The following year, 1479, London was visited with the pestilence, which swept away vast multitudes.§ During the rage of this dreadful calamity, Edward continued to wallow in sensuality, which was gradually undermining a constitution originally sound and vigorous, and was bringing on a premature old age. Two city

\* Fab. p. 459.

† Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 559.

‡ Id. p. 562.

§ Stow, p. 431.

incidents of rather a singular nature are likewise allotted to this year, which to some readers may be amusing. Sir Bartholomew James, the lord mayor, had repaired to the shrine of St. Erkenwald, in St. Paul's, to present his private supplications to that saint, for deliverance from the ravages of the plague. While thus employed, his eye caught Robert Byfield, one of the sheriffs, kneeling close by him. Whether it were that he felt his devotion disturbed, or thought his dignity impaired by such an associate, it is not easy to determine, but he turned to Byfield, and demanded with considerable warmth, "How he dared to be guilty of such an indignity toward him?" The sheriff, who probably meant to give no offence at first, retorted with equal warmth, and provoked the chief magistrate to such a degree, that he made a formal complaint on the subject, to the court of aldermen, who resented the insult offered to the city chair so highly, that they adjudged Byfield to pay a fine of fifty pounds for his rudeness, to be applied toward the repairs of the city conduits. The second incident is a decision of the same court of lord mayor and aldermen, imposing a fine of twenty pounds, on one Robert Deynys, to be paid into the city chamber, for presuming to marry an orphan in the city, without their licence.\* In 1480, four persons suffered on Tower-hill for sacrilege. They were first hanged, and their bodies, with the gibbets on which they hung, afterwards burned to ashes.

The long and friendly intercourse which had subsisted between Edward and his good citizens was now hastening to a conclusion. They had been the principal agents in his elevation to the throne, and his chief supports while he sat upon it. Often had they supplied his wants and ministered to his pleasures. Their increasing commerce furnished a constant supply to his exchequer, and he felt as much gratitude as a rapacious sensualist could do. Most of our historians have transmitted an instance of this which is too memorable to be omitted. In the summer of 1482 the king appointed a grand hunting match in Waltham forest for the amusement of the lord mayor, aldermen, and the other principal members of the corporation; after which he entertained them sumptuously in a spacious arbour, prepared for the occasion. As the ladies could not with propriety partake of this species of diversion, and his good humour continuing, he made a present, in the month of August following, to the lady mayorefs, of two harts, six bucks, and a tun of wine, to enable her to regale the wives of the aldermen and principal citizens, which was

\* Fab. Chron. par. 7.



accordingly done at Drapers'-hall, with all the abundant and rude festivity of the times. Edward, the year after, died at Westminster, April 9th, 1483, in the forty-first year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign. His death is ascribed by a contemporary historian,\* to anguish of mind, preying upon a body debilitated and wasted by excess.

Edward prince of Wales, the eldest son of Edward IV., was proclaimed king, at London, the same day that his father expired, by the name and title of Edward V. He was then only in his thirteenth year, but his title was so clear in the eyes of the great majority of the nation, that little apprehension was entertained of any attempt to disturb his possession of the throne, though wise men foresaw the possibility of a turbulent administration of public affairs during his minority. He was then at Ludlow-castle in Shropshire, under the care of his maternal uncle, Anthony earl Rivers, who prepared immediately to conduct his royal charge to the capital. They had advanced on their journey as far as Stony-Stratford, where they were to lodge for the night. That same day, April 29th, the duke of Gloucester, who seems already to have formed his plan, arrived at Northampton, which is not much above ten miles distant, with a numerous retinue, and was there joined by the duke of Buckingham with nine hundred of his followers.† Hearing that the first prince of the blood, and the young king's natural guardian, was so near, lord Rivers thought it his duty to wait upon the duke, and to concert with him the mode of prosecuting the remainder of his majesty's journey, and of conducting the ceremony of his coronation. He and his train were received by the two duke with much apparent cordiality, and they passed the evening together in convivial pleasantries. But next morning Rivers, together with lord Richard Gray, the king's uterine brother, Sir Thomas Vaughan and others, were seized, and sent as prisoners to Pontefract-castle in Yorkshire. All Edward's other attendants were dismissed, and proclamation was made, forbidding them to approach the court under pain of death.

It is hardly possible to conceive a situation more affectingly deplorable than that of the ill-fated young prince at this tremendous hour. Separated by a sudden stroke from the protectors and companions of his childhood; a king, yet violently torn even from his domestics; at an age when the heart is most sensibly awake to strong emotions whether of joy or of grief, what must he have felt on finding himself entirely at the disposal of his stern paternal uncle, whom he knew to be the

\* Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 564.

† Id. p. 565.

sworn enemy of his mother and of all her family? Struck with sorrow and apprehension, he burst into a flood of tears, and bewailed his evil destiny in expressions the most pointed and appropriate, when the duke of Gloucester came into his presence. Richard endeavoured to sooth him. He fell upon his knees, and made the strongest protestations of loyalty and affection; assured him that every thing which had been done was for his safety and interest; requested him to repose entire confidence in the brother of his father, who could have no object but the maintaining of the family of York on the throne of England; in a word, he omitted nothing that could tend to wipe away the tears, and allay the terrors, of the hapless youth.\*

When the news of this unexpected event reached London, it excited great consternation both in the court and the city. The queen, in a state of distraction, hastened with her other son, the duke of York, and her five daughters, to her ancient sanctuary at Westminster. All was again party and cabal. The queen's friends held their meetings, some of them in arms, in Westminster; the partisans of the duke of Gloucester, with lord Hastings at their head, held theirs in the city.† But what consistent and decisive counsels could be adopted, while the intentions of him who had possession of the king's person remained totally unknown?

Lord Hastings, though he cordially hated the queen and her relations, was steadily attached to the young king, and thought of nothing more than the elevation of Gloucester to the regency, during the few remaining years of Edward's minority. He sent a message, accordingly, a little after midnight, May 1st, to Thomas of Rotherham, archbishop of York, and chancellor of the kingdom, to inform him of what had been done at Stony-Stratford, and to assure him that the views entertained by the lords now about the king were loyal and honourable, that they had the good of the nation only at heart, and that all would terminate happily. The chancellor was greatly alarmed at this message, though it breathed only kindness, and, notwithstanding the unseasonableness of the hour, immediately arose, and, taking the great seal with him, hastened to the queen. He found that afflicted woman in her sanctuary, sitting on the ground in the midst of her devoted family, mingling tears with theirs, and anticipating the evils with which they were threatened. The compassionate prelate endeavoured to comfort her, by giving the most favourable turn to every expression which lord Hastings had employed. But the very name of

\* Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 565:

† T. More, p. 484.



Hastings was a dagger to her heart, and she abandoned herself to all the bitterness of grief.

The king, meanwhile, escorted by his uncle and a numerous retinue, was pursuing his journey to London, which he entered, May 4th, the duke riding before him uncovered, and calling aloud to the people, "Behold your king." The royal cavalcade had been met at Hornsey-park by Edmund Shaw, the lord mayor, attended by the aldermen, sheriffs, and five hundred citizens on horseback, gorgeously apparelled in purple gowns : and was welcomed with loud and sincere acclamations of joy ;\* the more so, from the terror inspired by the danger to which they, at first, thought the king was exposed. All fear was now dissipated by the dutiful and affectionate deportment of the duke of Gloucester, who had not yet, perhaps, formed any criminal design, or had the art to conceal it till ripe for execution. The youthful monarch was conducted to the bishop's palace, where Gloucester renewed his oath of fealty, and was followed by all the nobility and prelates who were on the spot, and also by the lord mayor and aldermen of the city.† A few days after a great council was assembled, consisting of the peers spiritual and temporal, and of all persons of distinction in and about London ; and in this assembly the duke of Gloucester was unanimously elected protector of his majesty's person, and of the realm. By this council likewise it was, after some deliberation, resolved, that the king should be lodged in the Tower, as a step preparatory to his coronation ; it having been customary, on former occasions, for the English monarchs to ride in state from that fortress, through the city to Westminster, on the day previous to this splendid ceremony.‡

Gloucester being now invested with the protectorship, that is, invested with unlimited authority, exercised the first acts of it in giving orders to arrange the approaching solemnity, which he fixed for June 22d, declaring it to be his intention that the whole should be celebrated with all possible magnificence. For this purpose he issued a proclamation, May 20th, requiring every gentleman who possessed a landed estate of forty pounds a year, to repair to London on or before June 18th, to receive the honour of knighthood : and by particular letters, dated June 5th, he invited fifty young noblemen and gentlemen of the very first families, to appear before his majesty in the Tower of London, four days previous to the coronation, to

\* Fab. par. vii. p. 462.

† T. More, p. 486.

‡ Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

receive the *noble* order of knighthood.\* Thus, almost to the very last moment, were the most cruel and perfidious purposes covered with the mask of zeal and loyalty.

During this eventful period the council continued to meet frequently at different places, as occasion required, to settle the order of the coronation and other public business. On Friday, June 13th, a committee of council sat at Westminster, for the express purpose of issuing formal notices, addressed to the lord mayor and court of aldermen of London, of the day appointed, that they might give the necessary orders for due preparation: the rest of the council had been summoned to meet the lord protector in the Tower. While they were engaged in deliberation, the door of the council-chamber suddenly flew open, and a party of armed men rushed in with a cry of, Treason! Treason! One of them wounded the lord Stanley in the head, with a stroke of his pole-axe, and that nobleman, together with the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Hastings, were instantly seized. Nothing could equal their astonishment, especially that of the last-mentioned lord, when he heard the protector, in whose favour he thought himself firmly established, declare him a traitor, and order him immediately to be put to death. This barbarous mandate was executed with similar barbarity. The victim was hurried out into the court of the Tower, and his head struck off on a log which lay in the way accidentally. Hastings's real crime in the eyes of Gloucester, was his refusing to be an accomplice in the commission of treason, in favouring the protector's design to mount the throne. That self-same day, a scene still more bloody was acted in the castle of Pontefract. Sir Richard Ratcliffe, one of the protector's confidential friends, on his way to London with five thousand troops, whom he had been levying in the north, had private orders to execute all the noble prisoners confined in that fortress. This was performed without trial, without pity, and without remorse.

Even after the perpetration of these enormities, Gloucester had the assurance to wear the disguise of loyalty and natural affection. In a council held on Monday, June 16th, he insinuated how indecent an appearance it would wear, if the duke of York should remain in sanctuary among thieves, and murderers, and the other scum of the earth, during the festivity and joy of his brother's coronation. A deputation was accordingly appointed, with the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury at their head, to wait upon the queen, and persuade her to permit her younger son

\* Rym. Fœd. t. xii. p. 181, &c.



to join his brother, and grace the ceremony with his presence. What, situated as she was, could a wretched mother do, when violence was at hand to second entreaty? She yielded a reluctant consent. The little prince was put, with many a prayer, into the hands of the archbishop, who conducted him to the Tower, and delivered him to his uncle.\* And here terminated, if it could be said ever to have commenced, the short and miserable reign of the unfortunate Edward V.

It is evident from a striking concurrence of circumstances, that the duke of Gloucester had fixed his eye on the regal diadem long before it was known, or even suspected. He had found it difficult, nay impossible, with all his art, to justify himself to the citizens in the matter of lord Hastings, as it was necessary that they should be passive, at least, in matters of much higher importance, now hastening toward an issue. To gain the chief magistrate, Shaw, was deemed an essential point both by himself, and by his great friend and confidant, the duke of Buckingham; and, unfortunately, the fidelity of the lord mayor was not incorruptible. The hook was baited with the flimsy fly of *right honourable*, and a seat at the board, as a privy counsellor. Shaw snapped at it, and was caught. As it is a miserable consolation, for a man who has committed a base or a wicked action, to have associates to keep him in countenance, and to add weight to the unworthy cause which he has, against his conscience, embraced; so the lord mayor, proselyted himself to the side of usurpation, eagerly embraced a proposal of engaging his own brother, Dr. Ralph Shaw, an eminent preacher, to act a part in this interesting drama. The character assigned to this worthy gentleman was in the line of his own profession. He was to mount the rostrum at Paul's-cross, the usual resort of the multitude, on Sunday, June 22d, the very day appointed for young Edward's coronation, and to demonstrate to the people the illegitimacy of all the children of Edward IV. by producing proof of a pre-contract of marriage between that prince and lady Eleanor Butler, which of course rendered his marriage with her who had borne the title of queen illegal and void, and her progeny spurious.† It is alleged by some histo-

\* Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

† Shaw not being able to find, in the canonical books of Scripture, a text suitable to his purpose, sought and found one in the apocryphal book entitled the Wisdom of Solomon; these are the words—"Bastard slips shall not strike deep root," which, after a long detail of examples of the divine blessing on the fruit of lawful marriages, from both sacred and profane history, and of the miseries which had overtaken the issue of unlawful love, he applied to the two unfortunate princes in the Tower. But though preaching failed, the protector was possessed of an infallible method to prove the illegitimacy of his nephews,

rians, that Shaw far exceeded his commission, and, to make sure work of the matter, had attempted to prove that the late king and his brother Clarence were adulterous bastards; and that Richard of Gloucester was the only lawful issue of the duke of York.\* It had been preconcerted that, at a certain period of this decent harangue, the protector should make his appearance, and be pointed out by the preacher to the people as their only rightful sovereign. But the actors not being perfect in their parts, the duke did not come on the stage till a considerable time after his cue was past. This obliged the orator awkwardly to resume the panegyric, which he had already pronounced on that prince; but both the author, and the subject of it, had the mortification of observing that it was received by the audience with evident marks of disapprobation and disgust, as indeed it justly merited.

Shaw's rhetoric not having produced the desired effect on the auditory at Paul's-crofs, the duke of Buckingham, who was still more eloquent, and who from his high rank possessed much greater influence, was employed to address the citizens of a superior order. For this purpose the lord mayor was directed to assemble the aldermen, common-council, and the principal inhabitants in Guildhall; whither Buckingham, at the time appointed, June 24th, with others of the nobility, repaired, and, mounting the hustings, endeavoured, in an elaborate and artful discourse, to persuade the assembly of the bastardy of the late king's children, and to establish, of consequence, the protector's title to the crown. Though his eloquence was greatly admired by all, it produced no conviction; and instead of an universal shout of "Long live Richard," which he expected, a sullen silence reigned through the hall. Ashamed and mortified at his ill success, he took the lord mayor aside, and demanded, in a whisper, the meaning of this coldness. "Perhaps," said he, "you have not made yourself perfectly understood." On which the duke again came forward, and with still greater powers of eloquence pleaded his cause, but still with the same effect. The lord mayor then told him that the citizens not being accustomed to the addresses of any other orator than their recorder, to this their silence must be imputed; and Fitzwilliams, who then filled that office, was commanded to recapitulate his grace's speech. This, as he did reluctantly, he probably did ungracefully. At length a few of the baser sort, who had forced their way into the hall, tossed up their caps and cried out, "God save king Richard;" which Buckingham interpreting to be the unanimous voice of the city of London, acknow-

\* Sir T. More, p. 497.



ledging the protector's title to the throne, returned them his most hearty thanks, with many assurances of favour, and promises of acknowledgment, from the newly-elected sovereign. He then requested the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens to meet him next day, and assist him in petitioning his majesty to accept the crown, expressing at the same time strong apprehensions that, from an excess of modesty, and of affection for his brother's children, he might be induced to refuse it.\* Which is here most calculated to excite the wonder of posterity, the impudence which dictated this proposal, or the facility with which it was received and executed?

This solemn farce, in the middle of one of the bloodiest tragedies ever acted, was actually exhibited the day after, June 25th. The duke of Buckingham and several other noblemen, with the lord mayor and aldermen, went to Baynard's-castle, the protector's town residence, and requested an audience on matters of the utmost importance. The duke, at first, affected to be under some apprehension of a design upon his person, and was hardly to be persuaded to admit his visitors. He at length, however, consented; and orator Buckingham, as the mouth of the company, addressed him in a long harangue; wherein he displayed in strong colours, the miseries which the nation had endured under the preceding reign, the illegality of Edward's marriage, and the consequent spurioufness of his offspring; and, of course, the protector's clear and undoubted title to the throne. He concluded with beseeching him, in his own name, and in those of the assembly present, to assume what of right belonged to him. The protector expressed surprise and astonishment; but, while he admitted the truth of all that had been alleged, declared that his love to his brother's children far outweighed his desire of a crown. This furnished Buckingham with new topics for his eloquence. He assured him it was their unanimous determination never to permit one of Edward's progeny to mount the throne, and that if he persisted in his refusal, they would make a tender of it to one who might be less scrupulous. This hint seemed to stagger his resolution; he begged a little time to deliberate, and dismissed them with some reason to hope that he would listen to reason, and comply with their wishes.†

The business was not permitted to cool, for the concluding scene of this motley piece was brought forward the day following, Thursday, June 26th. Early in the morning the prelates, nobles, and other great men of the protector's party, with

\* Sir T. More, p. 498.

† Id. *ibid.*

the magistrates of London, and a numerous train, attended his highness at Baynard's-castle, and made him a solemn tender of the crown, which he was graciously pleased to accept.\* He had not however entirely trusted to the clearness of his title, the number of his noble friends, or the favour of the multitude, but had brought a considerable body of armed retainers with him to London. His great confederate Buckingham had collected a still greater number, and was in daily expectation of a powerful reinforcement from Wales, besides a ragged and rusty corps of five thousand from the north. "All these," says the monk of Croyland, who was an eye-witness,† "constituted a terrible and unheard-of number of armed men:" But the appearance of the greater part of them, according to Fabian,‡ who was likewise on the spot, was so shabby and uncouth, that they afforded matter of much merriment to the good people of London. They were not, however, the less formidable, especially when it is considered that they were under the command of Sir Richard Ratcliffe, who had given such recent and awful demonstration, at Pontefract, of his capacity to perpetrate the most atrocious actions.

The protector was proclaimed in London with the usual formalities, on June 27th, by the name and title of Richard III. and a coronation being then deemed essential to the exercise of royalty, that solemnity was hastened forward with all possible dispatch; and the preparations already made for the coronation of Edward, greatly facilitated the performance of this ceremony. Richard, with his consort Ann Neville, youngest daughter of the great earl of Warwick, was accordingly crowned at Westminster on the 6th of July, with the usual state. As soon as Richard had accepted the sovereignty, the last-mentioned historian§ informs us, "That the prince, or of right, king Edward V. and his brother the duke of

\* As an historical curiosity we present the reader with Richard's own account of this ceremony, and in the phraseology and orthography of the day, which he sent to the garrison at Calais, to induce them to take the oaths of fealty to him, and which they refused, having already sworn allegiance to Edward V. After a pompous enumeration of the rank, quality, and number of persons present, the description of the ceremonial thus proceeds: "They porreæd to him a bill of petition, wherein his sure and true title was evidently shewed and declared. Whereupon the kinges highnis (so he now called himself) notably assisted by wel nere al the lords spiritual and temporall of this royalme, went the same day unto the palais at Westminster, and ther, in such roial honourable apparelle, within the gret hal ther toke possession, and declared his mind, that the same day he wold begin to reyne upon his people; and from thence rode solempnly to the cathedral church of London, and was received ther with proceßion with gret congratulation and acclamation of al the people in every place."—Buck. apud. Kennet, p. 322.

† P. 566.

‡ F. 225.

§ Ibid.

"York,



“ York, were put under furer kepyng in the Towre, in fuch wyfe that they never came abrode after.” As the laft scene of this awful drama was acted behind the curtain, it is impoffible to obtain fuch information refpecting it as can be depended upon. The account in general currency is this : Richard having eftablifhed a firm adminiftration in the capital, fet out on a progreff over the kingdom. On his arrival at Gloucefter, he difpatched one of his pages with orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, conftable of the Tower of London, to murder the two young princes. Sir Robert declining to execute that deteftable mandate, Sir James Tyrrel, mafter of the horfe, was fent from the court, then at Warwick, with a commiffion to affume the command in the Tower, for one night, and in that night the two princes were fmothered in their beds, by the hands of two ruffians, named Miles Forreft and John Dighton, and buried at the bottom of the ftairs. The bodies were afterwards removed by the chaplain of the Tower, to a fpot which was never afterward to a certainty difcovered.\*

Few of the fubfequent tranfactions of this fhort and turbulent reign are entitled to a place in the hiftory of London. Richard returned from his tour through the kingdom toward the clofe of the year. On his approach to the capital, he was met at Kingfton by the lord mayor and aldermen, attended by upwards of five hundred of their fellow-citizens, fuperbly mounted on horfeback, and was conducted through the city to Weftminfter, where he celebrated the feftival of Chriftmas with great magnificence.† Being now, to appearance, firmly feated on the throne, he thought it proper to afsemble a parliament, in the view of obtaining a legal fanction to the meafures of his government. It met accordingly at Weftminfter, January 20th, 1484, and many excellent and highly popular laws were enacted, fome of them peculiarly favourable to the commerce and profperity of the metropolis. It had long been matter of complaint that fome of the moft confiderable branches of trade and manufacture were engroffed by aliens, to the detriment not only of individual citizens and trading companies, but of the nation at large ; for thefe foreigners, having the balance of trade in their hands, had it in their power to drain the kingdom of the greateft part of its fpecie, by their large remittances. It was therefore enacted, That no merchant alien fhould be concerned in any of the manufactures of this kingdom, or fell cloth, or other Englifh commodity to an Englifhman, either by wholefale or retail ; and that no fpecie fhould be exported on account of the balance

\* Sir T. More, p. 500, &c.

† Fab. f. 226.

of trade, but, instead thereof, merchandise of the produce of England. All foreigners were likewise commanded to leave the kingdom, except those who should become servants to English masters in their several professions, and acquire the freedom of the city by passing through an apprenticeship. This year the city suffered severely by fire. Leadenhall, the magazine of arms, with all the stores which it contained, and a great number of private houses in that vicinity, were burnt down to the ground.

Richard availed himself of the sitting of this parliament, to have his title to the throne recognised, and the succession settled. The petition which had been presented to him, as an inducement to assume the government, was now moulded into the form of a law, by which the marriage of his brother Edward with the lady Gray was declared to have been illegal, and the issue of it spurious. To make security doubly sure, he assembled all the members of both houses in an apartment of the palace, and produced to them, in writing, an oath to support his son Edward, already created prince of Wales, as heir and successor to the crown, which he obliged every one both to pronounce and to subscribe.\* A vain precaution; for to the unspeakable grief of both parents, the young prince died at Middleham-castle, April 9th, of the same year, after a short illness. This was his only legitimate child; and thus even-handed justice made him to drink of the bitter chalice which he had pitilessly mingled for others.

The parliament had the cruelty to strip the unhappy queen-dowager of all the estates settled on her by the late king, and which had been confirmed by parliament. She was thus reduced to extreme indigence, as well as overwhelmed with disgrace, distracted with anxiety, and oppressed with grief. In this deplorable condition she began to listen to Richard's solicitations, to quit her sanctuary, and put herself and her five daughters into his hands. To induce her to this, he took a solemn oath before the house of peers, "That if she would come to him out of the sanctuary at Westminster, he would provide for her and for her daughters as his kinswomen; that no attempt should be made upon their lives; that he would allow her seven hundred marks a-year, and give each of the young ladies a marriage portion of two hundred marks; and that he would charge himself with marrying them to gentlemen."† What a view of times and manners! That an oath should be deemed necessary to tie up the hands of a king from the murder of five young

*Hist. Croyl.* p. 570.

† *Buck. apud Kennet*, p. 528.

women,



women his own nieces ! What a provision for the daughters of a great monarch, and who lately stood contracted to the first princes in Europe ! What must have been the distress of the wretched mother, when she could accept of a proposal so humiliating, and trust her own life and that of her children on a security so slender !

After the dissolution of parliament Richard made a second progress through the northern parts of his kingdom, to secure the affections of his subjects there, and strengthen his hands against an invasion which now threatened his crown and life, by Henry earl of Richmond, whose title to the throne was indeed lame to the last degree, but which the partisans of both the rival houses proposed to strengthen, by a marriage with the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late king Edward IV.

Richard having employed every precaution which prudence could dictate, and which his circumstances permitted, returned to London in the close of the year, and again celebrated the festival of Christmas at Westminster, with excessive pomp and splendour ; on which occasion a remarkable phenomenon appeared at court, the princess Elizabeth in the self-same dress with the queen-consort.\* This furnished abundant matter of strange conjecture both at the time and afterward. But the festivity of the season was soon and sadly disturbed ; for on the day of Epiphany, January 6th, 1485, while the king, in royal apparel, and with the crown on his head, was leading the gaiety of the feast, he received intelligence from one of his spies on the continent, that Richmond was making vigorous preparations for an immediate descent on England, and that his hope of success principally rested on consolidating the hitherto contending claims to the sovereignty, by espousing the princess Elizabeth. Richard affected to rejoice at the news, as if an opportunity were presenting itself of crushing all his enemies at one blow. But he was in reality troubled and perplexed. On looking into his exchequer, he found it nearly exhausted : on examining his conscience, he received but slender consolation ; on casting his eyes around, every thing inspired doubt and suspicion. In this emergency he had recourse to an expedient to replenish his treasury, which, under the plausible name of a *benevolence*, was actually an oppressive, unjust, and illegal imposition. To make the matter worse, the persons employed in raising those supplies, executed their office so tyrannically, and with so much caprice, that the hearts of Richard's friends were cooled if not alienated, the wavering were confirmed in

\* Hist. Croyl. p. 572.

dislike to his person and government, and his enemies determined to strain every nerve in support of his rival.

The queen, who had been in a declining state for several months, died March 16th; and the memory of Richard has been loaded, by the contemporary historians and their successors, with the criminality of having, by various methods, accelerated that event. This is a charge, however, which probably would not have been adduced against him, had his character, in other respects, been unblemished. Whatever be in this, sensible that the design of his enemies was to unite the houses of York and Lancaster, by the marriage of Richmond and Elizabeth, he formed the plan, as soon as he became a widower, of defeating their purpose, by marrying the princess himself: and the circumstance of that young lady's Christmas appearance excites a suspicion that this alliance was meditated long before it was declared. It is matter of astonishment to find both the mother and the daughter giving their consent to a project so unnatural; but such is the fascination produced by the glimpse of a crown. The news of this proposed union alarmed Richmond in his turn, and prompted him to accelerate his expedition. With a small army of three thousand men, he sailed from Harfleur in Normandy, August 1st, and landed at Milford-haven on the 7th.\*

It is foreign to our subject to pursue farther the detail of this important enterprise. Matters were brought to a decision within the short space of sixteen days. The parties met at Bosworth in Leicestershire, August 23d, and the death of Richard on the field of battle for ever terminated the dispute of the two houses. This battle was neither long nor bloody, for not above a thousand on both sides died in the conflict,† but it was most importantly decisive; it was not to be the last, however, which should stain the foil of England, and the page of English history.

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The period which is the subject of this and the preceding sections, is the most dark and dismal that the annals of our country present. Its leading features are the fierce and sanguinary spirit of civil discord, the no less fierce and gloomy spirit of religious bigotry and intolerance, savage manners, gross ignorance, and a coarse, profuse, and extravagant luxury. It is relieved and diversified, however, by occasional and most brilliant displays of all that is respectable in the human intellect, and

\* Hist. Croyl. p. 573.

† Hall, f. 33.



amiable in the human heart. The fields of Agincourt and Crecy will transmit to latest posterity a sublime idea of English valour; while the character of the two princes who directed that valour will serve as a model not only of heroic virtue, but of the still more attractive virtues of civil and domestic life. Though England and the rest of Europe were approaching the dawn of the day of science, darkness still covered the face of the deep. The little learning which the age could boast of was the property of a few conceited, tasteless monks.\* Nevertheless a friar Bacon had written, and John Wickliffe had taught. A nobleman (lord Cobham) had been persecuted for religion; and two others (the earl of Worcester and earl Rivers) had figured as authors, with an ability which would have done credit to times the most enlightened. The weight of the people, in the constitution of the legislative body, had increased, and the odious condition of slavery was daily diminishing. The foreign and civil wars of the period, which suffered little interruption, were in the highest degree unfavourable to the extension of commerce, and the other arts of peace. The country, however, and its metropolis in particular, being formed by the hand of nature for navigation and trade, made considerable progress even in those turbulent times. We find the city magistracy acquiring an increasing respectability, and, on several important occasions, giving preponderancy to the political scale into which they threw their weight. This can be ascribed only to their growing consequence as merchants and tradesmen. The city itself was in a progressive state of improvement, in respect of works both of ornament and of utility; and in many cases these two qualities were combined, such as the beautiful conduits which arose in the principal streets, the monuments of public liberality and taste, or of individual munificence.

\* Of the literature of the age, and of the false taste which had infected it, the classical reader is presented with the following specimen, from Thomas of Elmham's description of the battle of Agincourt:

O! letale bellum, dira strages, clades mortalis, fames mortis, sitis cruoris insatiabilis, furibundus impetus, furor impetuosus, insania vehemens, crudelis conflictus, immisericors ulcio, lancearum fragor immensus, sagittarum garritus, securium concussus, ensium vibratio, armorum dirupcio, vulnerum impressio, effusio sanguinis, induccio mortis, corporum dissolutio, nobilium occisio: aër fragoribus horrendis tonitruat, nubes missilia impluunt, tellus cruorem absorbet, spiritus e corporibus evolant, semiviva corpora proprio sanguine volutant; cadaveribus occisorum terræ superficies operitur. Iste invadit, ille cedit, iste aggreditur, ille moritur, iste animum revocat, ille animam cum cruore simul eructat; occisor irascitur, occisus mœrore conteritur, victus reddi desiderat, victorum impetus reddicionis tempora non expectat, sævicia regnat, pietas exulat, fortes et strenui opprimuntur, et montes cadaverum cumulantur, multitudo maxima traditur morti, principes et magnates ducuntur captivi, &c. &c.

But the glory of the period was the introduction of the art of printing, destined of Providence to diffuse over the globe a light, and a spirit of life, unknown before. The time was at hand when science was no longer to lie buried in the musty repositories of convents and colleges, but to travel like the sun in his strength, illuminating and to illuminate. The time was at hand when the pretensions of regal despotism, of feudal insolence, and of papal usurpation, were to be examined, were to be tried in the balance of reason and common sense, and found wanting. From this source began to flow the sacred stream of civil and religious liberty, once a brook that hardly sufficed to water the sole of the foot, but now become “a river in which a man may swim.” And let Englishmen of the present day know and acknowledge, that as to the press they are indebted for the diffusion of divine truth, so to freedom of religious inquiry they stand indebted for the origin and progress of their civil rights. It was the reformation in religion which at length generated a revolution in the political constitution and establishment of the kingdom, a spring of blessings innumerable, through a succession of one hundred and ten years. Let William Caxton the printer, then, rank with the Henrys and the Edwards of his day. His glory indeed eclipses theirs. Their splendid actions were far from being benefits to their country, and at any rate have long since spent their force; whereas his ingenious and useful labours enrol him among the benefactors of the human race. To him and his successors we owe the revival of letters, the propagation of valuable knowledge, the extinction of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, the possession of all that is dear to us as men, as Britons, and as Christians. How deeply to be regretted is it, that a discovery so favourable to the best interests of mankind should have been perverted to purposes the vilest and the most pernicious!

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## SECTION VI.

*The History of London, from the Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Commencement of the Reign of Elizabeth, A. D. 1558.*

THE victory at Bosworth plucked the royal diadem of England from the brow of Richard, and placed it on the head of the earl of Richmond, who wore it with little or no disturbance during his own life, and transmitted it quietly to his posterity. Never, however, had there been advanced a claim of royalty so palpably defective. The title of the house of Lancaster was at the best doubtful and disputable;



table; and Richmond was by no means the representative of that house. His mother, Margaret countess of Richmond, was still alive; and she was indeed the sole daughter and heiress of the house of Somerset, descended from John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster; but the birth of the first of the Somerset line was itself illegitimate, and even adulterous. And although the duke of Lancaster had obtained an act of legitimation in favour of his spurious issue, that act contains an explicit exception of all pretension to the crown and regal dignity.\* But such had been, during the greatest part of a century, the miseries resulting from contending claims, and such the detestation in which the late monarch was held, by men of all parties, that the nation discovered no inclination to discuss questions of doubtful disputation, and acquiesced, without farther inquiry, in the nomination of the soldiery, who, on the field of battle, had saluted their victorious commander by the title of king Henry VII., and in confirmation of this precipitate choice, had decorated him with a crown of ornament, worn by Richard in the battle. Besides, the proposed marriage of Henry with the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., and undoubted heiress of the house of York, seemed to unite every jarring interest, and to promise the restoration of tranquillity to a land sick of discord, of war and blood.

Henry proceeded from the field of battle, in slow and stately progression, toward the capital; carefully avoiding every appearance of advancing as a conqueror, but with the composure of a firmly established monarch, making the tour of his dominions. Wherever he came, the acclamations of the people were, accordingly, loud; perhaps hearty and sincere. Numerous and splendid troops of the gentry and nobility swelled his retinue; and as he approached the city, the lord mayor, aldermen, and other officers of the corporation, attended by a multitude of citizens of the first distinction, met him, August 28, and conducted him to St. Paul's, where he deposited the standards taken at Bosworth, and then retired to his apartments in the episcopal palace. He gave early and mortifying indications, however, of an ungracious, stately, and reserved character; he scorned to court popularity, and would not so much as treat the citizens with a sight of his person, for he made his entry into London, immured in a close chariot. The same spirit appeared when the important articles of his marriage and coronation came under consideration. He was indebted for the facility of his accession, principally to the prospect of an union

\* Rymer, tom. vii. p. 849.

of the contending claims, by his marriage with the princess Elizabeth; but his haughty soul spurned the idea of deriving any support to his title from a wife. He therefore deferred the celebration of his nuptials, till the ceremony of his coronation was performed, and his personal and hereditary right to the crown recognized by parliament. On the same principle he determined to have the coronation spectacle rendered as magnificent as possible. In this view he conferred the rank of knight banneret on twelve gentlemen, and of peerage upon three. In the procession there likewise appeared, for safety as well as for show, a newly established band of fifty archers, under the appellation of yeomen of the guard. Cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, performed the ceremony of coronation.

During this splendid pageantry, and these courtly arrangements, the city and neighbourhood underwent a severe visitation from the immediate hand of Providence. A pestilential disorder, of which history furnishes no prior instance, suddenly carried off multitudes. From its nature and effects it obtained the denomination of the *sweating sickness*. Death generally ensued, or convalescence commenced, within twenty-four hours of the attack. It did not seem to be propagated by infection, but to be produced by some peculiar affection of the air acting on a certain state of the human body. The duration of its rage, however, was but short; for in a few weeks, whether from an alteration in the atmosphere, or regimen adapted to the case, the symptoms began to disappear.\* Among the victims which it exacted are reckoned up Thomas Hylle, the newly-elected lord mayor, and Sir William Stokker, his immediate successor, and also one of the sheriffs.

Henry at length deemed it prudent to comply with the general wish of the nation, particularly that of the city, ever zealously affected to the house of York, by consummating his marriage with the princess Elizabeth. It was accordingly solemnized at London early in 1486, with much greater demonstrations of satisfaction than had appeared either on his first public entry, or at his coronation. This partiality to the rival house excited much displeasure in the fullen breast of the king. He saw that the public mind would not adopt his passions and his prejudices, and, with equal cruelty and injustice, he directed his resentment against the innocent cause of his mortification. Hence the tranquillity of his whole reign was disturbed, and all domestic enjoyment poisoned. The queen, however amiable, virtuous, and unassuming, met with no return of affection, hardly of decent complaisance, from her

\* Polydore Virgil, 567.



gloomy lord. The spirit of faction maintained the ascendant, and the spirit of affection evaporated.

Princes, of all men seemingly the most independent, are, in reality, of all men the greatest dependents. They generally begin the world in debt, wade through life under the pressure of that inglorious burden, and leave an undischarged accumulation when they die. Henry, on mounting the throne of England, found himself under pecuniary obligations to the king of France, for his advances made toward the expedition which he had so happily accomplished, for the payment of which the marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bourchier had been left hostages at Paris. Feeling himself bound in honour to redeem them, he applied to the city for a loan of six thousand marks. A popular prince would have found little difficulty in obtaining that sum, but Henry's ungainly temper had excited disgust, and opposition was made to the measure. It was at length agreed, however, to furnish half the sum; of which the mercers', grocers', and drapers' companies advanced 937*l.* 6*s.*,\* and it is but justice to the king to say, the money was punctually repaid. This early distress probably stimulated the rapacity, and instructed the avarice which disgrace his life and memory.

The harshness and severity of the king's disposition, his unkindness to the queen, whom, from a mean and unmanly jealousy, he obstinately refused the honour of coronation, bestowed on every preceding royal consort, and particular acts of cruelty and revenge against certain distinguished partisans of the house of York, not only soured the spirit of the nation, but put in motion individual resentment, to trouble his peace, and undermine his government. Never did prince come to a throne with fairer prospects and more affectionate good wishes than Henry VII., and no one ever found the tide of popular favour more quickly change, or the promises of domestic and national felicity more completely blasted. But the detail must be restricted to the connection which these had with the corporation and city of London.

One of the first acts of Henry's authority was to commit to the Tower Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, son of the late duke of Clarence, and nephew of Edward IV., and of the late king. A report having gone abroad that the young prince had made his escape from prison, an imposture was founded upon it, which, for a while, agitated the nation, and, in Ireland, had nearly produced a revolution.

\* Stow, *Annal. Eng. Fabian*, part vii.

Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, a man of considerable ability, and of a bold, enterprising spirit, took advantage of the rumour of Warwick's escape to raise up a pretender to the throne. For this purpose he cast his eyes on one Lambert Simnel, a young man of fifteen, the son of a baker, of a graceful person, and endowed with understanding, and master of an address far above his years and his rank in life. Him he easily persuaded, and as easily instructed, to personate Warwick. Sensible however that the imposture could not bear a close inspection, he withdrew to Ireland accompanied by his pupil, who was now completely qualified to assume and perform the character of a prince. The deception succeeded beyond all expectation. The credulous Irish, of all ranks, received Simnel as the true Plantagenet; they paid him homage as their sovereign, lodged him in the castle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, and proclaimed him king, by the title of Edward VI. It was easy for Henry to detect the cheat. The ill-fated Warwick was unfortunately in his power. He gave orders, therefore, to have him taken from his place of confinement in the Tower, and conducted, through the most frequented streets of London, to St. Paul's cathedral, and there exposed to the view of all the people, many of whom were zealously attached to the house of York, and well acquainted with the person of the prince. Having gratified the public curiosity, and ascertained Warwick's identity, the king had the unhappy youth reconducted through the streets of the metropolis, and remanded to his apartments in the Tower.\* This produced its effect in England, but the Irish persisted in their error, and boldly retorted the charge of imposture on Henry, in exhibiting a counterfeit Plantagenet to the London populace. Having, not without much difficulty, and with some danger, quashed this attempt to disturb his government, the king vouchsafed to gratify his people on a point of indeed no material importance, but which all ranks of men eagerly desired. The queen had been now married almost two years, and yet, contrary to all precedent, had not received the honour of coronation. This affected delay of a mere ceremony had given general disgust, and was in truth a plentiful source of the prevailing disaffection of the nation. Henry had sufficient sagacity to perceive this, and from prudence, not inclination, yielded a slow and ungracious assent. The ceremony was performed November 25th, 1487.

This year was finished a work, at that period, not only of beauty and magnifi-

\* Bacon, Life of Hen. VII.



cence, but of public utility, the beautiful cross in Westcheap, now Cheapside. It was reared at the joint expense of several wealthy citizens; one of whom, John Fisher a mercer, contributed no less than six hundred marks. What was then considered as an ornament, posterity treated as a nuisance, and the cross has been long ago swept away with the besom of destruction. The king, about the same time, rebuilt the royal residence, Baynard's-castle, which had become a victim to the fury of the civil wars, in a style of superior magnificence. This structure too has totally disappeared, except in the name, which it has left to one of the wards of the city. While attention was thus paid to external embellishment, the essential internal respectability of the city was not neglected. The odious distinction of bond and free still existed in England; and a jealousy, and consequently a hatred, of foreigners, then as now constituted one feature of a citizen of London. By a bye-law of the corporation it was accordingly at this time enacted, during the mayoralty of Nicholas Exton, that no apprentice should be taken, except he were the son of a freeman; and a clause to this effect was introduced into the oath administered on conferring the freedom of the city: *Ye shall take none apprentice, but if he be free-born; that is to say, no bondman's son, nor the son of any alien.\** No length of residence, therefore, and no degree of virtue and ability, could wash out the stain of being born in such a place, and of such a degree. In the second year of Henry, a much more unjustifiable attempt was made to aggrandize the city at the expense of the whole nation. An act of common-council passed, whereby the citizens were enjoined, under a penalty of one hundred pounds, one third to go to the informer, not to carry any goods or merchandise to any fair or market within the kingdom, for the term of seven years. This was, in other words, to oblige the whole kingdom to resort to London to purchase every article of commerce. The legislature showed a proper resentment of this scandalously mercenary act of the corporation, and next year set it aside by act of parliament, by which the citizens were empowered to carry on their trade to every part of the nation as usual, under a penalty of forty pounds on every person who should presume to interrupt or molest any citizen in his said trade.†

Henry having thought proper to gratify the public, and the city in particular, in their favourite wish, the queen's coronation, condescended still farther to grace his queen and humour his people, by admitting her to the honour of accompanying

\* Lib. C. fol. 88.

† Stat. 3 Hen. VII. c. 9.

him when he made his public entry into London, on returning from the suppression of Simnel's attempt. Their majesties were met at Hornsey-park, by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and principal citizens on horseback, gorgeously apparelled in one splendid uniform. The streets through which the cavalcade was to pass were new gravelled, and lined by the several companies in their proper habits. The king and queen were received with loud acclamations; they proceeded to St. Paul's cathedral, and assisted in the *Te Deum* sung on this joyful occasion; and next day the king returned to St. Paul's cross, and heard the thanksgiving sermon for his victory. Under all this affectation of triumph, Simnel was too contemptible to excite in Henry either apprehension or resentment. He was pardoned, and turned as a scullion into the royal kitchen, and thence promoted to the rank of a falconer.\* Henry, however, never did a gracious thing but from a selfish motive. He had resolved, as he was in gratitude bound, to support his benefactor the duke of Brittany against the oppression of the king of France. Money being an essential requisite in cases of this kind, the king had recourse to the city for an advance of four thousand pounds, A. D. 1488. He now not only obtained his whole sum, but soon after two thousand pounds more was with equal cheerfulness advanced.† His assistance however proved ineffectual, and the duchy of Brittany was annexed to the crown of France.

This year parliament taking into consideration the intolerable nuisance, amounting sometimes to pestilential distemper, occasioned by the number of slaughter-houses in every quarter of the city, passed an act for preventing the killing of beasts within the walls of London, or any other walled town of the kingdom.‡ The same parliament confirmed the city's right of conservancy of the river Thames, as far as the tide ebbcd and flowed.

This king's predominant passion was avarice, a vice which grows with age and increase of wealth. War with France has in every age been a favourite object with the English nation; and Henry availed himself of this well-known propensity to extort money from his subjects. Under a pretence of this kind, in 1492 he levied what was called a *benevolence*, but which in truth merited a very different name; and this imposition was rated so extravagantly by the assessors, that the city of London alone, including the contributions of the aldermen, produced nearly fifteen thousand pounds,§ a prodigious sum, when we consider that then few of

\* Bacon, p. 586. † Fab. Chron. part vii. ‡ Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 3. § Fab. Chron. part vii.



the citizens possessed a real estate of ten shillings a year. Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, and the tool of the king's rapacity, employed on this occasion a dilemma from which there was no escaping. If a man lived frugally, it was taken for granted that he must have become rich, and could afford to pay liberally without altering his mode of living; if he made a splendid appearance, it constituted a proof of opulence, and he was assessed accordingly. It was a terrible thing for the nation to have the same man at the head of the church, of the law, and of the finances. This expedient to raise money was by some ironically denominated chancellor Morton's fork, and by others the archbishop's crutch.\*

Another attempt was made to disturb the tranquillity of Henry's reign, by setting up a new pretender to the crown. A report was artfully propagated, that Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had made his escape from the Tower when his brother Edward was murdered, and that he was somewhere in a state of concealment. The dutchess of Burgundy took the lead in circulating this rumour, and she soon found one to personate her nephew, one Warbeck, the son of a renegado Jew of Tournay, whom business had brought to London, in the reign of Edward IV., and where the child was born. This youth is said to have had such a resemblance to young Plantagenet, that Edward was suspected of an illicit commerce with the mother. Whatever be in this, the dutchess found Perkin Warbeck extremely well qualified, both in person and mind, to support the imposture which she had devised. The progress and issue of this imposture must be sought in the histories of England; the effect which it had on the affairs of the metropolis is all that relates to our purpose. Henry, highly incensed that the dutchess of Burgundy should have offered him such an insult, not only banished (A. D. 1493) all the Flemish merchants from the city, but likewise strictly prohibited every species of commerce between the two countries. This was a severe blow to trade, particularly to that of the English company of Merchant Adventurers. The Hanseatic merchants took the advantage of it to import vast quantities of Flemish produce in their own bottoms, and from their own ports. This excited violent resentment against those foreigners, which speedily issued in acts of open outrage. Their hall and warehouses, now the Still-yard in Thames-street, were broken open and plundered, and the rioters were proceeding to farther violence, when the lord mayor, supported by a body of citizens in arms, arriving, the ring-leaders were seized and sent to the Tower, the

\* Hume, c. xxv.

mob dispersed, and tranquillity was restored. The prisoners were afterwards brought to trial, several of them were convicted, and suffered death.

A man who has furnished such ample materials to future historians, well deserves himself a place and a name in history. Robert Fabian, alderman of London, and who served the office of sheriff in 1494, compiled and published, at this time, a large Chronicle of England and France; a work of very considerable merit, whether we consider the style of the composition, or the authenticity and importance of the facts detailed. As Fabian was an eye-witness, and a party concerned in many of the scenes which he describes, and besides a person of respectability as a magistrate, and of undoubted veracity as a man, what he relates from his own knowledge may safely be relied on. Of this sort is the description which he gives us of a sumptuous entertainment, given by the king at Westminster, on Twelfth-day, in the ninth year of his reign, to Ralph Austry the lord mayor, the whole court of aldermen, and a great number of commoners. After dinner the honour of knighthood was conferred on Austry, and the whole company from the city were detained to partake of the revels of the evening, which were various, splendid, and protracted to a late hour. These being ended, a banquet more magnificent than that of the preceding day was served up in the great hall. Sixty knights with their esquires covered the king's table with sixty dishes, the queen's with as many, neither flesh nor fish, and the lord mayor's with twenty-four in the same style, with a profusion of the choicest wines. Their majesties and their guests seem to have entered into the spirit of conviviality, for the company did not break up till daylight next morning (January 7th), when the king and queen retired to their apartments in the palace, and the lord mayor with his company to their barges to return to the city. Fabian must certainly have been present at this entertainment, he describes it so minutely, and with such relish. It was not long before Henry made his good citizens pay well for their supper.

Henry's insatiable avarice growing with what it fed on, every art, justifiable and unjustifiable, was put in practice to fill his coffers. He had extorted a prodigious sum from his own people to go to war with France; and by the payment of a good round sum from the king of France was satisfied to be at peace with him, thus turning both friend and foe to profit.\* He now had recourse to expedients still more scandalous and oppressive. Forfeitures under penal statutes were eagerly

\* Bacon, Life of Hen. VII.



hunted after and rigidly exacted. Injustice committed under the form of law is of all others the most intolerable; and with such a disposition as the king's it was not difficult to find fit instruments to work the engine. He found in Empson and Dudley, two lawyers of prostitute character, agents completely qualified to second his rapacity, and to fleece his defenceless subjects. The former was a fellow of mean birth, of a brutal temper, and unrelenting severity; the latter was better born and bred, but equally stern and inflexible. Their knowledge of the law enabled them to commit iniquity without violating the letter of the statute; at length legal forms themselves were neglected, and the king's formidable authority carried his minions safely through the career of oppression.

One of their earliest victims was Sir William Capel, an alderman of London, who, under sundry obsolete penal statutes, was convicted, and adjudged to pay a fine of two thousand seven hundred pounds, which by powerful intercession was mitigated to sixteen hundred. In executing these detestable purposes, the very fountain of equity was poisoned; juries were packed, were cajoled, were menaced, were bribed, into the commission of perjury; and the subject's great security for life and property was converted into the means of attacking both the one and the other. The abuse had become so flagrant, that parliament found it necessary to interpose, by defining the qualifications of London jurors, and by enacting additional penalties to be inflicted on the crimes of perjury and bribery in persons serving on juries.\*

Under the pretext of repelling an invasion on the part of Scotland, in favour of Perkin Warbeck, a great council was held at Westminster about the end of October 1497, which granted to the king the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to which the city, in November following, added a present of four thousand pounds. Parliament assembled January 16th, and confirmed the grant. It was easy for Henry to procure, nay, to dictate votes of parliament; but it was no easy matter to extract the money from the empty scrip of a harassed, disaffected, impoverished nation. The attempt to levy this tax actually produced an insurrection in Cornwall, and an army under the command of lord Audley was quickly at the gates of London, and encamped on Blackheath, June 17th. Their first appearance struck a panic into the city, but it soon subsided: the lord mayor and sheriffs exerted themselves with so much industry and ability, that the capital was

\* Stat. Larg. 11 Hen. VII., A. D. 1496.

put in a complete state of defence ; and the royal army, encamped in St. George's-fields, covered the borough of Southwark, and secured the bridge. In a few days the king found himself in a condition to quit his post in the city, and to advance to Blackheath to attack the rebels. This was done with complete effect June 22d, and the insurrection was crushed at a blow.

Henry beginning to be haunted with superstitious terrors, had recourse to the usual refuge of guilty minds, wedded to their vices, but trembling for the consequences ; he strengthened his alliance with the pope, entered into a league for the defence of his holiness's dominions, built chapels, and endowed convents. The pope, as an expression of his respect and gratitude, sent his nuncio to England with a present to Henry, consisting of a consecrated sword, and a cap of maintenance.\* He was highly gratified with this mark of distinction from the holy see, and resolved to give the nuncio and his retinue a magnificent reception. But his reigning passion was ever uppermost ; and he, prudently for himself, and graciously for his good city of London, gave orders to the lord mayor and aldermen to meet the pope's ambassador at the bridge foot, and entertain him with all the splendour of munificence and hospitality. The streets were accordingly ornamented and illumined as on occasion of royal processions, and lined by the city companies in their formalities.

The danger which had so lately threatened London from the Cornish revolt, suggested the propriety of establishing a more regular body of defence for the metropolis. For this purpose some beautiful gardens in the manor of Finsbury, situated to the north of Chiswell-street, were laid out into a beautiful field (A. D. 1498), and enclosed for the use of the city archers, or trained bands, which was denominated the Artillery-ground. It to this day bears the same name, and answers the same purpose. No spot in the vicinity of London has undergone a more complete transformation to the better, within these few years, than the adjoining district of this manor towards the east. Upper Moorfields, lately the site of a ragged hospital for lunatics, a receptacle for the rubbish and refuse of the city, the holiday place of resort for blackguards and pickpockets, are now magically metamorphosed into a square, and streets of palaces, the residence of the first of human beings, the merchants and tradesmen of London.

The interruption of commerce between England and Flanders had been productive

\* Stat. Larg. 11 Hen. VII., A. D. 1496.



of very serious disadvantages to the merchants of both countries. Those of Flanders prevailed on the archduke Philip to send commissioners to London to propose terms of accommodation. They were well received by the mercantile part of the city, and the king's resentment being cooled, a treaty was opened. The principal stipulation on the part of England was, that no English rebel should be harboured in the Low-countries, in which the demesnes of the dutchess dowager, Warbeck's great patroness, were expressly comprehended. This being readily acceded to, the other articles were soon adjusted, and trade reverted to its ancient channel. The treaty was so acceptable to the Flemings, that they gave it the appellation of *Intercursus magnus*: and when the English merchants returned to Antwerp, to resume their functions, they were publicly received, entered the city in procession, with every expression of mutual satisfaction and joy.\* It is commerce that more than all contributes to the civilization and happiness of mankind.

Perkin Warbeck being thus deprived of all refuge in Flanders, became desperate, and after a variety of adventures, which it is not our business to relate, withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the new forest. Henry deliberated for some time how he should act toward this unfortunate pretender. Resentment prompted him to drag the culprit from his sanctuary, and make him pay the price of his temerity with his head. Prudence and humanity dictated a milder conduct. Under a promise of pardon, he was persuaded to deliver himself into the king's hands, who had him conducted to London in a kind of mock triumph.† As he passed along the road, and through the streets of the metropolis, the populace treated him with every mark of derision, making him to suffer the punishment of their own former credulity. Henry exacted of him a particular confession of his life and adventures, which he ordered to be printed and dispersed over the kingdom. Though Perkin's life was spared, he was kept close prisoner. Fertile in expedients, and impatient of confinement, he contrived to make his escape, fled to the sanctuary of Shyne, and put himself under the protection of the prior of that monastery. This ecclesiastic, having the reputation of great sanctity, had the credit with the king to obtain a fresh pardon for Perkin; but in consideration of this aggravation of his offences, and to expose him to still greater contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and in Cheapside, and obliged to read aloud to the people assembled at both places, the confession which had already been published in

\* Anderson, Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 319.

† Polyd. Virgil, p. 606.

his name. He was then confined close prisoner to the Tower, whither his restless spirit of intrigue continuing to follow him, he contrived to open a correspondence with his fellow-prisoner, the ill-starred earl of Warwick, in the view of effecting their joint escape. This attempt proved fatal to both. The correspondence did not escape the king's jealous vigilance. Perkin had now put himself beyond the reach of mercy; he was accordingly arraigned, convicted, and presently after hanged at Tyburn. Warwick, guilty of no crime, unless the desire of liberty in an innocent man be a crime, was brought to trial under a charge of forming designs to disturb the government, and to raise an insurrection among the people. The unhappy earl, exhausted in body and mind by a tedious and hopeless captivity, and weary of life, confessed the indictment, and was condemned and executed, November 21st, 1499.

The kingdom was visited the year after (A. D. 1500) with the pestilence, which carried off in London, according to some accounts, thirty thousand persons, but according to Fabian, who was on the spot, and had the means of ascertaining the fact, not more than twenty thousand. The king removed from place to place to shun this calamity, and at length deemed it prudent to retire with the queen to Calais.\* Philip archduke of Austria here paid him a visit, and, with many expressions of personal respect and affection for the king, solicited the continuance of the good understanding which subsisted between the two countries. Henry was in such good humour with himself, and with the good citizens of London, on the present occasion, that he transmitted a particular account of this interview to the lord mayor and aldermen.

Catharine, infanta of Spain, was betrothed to Arthur prince of Wales, and landed at Plymouth October 4th, of the first year of the sixteenth century. She made her public entry into London November 12th, and was received with the usual state. On the 14th the nuptials were solemnized in St. Paul's cathedral with uncommon magnificence. The lord mayor attended in a robe of crimson velvet, and the aldermen in their scarlet gowns. The ceremony being finished, they were conducted with the rest of the company to the great hall of the bishop's palace, and partook of the bridal banquet. Two days after the king and queen proceeded in state from Baynard's-castle to assist at mass in St. Paul's, and thence to dine with the prince and princess at the episcopal palace. After dinner this splendid company took water at Paul's wharf, in their several barges, and being joined by the lord mayor,

\* Bacon, Life of Henry VII.



aldermen, and city companies, in their proper barges gaily ornamented, escorted the newly-married pair to their apartments in Westminster.\* This marriage, and the festivity which it produced, were of short duration. The prince sickened, and died, to the great regret of the nation, April 2, 1502. Henry, desirous of maintaining an alliance with Spain, and unwilling to restore the princess's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, conceived the design—what will not avarice suggest?—of marrying his son Henry to his brother's widow. The prince resisted, as far as a youth of twelve years old could resist, an union at once illegal, unnatural, and every way unequal. The king, tenacious and resolute in the extreme where-ever money was concerned, lost no time to procure a dispensation from Rome, and the espousals were immediately contracted. This marriage, as will presently be seen, was attended with very serious consequences.

The same year another royal marriage took place, which likewise, in the next age, was productive of the most important effects, that of Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, with James king of Scotland.† When this marriage was under deliberation in the English council, some objected to it, from an apprehension that it might eventually bring England under the dominion of Scotland. “No,” replied the sagacious Henry, “Scotland will in that event only become an accession to “England.” This domestic prosperity was, however, soon after overclouded by a disaster which did not affect the king so deeply as it ought; the queen died in child-bed in the Tower, February 11th, 1503, and the infant did not long survive her. This princess was from first to last, and deservedly, a favourite with the nation, and the public affection in some measure compensated the neglect and unkindness of her husband, with whom the greatest of crimes was to be related to the house of York.

This year is likewise memorable in city annals, as the era of a more commodious and more splendid celebration of lord mayor's day. Sir John Shaw, the chief magistrate, introduced the custom of the aldermen and their retinues attending the lord mayor on horseback to the water's side, when he embarked in the city barge for Westminster to be sworn into office. By a contribution from several of the companies he was likewise enabled to build proper offices at Guildhall, for the entertainment of great convivial assemblies, in a manner suitable to the dignity and opulence of the corporation. Such entertainments had hitherto, for want of proper accommodation, been given at the hall of the grocers' company. Fleet ditch, part

\* Hall, Chron. Stow, An. Eng.

† Bacon, Life of Henry VII.

of the ancient river of Wells, was at the same time cleared and rendered navigable for barges up to Old Bourne, that is Holborn, bridge: and Houndsditch, so called from the quantity of dead dogs and other carrion cast into it, which rendered it a most abominable nuisance, was now arched over and paved. The taylor's company, first incorporated by a charter of Edward IV., purchased this year a new charter, and were re-incorporated by the name and title of Merchant-tailors of the city of London.

The city itself obtained a fresh charter of confirmation, which bears date July 23d, 1505, the twentieth of Henry VII., for which that insatiable prince exacted the enormous sum of five thousand marks. The objects of this charter were to check the encroachments of foreign merchants on the franchises of the citizens, to regulate the qualifications of brokers, and to renew the city's right to the office of gauger, with the regulations and emoluments pertaining to it. The king likewise at the same time confirmed to the merchants, trading in woollens to the Netherlands, all their former privileges, under the appellation, now first given them, of "The Fellowship of Merchants Adventurers of England." The merchants of the Still-yard were prohibited from carrying English cloths to the place of residence of the merchants adventurers in the Low Countries, and were obliged to enter into a recognizance of two thousand marks for the observance of this restriction.\*

The archduke Philip having, in right of his consort, succeeded to the crown of Castile, found it convenient to pay a visit to his new kingdom, and embarked with his queen from the Netherlands for Spain, in the winter season; but being caught in a violent tempest in the English channel, he was obliged to take shelter in Weymouth harbour. News of this incident being immediately conveyed to court, Henry dispatched the earl of Arundel to welcome him into the kingdom, with an assurance of a visit in person, and of every mark of respect due to the high rank of his guest, and to the alliance which subsisted between the two kingdoms. Philip would gladly have dispensed with these courtly civilities, but finding that he was not at his own disposal, he made a virtue of necessity, and hastened to anticipate the king's visit, by waiting upon him at Windsor. Henry received him with all possible magnificence, carried him to view his capital, and gave the citizens an opportunity of displaying their hospitality, by entertaining himself and his brother king.

\* Anderson, Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 333.



To superstition we are indebted for some of the most beautiful and venerable structures in the kingdom ; among others for that noble monument of Gothic architecture, the chapel at the east end of Westminster-abbey, which bears the name of this king. A chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and a tavern adjoining, were removed to make way for it ; and if we may judge of Henry's fear of purgatory from the costliness of the edifice, we must conclude it to have been excessive, for he is said to have expended fourteen thousand pounds upon it, and the monument of solid brass, of exquisite workmanship, which it contains, and which likewise bears his name. The vault under the pavement continues to be the repository of the remains of our kings and their families, and the chapel itself is used as the place of instalment of knights of the order of the Bath. Nor was this the only proof which Henry exhibited of religious terror ; he reared various other edifices to piety or to mercy, he multiplied his alms' deeds, he discharged, at his own expense, all the prisoners for debt in London, if the sum did not exceed forty shillings :\* as if a few tardy works of mercy could make atonement for a life of cruelty and injustice ; for the spirit of extortion existed, and operated, to his latest breath, and the king was pious, generous, and compassionate entirely at the cost of the public. A few instances, which affected the city in particular, shall be adduced in proof of this. Thomas Knesworth, two years after his mayoralty had been honourably terminated, and Richard Shoare and Roger Groves, the sheriffs of the same year, were, under a plea of malversation in office, thrown into the Marshalsea, and, without form of process, obliged to purchase their freedom by a payment of fourteen hundred pounds. Christopher Hawes, alderman of London, was indicted and cast into prison ; and, being a man of great timidity and irresolution, died of a broken heart before his trial came to an issue. Sir Lawrence Aylmer, who had likewise served the office of mayor, and his two sheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and committed to prison till payment should be made. Sir William Capel, who has been already mentioned as a sufferer, and who served the office of mayor in 1503, was seized five years afterward, under pretence of neglect of duty in prosecuting certain coiners delated to him, and was mulcted two thousand pounds ; and, for daring to murmur at the iniquity of such a decision, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he remained till the death of the king delivered him, and many others, from the hands of violence.

\* Fab. Chron. part vii.

One of the last acts of Henry's life was to conclude a match between the princess Mary his youngest daughter, and Charles prince of Castile, afterwards the celebrated Charles V., emperor of Germany ; but this alliance did not take place. The king was pleased to announce this projected union by a letter addressed to the lord mayor of London, commanding him at the same time to celebrate the happy event in the city by every public demonstration of joy, and expressed his own satisfaction on the occasion in these terms : " I have now built a wall of brass around my kingdom, " having for my sons-in-law the king of Scotland, and the heir of the houses of " Castile and Burgundy."\* And thus had Henry attained the pinnacle of human felicity, if a firmly-established throne, the most splendid and advantageous domestic and national alliances, and a treasury containing in ready money the enormous sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, † could have constituted happiness. But conscience had many a fearful reckoning to settle with him ; disease was preying on his constitution, and opened to him a dismal prospect of futurity, which extorted a late, reluctant, and ineffectual display of justice : by a general clause in his will he directed that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption at Richmond, his favourite residence, April 22, 1509, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age.‡

It would be unpardonable, in one pretending to write the history of the first commercial city of the world, to omit mentioning two events which took place in the course of this reign, of high importance to the commercial interests of all nations, and consequently to those of England and her metropolis. On the second of August 1492, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, took his departure from Spain, on his ever-memorable voyage for the discovery of the western hemisphere, which through many difficulties and distresses he accomplished. A few years after Vaquez de Gama, a Portuguese, opened a new passage to the Indies by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. These discoveries constitute an interesting era in the

\* Fab. Chron. part vii. p. 82.

† " Silver was," says Mr. Hume, " during this reign, at 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* a pound, which makes Henry's " treasure near three millions of our present money. Besides, many commodities have become above " thrice as dear by the increase of gold and silver in Europe. And what is a circumstance of still greater " weight, all other states were then very poor in comparison of what they are at present : these circum- " stances make Henry's treasure appear very great ; and may lead us to conceive the oppressions of his " government." (Hist. Engl. c. xxvi.)

‡ Dugd. Baron. ii. p. 237.



history of mankind, and have proved a plentiful source of benefits and of calamities to every corner of the habitable globe.

No prince that ever filled the throne of England died less regretted than Henry VII. His manners had been from the beginning unamiable and forbidding. Selfish and fordid, he paid no respect to the feelings of others; and if ever he was found performing a kind or a generous action, you might rest assured that he had an eye to some interest of his own. His son and successor, therefore, Henry VIII., on his accession to the crown, found himself possessed of every advantage which royal dignity, youthful bloom and vigour, an overflowing treasury, and a full tide of popular favour could bestow. And the contending titles of York and Lancaster being now at length happily blended in his person, the public fondly expected from a prince obnoxious to no party, an impartial and prosperous administration. After the usual ceremonials, exhibited at the commencement of every new reign, of which London is always the principal theatre, but which tire, from their similarity, in description, Henry deemed it prudent to resign, to the resentments of an incensed and oppressed people, Empson and Dudley, the detested instruments of his father's avarice. They had undoubtedly been guilty of many violent and illegal acts, but these were committed under the sanction of royal authority; and on this, when brought to trial, they rested their defence. But a sacrifice was necessary, and they were left to the stretched arm of the law, which they themselves had stretched, to its extreme length, to reach and to smite other men. The sentence of their condemnation was followed up by a bill of attainder in parliament, and they were beheaded on Tower-hill, August 18th, 1510. Several of their subordinate agents were punished with the pillory, and other infamous marks of popular displeasure, in various parts of the city.

Henry, impetuous, profuse, thoughtless, and magnificent, dissipated his father's ill-gotten wealth much faster than it had accumulated. He was fond of show, and, according to the taste of the age, indulged himself at his court in tilts, tournaments, processions, and other splendid and expensive spectacles. At that time the city watch consisted of a regular and disciplined body of freemen, of every ward, who twice in the year, on the eve of St. John Baptist, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, marched in solemn procession from the conduit in Cheapside, along that street, Cornhill, and Leadenhall-street, to Aldgate, and returned by Fenchurch-street, Gracechurch-street, and Cornhill, back to the conduit. The king had a  
fancy

fancy to view this pageant, and came disguised in the habit of one of the yeomen of the guard for that purpose, on the eve of St. John, 1510. He was so delighted with it, that on the eve of St. Peter following, he came to Cheapside, attended by the queen and the principal nobility of his court, to enjoy the sight of this nocturnal parade; which, on the present occasion, was rendered uncommonly brilliant, in compliment to the royal visitors.\*

England had, from the still neglected state of agriculture, severely suffered from scarcity of corn; and in every general calamity the capital is always the greatest sufferer. Roger Achily, lord mayor for the year 1511, rendered his mayoralty memorable by the prudent foresight which he exercised in storing Leadenhall, the city granary, with every species of grain, as a security against an evil so frequently felt. He likewise caused Moorfields to be levelled, and the passage to the adjoining villages to be rendered more commodious by raising causeways and building bridges, as the situation of the ground required. Works of public utility are a man's fairest title to the grateful recollection of posterity.

The liberal arts now began to be cultivated and encouraged. Medicine in particular, having fallen into the hands of regular practitioners, attracted the attention, and obtained the support of the legislature. By an act of the third year of Henry VIII. it was declared illegal to practise physic or surgery within the city of London and seven miles round, till the candidate was previously examined and approved by the bishop of London, or the dean of St. Paul's, assisted by four gentlemen of the faculty. The sheriffs of London and Middlesex were, in 1512, for the first time empowered by parliament to empanel jurors for the city courts, conformably to certain qualifications laid down in the statute.†

The improvements recently made in Moorfields, and increasing attention to agriculture, had induced the landholders of the adjacent hamlets of Islington, Hoxton, and Shoreditch, to enclose their grounds. This was resented by the populace of the city, who found the theatre of their rural pastimes thereby abridged; and as men are more tenacious of no rights than of those which minister to their pleasures, it was easy to excite a spirit of discontent, which issued in a riot. A fellow, disguised in the dress of a merry Andrew, ran about from street to street calling for spades and shovels. The hint was presently taken, a great multitude assembled armed with these weapons, and the newly-erected fences and enclosures were levelled

\* Stow, Annal. Engl.

† 4 Hen. VIII. c. 3.



with the ground. The king sent commissioners into the city to inquire into the cause of these irregularities, who found just reason to reprehend the magistrates for neglect of duty in not preventing the tumultuous proceedings of the mob.\* In 1515 the Thames was frozen over from bank to bank, so that for several days together carriages of every kind passed on the ice between Westminster and Lambeth.

Every thing human has the germ of corruption within itself. The franchises granted to boroughs, and the establishment of corporation rights and privileges, had gradually undermined the feudal tyranny. But corporate bodies became selfish and tyrannical in their turn, and exercised their exclusive rights with rigour, to the no small detriment of manufactures and commerce. The corporation of London was far from being divested of this narrow and illiberal spirit. The privileged citizens looked with a jealous eye on all foreigners, and treated them with every token of hatred and envy. Excluded from the municipal advantages of their residence, these foreign merchants and tradesmen established themselves without the precincts, where, being unencumbered by the services and restrictions of citizenship, they carried on trade with great advantage, and became formidable rivals to their privileged neighbours. This was productive of frequent scurrilities and petty insults from the baser sort, and by degrees the spirit of jealousy and discontent began to discover itself in persons of a higher order, and the property, at least, of foreigners was devoted to destruction. One Lincoln, a broker, prevailed upon a meddling and popular priest of the name of Bele to harangue the people, on the favourite topic of the encouragement given to strangers, and the consequent hardships suffered by true-born Englishmen.† Tuesday in Easter week (A. D. 1517) was selected for this pious purpose, a season when the dissipation and excesses of the multitude dispose them to every kind of mischief, and give force to every evil impression. Cabals were formed for the express purpose of abusing foreigners, who could no longer appear in the streets without danger of being hooted, pelted with dirt, and tossed into the kennel. Some who had been guilty of these irregularities were taken up and imprisoned. This served to inflame, not to suppress insurrection. Nocturnal councils were held, and vengeance was resolved on. A rumour got abroad, that the ensuing May-day, another season of vulgar riot and dissipation, was appointed for a general massacre of all aliens, many of whom were justly intimidated, and retired into the country. The report had by this time

\* Hall, Chron. A. D. 1514.

† Anderson, Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 348.

reached the court, and orders were dispatched to the lord mayor to maintain the peace of the city. The aldermen of the several wards accordingly issued notices through their respective districts, enjoining every housekeeper to detain his servants, apprentices, and other dependants, within doors, from nine o'clock of May eve, to nine o'clock next morning. This salutary order proved ineffectual. Masters were either unwilling to interpose their authority, or incapable of enforcing it. The crowd assembled from every quarter; they triumphantly liberated their companions from prison, and then proceeded to demolish and pillage without mercy the houses, shops, and warehouses of their hated rivals, and continued their depredations all night long. About three o'clock, as they began to disperse, weary and worn out with these vigorous exertions, the magistrates stepped forth to exercise their authority, and the rioters, to the number of three hundred, were seized and committed to the Tower, Newgate, and the compters.

A commission was directed to the duke of Norfolk and other noblemen to try the rioters, and was immediately opened at Guildhall, the lord mayor and aldermen assisting. The duke entered the city escorted by a body of thirteen hundred men, and the prisoners, to the number of two hundred and seventy-eight, many of them lads of thirteen or fourteen, were put upon their trial. The first day, May 4th, fourteen, with Lincoln at their head, were cast, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. To render the execution more awfully impressive, moveable gibbets were erected in the most frequented streets, and, passing from door to door on wheels, exhibited the bodies of the criminals who had become the victims of justice.

The king expressed high displeasure at the criminal neglect of the city magistrates in not preventing this disgraceful business, and would hardly admit them to his presence, when they came to him as suppliants to Greenwich. They were dismissed with a severe reprimand, pronounced by Wolsey, the lord cardinal archbishop of York, chancellor of the realm, and for many years Henry's director rather than minister, and were ordered to attend the king at Westminster on the 22d of May. By that time they had contrived to make their peace with the cardinal, which was a great step toward the restoration of his majesty's favour. It was at the same time deemed a popular measure to stay the hand of the executioner, and to spare the multitude of unhappy convicts, whose very number excited compassion: for it had now increased to more than four hundred male prisoners and eleven



female. To give the greater solemnity to the act of grace which was to be extended to them, they were brought up to Westminster-hall, in their shirts, with their hands bound, and halters about their necks. The king, seated under a canopy of state, and attended by the chancellor and other great officers of the crown, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city being present in their gowns, pronounced their pardon—on which the hall resounded with repeated shouts of *God save the king*; the culprits were dismissed, and the gibbets removed from the streets.\* This dreadful riot gave the name of *Evil May-day* to the day on which it happened, and the recollection of it gave a check to the absurd and frequently mischievous frolics in which the vulgar used to indulge themselves on those occasions, round a lofty shaft or may-pole, the principal of which was erected in Leadenhall-street, opposite to the parish church of St. Andrew, which thence received the additional appellation of *Undershaft*, the distinctive name which it still bears. The open space at the bottom of Butcher-row, East Smithfield, is, for the same reason, to this day called the May-pole.

By an act of common-council of this year, a new tribunal was established, called the court of conscience, or court of requests, the nature, use, and end of which will be best explained by transcribing the words of the institution. It enacts, “ That the lord mayor and aldermen for the time being, shall monthly  
 “ assign and appoint two aldermen, and four discreet commoners, to sit at Guild-  
 “ hall, in a judicial manner, twice a week, *viz.* on Wednesdays and Saturdays,  
 “ there to hear and determine all matters brought before them, between party and  
 “ party (being citizens and freemen of London), in all cases where the due debt  
 “ or damage does not exceed forty shillings.”—This, it would appear, was at first a measure of experiment merely, for its operation was limited to the term of two years. But being found extremely salutary, by the prevention of expensive litigation about trifles before the higher courts, it was continued by repeated acts of common-council, till it was at length rendered perpetual by an act of parliament in the first year of James I. This year, likewise, the sweating sickness again visited the kingdom, and carried off great numbers in the city of London; and this distemper being peculiar to England, it was among medical men termed *Sudor Anglicus*.†

\* Fabian, p. 7. Hall, Chron. A. D. 1517.

† Id. *ibid.*

By a charter of Edward III. the sessions of the peace for London had hitherto been held at the monastery of St. Martin's-le-grand. This spot being out of the jurisdiction of the city, it was found inconvenient, and deemed disgraceful to resort for justice beyond the liberties; on petition, therefore, to the crown from the corporation, in the tenth year of Henry VIII., the seat of justice for the metropolis was transferred to Guildhall, where it has remained ever since. The college of physicians was likewise this year, A. D. 1519, incorporated by royal charter, which vested them with the power of examining, licensing, or prohibiting all practitioners within the city, and seven miles round.

The dawn of science had now appeared, and talents and learning began to be respected, encouraged, and rewarded. Wolsey was now in the plenitude of power, and at the zenith of human glory. He had acquired a commanding influence over the impetuous and ardent temper of Henry, which he made subservient to his own aggrandizement, and this to a height which no subject had ever reached before. To the archbishopric of York, he added the two richest bishoprics in the kingdom, as they became vacant, those of Durham and Winchester. The pope gratified his ambition with a cardinal's hat; the rival potentates, Francis I. of France, and Charles V. emperor of Germany, flattered his vanity and courted his interest with presents and adulation; and, on the resignation of Warham, the chancellor of England, the seals were committed to his care. The world contained but one object more beyond these, and on that he had fixed his eager eye, the papal key and triple crown. But he made his greatness subservient to the improvement and decoration of his country. Christ-church, Oxford, and Hampton-court, are among the still existing monuments of his genius and magnificence; and his palace at Whitehall then exhibited all that was exquisite in art, refined in taste, elegant in manners, and respectable in literature. Some even of the nobility placed their children in his family as a seminary of education. Whoever excelled in art or science paid court to the cardinal, and found in him a powerful and munificent patron.\* While he enjoyed the office of chancellor, justice was strictly administered, and no one who ever filled that high station, discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, a more acute penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.† That he might approach the popedom as nearly as possible, without actually grasping it, Henry persuaded the pope to invest him with a legatine power in England, by

\* *Erasm. Epist. ii. 1.*

† *Sir Thomas More:*

which



which he was enabled to visit all the clergy and monasteries, and even to suspend all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. With this additional fuel to his pride, he assumed the port and splendour of the head of the church. On solemn festivals he celebrated the pope's mass; he had bishops and abbots among the multitude of his domestics, and he even engaged the first of the nobility to present him with water and a towel. Nor did he sacrifice to vanity only, but made his legatine commission an engine to extort money from every pocket in the nation to fill his own.

To pay court to this man, and by him to gain the king himself, the emperor Charles V. made an unexpected visit to the court of England. A friendly interview had been projected between Henry and Francis I., at Calais. To blunt the edge and prevent the effect of it, Charles resolved to be beforehand with his rival, and without notice given of his intention, landed at Dover, May 25th, 1520, on his way from Spain to the Netherlands. The king, highly gratified with this mark of friendship and confidence, hastened to meet his illustrious visitor, and conducted him first to Greenwich, where he was welcomed by the queen his aunt, and thence to the capital, which shone on this great occasion with unexampled magnificence. During this short visit, for it lasted but a few days, the young but politic emperor ingratiated himself completely with the cardinal, by presenting him with a nearer glimpse of the papal throne, and insinuating assurances of his support in case of a vacancy. The day after the departure of Charles, Henry, accompanied by the queen, and attended by the cardinal and a most brilliant court, crossed over to Calais, to keep his appointment with the French king.

While these intrigues of interest, power, and ambition, were thus employing the great potentates of Europe, an obscure monk, in a cell at Wirtemberg, was preparing to effect a revolution in the political and religious sentiments of mankind, greater and more important than any which had preceded it, which was to shake, and at length overturn, the papacy, to terminate ecclesiastical usurpation, and to generate civil liberty. Martin Luther, a name which has eclipsed those of the imperial Henrys, Charleses, and Francises, his contemporaries, was a monk of the order of St. Augustin, a man of uncommon literature for the period, and of an ardent, undaunted spirit. Pope Leo X., to replenish his coffers exhausted by luxurious profusion, had recourse, among other expedients, to the sale of indulgences, that is, of licence to commit all manner of sin with impunity, not doubting that, from the complexion of the age, there would be any want of purchasers. The Augustin

friars had, in Saxony, been employed to recommend this pious traffic, and to collect the revenue; but from some suspicion of their integrity, these occupations had been transferred from them to the Dominicans. Luther, resenting the insult offered to his order, began to inveigh with great warmth against the abuses committed by the rival order in discharging the duties of this office; and, heated by opposition, he proceeded to declaim openly against indulgences themselves. As the authority of the pope was the main argument and support of his antagonists, by a natural progress of the human mind, he was led to examine the foundation on which this authority rested, and found it rotten and unstable.\* As he proceeded to read, meditate, and inquire, he felt his own ground grow firmer and firmer, and saw the errors, irregularities, and corruptions of the church in a stronger light. These he unreservedly exposed from the pulpit, from the press, in conference, in writing; his opinions were listened to with avidity, and made innumerable proselytes over every part of the German empire. The contagion reached England, where the tenets of Wickliffe had taken deep root, and predisposed multitudes to embrace the new doctrines. Henry had been brought up in a rigid attachment to the church of Rome, and therefore considered Luther as a bold and dangerous innovator. Not only was the whole weight of his authority exerted to repress the propagation of anti-papal opinions, but he resolved to employ weapons, which princes seldom assume, to combat their adversaries. He had some learning, though not so much as he imagined, and thought the present a proper season for calling it into action. He wrote a treatise in Latin, controverting the opinions of Luther, with which he himself was so well pleased, that he deemed it a present worth sending to his holiness. It was most graciously received, and procured for its author, in his turn, a new jewel to adorn his crown, and *Defender of the Faith* was added to the titles of the English monarch, a decoration which his successors have not yet thought proper to lay aside. The sturdy reformer, who had bidden defiance to the pope, was not to be intimidated by the rank, power, or talents of the king. He wrote a reply full of that sarcastical invective which polemic habits had rendered easy and familiar to him. Henry was dreadfully irritated, and the more that his antagonist was beyond his reach; his pride, as well as the prejudices of education, was therefore now engaged in the contest, and confirmed his hatred against all reformers, while the impartial public adjudged the victory in the dispute to the monk and not to the king,† whose

\* Father Paul, lib. i.

† Id. *ibid.*



interference had only served to give celebrity to the cause, and to provoke keener investigation.

Sentiments of a far different kind from those of religion were meanwhile breeding in the mind of Henry, which in the issue contributed much more to the downfall of the papal power in England, than all the zeal and ability displayed in his writings had done toward its support. Leo X. died December 1st, 1521, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. That prince, aware of the consequences of Wolsey's resentment from disappointed hope, thought it expedient to pay a second visit to England, to cajole the king, and soften down the cardinal. He succeeded in both. The commercial treaty between Henry and Charles was renewed for five years certain;\* Henry was persuaded to break with France; and, to ingratiate himself the more with the English nation, Charles conferred on Surrey, admiral of England, the rank of admiral in his dominions, and having accepted the order of the garter, was installed at London with much ceremony. The metropolis was honoured the same year with a visit from Christian king of Denmark, and his queen, who were received by the citizens with their usual splendid and costly hospitality, lodged in the bishop of Bath's palace, and, on St. Peter's eve, attended by the prime nobility, went to the King's-head, Cheapside, to enjoy the superb pageant of the city watch's procession, after which they were sumptuously entertained by the lord mayor, Sir Thomas Baldry.

A rupture with France has been, from the beginning to this day, another term for a call on the nation for money, and more money. The omnipotent lord cardinal imagined he had but to declare his will on the subject, but found himself for once deceived. He issued commissions in the king's name for levying a sixth of all property belonging to the laity, and a fourth of that of the clergy. This arbitrary and excessive imposition excited universal discontent, which threatened to break out in open rebellion. The corporation of London had the honour of setting the example of resistance, and Henry felt it so powerfully, that he prudently retracted, and disclaimed all knowledge of the offensive measure. He wrote a letter to the lord mayor and citizens, declaring that he would permit no illegal exaction to be made on the subject, but trust to their benevolence, as his predecessors had done. The meaning of the word *benevolence* was now, however, perfectly understood, and

\* Anderson, vol. i.

universally reprobated. The city being first rated to this impost,\* by way of example to the rest of the kingdom, Wolfey sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and after expatiating on the king's grace and condescension in receding from the first demand, and substituting a benevolence in place of it, he exhorted them to return into the city, and make the proper assessments in their several wards, for raising the money wanted. The recorder had the courage to reply, That by a statute of the first of Richard III. the levying of such benevolences was abolished. The cardinal, nettled at the incomppliance of the citizens, alleged that Richard was an usurper and a murderer, and that laws enacted under such authority could not be obligatory on lawful princes, such as his present majesty, the true, legal, and undoubted heir of the crown. This did not convince the sturdy magistrates; and the lofty cardinal, as a last effort, thought proper to take them apart, and tried to persuade them, one after another, to make a beginning, as a stimulus to others. The lord mayor, who was of course first applied to, excused himself till he should have an opportunity of laying the matter before a court of common-council; his example was followed by all his brethren in the magistracy; and when the proposal was introduced in common-council, it kindled such a flame, that a vote of expulsion was moved against three of the members, for daring to speak in favour of the measure, and the court broke up in a ferment. Such a stand did the spirit of liberty make against one of the most arbitrary princes, and the haughtiest minister that ever governed England; it spread over the whole nation, London was looked up to as a pattern, and the benevolence was every where refused.† This year (1525) a pestilential disorder raged violently in the city, which obliged the court to retire to Eltham; the town was so deserted, that it was found necessary to adjourn the Michaelmas term, and the close of the year was denominated the *still Christmas*.

Commerce and manufactures, the glory and strength of London, were through every difficulty and discouragement extending their boundaries, varieties, and influence. The woollen branch was now of such national consequence, that, in 1526, we find the importation of the plant woad, used in dying as the ground of several colours, an object of such importance to the corporation and merchants, as to dictate an act of common-council for enforcing the law whereby all foreigners were excluded from any part of that trade; and by authority of the same court it was enacted that no citizen whatever should presume to buy, sell, or maintain any kind

\* Hall, Chron.

† Id. *ibid*.



of mercantile intercourse with foreigners dealing in woad. We are led to the same conclusion, from the frequent interference of the legislature at this period, in settling the limits of the city's jurisdiction, regulating the qualifications and servitude of apprentices and journeymen, and extending the powers of incorporated handicraftsmen, for examining and stamping their wares. One of those acts\* is interesting to the inhabitant of modern London, as it describes the extent of the suburbs over which the jurisdiction of the wardens of those companies reached. Their right of examination extended "two miles from the city; viz. within the town of "Westminster, the parishes of St. Martin in the fields, our Lady in the Strand, "St. Clement's Danes without Temple Bar, St. Giles in the field, St. Andrew, "Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, Whitechapel parish, "St. John street, Clerkenwell, Clerkenwell parish, St. Botolph without Aldgate, "St. Catharine's, near the Tower of London, and Bermondsey-street." This may be considered as an accurate view of the vicinity of London in the fifteenth year of Henry. But these suburbs had as yet no contact with the city, nor with each other, by a continuity of buildings, as appears by a map published thirty-five years afterwards, which is still extant, and has been frequently copied. St. Giles was then denominated the Town of St. Giles, Marybone was beyond the limits, the greater part of St. Martin's parish, Charing-cross, was actually fields, as also was the upper part of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Westminster, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Whitechapel; and the Strand consisted entirely of the mansions of the nobility, surrounded by large gardens. What a spectacle of wonder would the London of 1798 present to the inhabitant of 1526! The sweating sickness re-appeared in 1528, and carried off great numbers in the metropolis; the grand procession of the city watch was on that account suspended, and no more repeated during this reign.

We are now come to an epoch in the history of London, and of the world, which rendered our metropolis the scene of very wonderful events, which introduced a new state of things, and, in the course of a few years, effected an entire revolution in the minds and manners of mankind. It shews on what a slender basis human pomp and power rest, on what delicate hinges the political engine moves, from what small beginnings "enterprises of great pith and moment" originate, and how the Great Ruler of the universe causeth "the wrath of man to praise him."

\* 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

Henry's marriage with his brother Arthur's widow had, in the first instance, been highly disagreeable to himself, and it shocked the general opinion. The old king had forced it upon him from mercenary motives; but the approach of death gave him a different view of the subject, and he desired his son not to complete an alliance opposed by such formidable objections. The thoughtless ardour and dissipation of youth made him overlook these, and he continued to live with the queen on terms not only of decency but of affection. She had born him several children, who all died in infancy except one daughter. The legitimacy of this daughter had been called in question by the states of Castile when she was proposed as a match to the emperor. The same objection was urged by the French ambassador, when a negotiation had been opened for betrothing her to Francis, or to the duke of Orleans.\* This was a formidable declaration of the sentiments of foreign powers, against the legality of the marriage, of which she was the only surviving fruit. The death of his children had made a deep impression on the mind of Henry, and, being a profound casuist, he began to apprehend he had fallen under the curse pronounced in the law,† on him who taketh his brother's wife, that of dying childless. He was inexpressibly desirous of having male issue, a sentiment in which the nation cordially concurred, and which the city in particular had ventured to express, from a well-founded apprehension of the consequences of a doubtful title and disputed succession. These scruples of a political and religious nature, were greatly strengthened by personal considerations. Catharine was full six years older than the king; and the decay of beauty, accelerated by some particular bodily infirmities, had contributed, notwithstanding her excellent intellectual faculties, her unblemished character, and amiable deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. The prelates of the realm were now consulted, and libraries ransacked. Thomas Aquinas, the king's great theological oracle, had given a decided opinion against the lawfulness of such marriages.‡ All the bishops of England, Fisher bishop of Rochester excepted, delivered an opinion, under their signatures and seals, that the king's marriage was unlawful.§ Wolfsey threw his weight into the scale, in resentment of the fallacy practised upon him by the emperor, Catharine's nephew, in the matter of the popedom, and from disgust, as some allege, at the queen herself, who had reproved him for some irregularities of behaviour highly unbecoming his

\* Rymer, vol. xiv p. 192. 203. † Levit. xx. 21. ‡ Burnet, Hist. Ref. § Id. vol. i. p. 38.  
character



character and station. To all these was superadded a motive, though not perhaps the original one, which, in process of time, gave energy and effect to all the rest. Henry had found out a new object, which he could not attain but through the regular process of wedlock: and we are led to contemplate the most headstrong of human beings reduced to the most distressing dilemma between more than two pressing objects, implicit subjection to mother church, some sense of honour, a little conscience, and all-domineering love; a labyrinth out of which all the casuistry of the schools could not extricate him.

Anne Boleyn, a name illustrious in the annals of greatness and of misfortune, was daughter to Sir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman who had been employed by the king in various embassies, and was allied to the principal nobility of the kingdom. She herself had, very early in life, accompanied the king's sister to Paris, on her marriage with Lewis XII. Here she enjoyed every opportunity of improvement to her natural charms which the most brilliant court in Europe could afford. She returned to England in all the lustre of youth, beauty, and elegance of deportment, about the time that Henry began to entertain doubts respecting the legality of his marriage; and her sight and conversation soon turned doubt into certainty. It was resolved, of course, to apply to Rome for a divorce, with little suspicion of difficulty being started in a case apparently so clear. But Clement the pope, who was entirely at the disposal of the emperor Charles V., however disposed to gratify Henry, durst not proceed to any thing decisive, but satisfied himself with granting a commission to cardinal Campeggio, in conjunction with Wolsey, to sit in London, and examine into the validity of the marriage. The two cardinal legates opened their court at Blackfriars, May 31, 1529, and cited the king and queen to appear before them. They both presented themselves, and Henry, when called, answered to his name: but the queen, instead of acknowledging the jurisdiction of her judges, rose from her seat, on being summoned, and throwing herself at the king's feet, addressed him in a strain of the most impassioned and impressive eloquence, appealing to his heart and conscience for the truth of the facts which she represented; and having finished, made him a low reverence, and retired from the court with a resolution never more to enter it. Henry was moved, but had proceeded too far, and was entangled too deeply in a new passion, to recede. Campeggio, who, to give an air of impartiality to the proceeding, was permitted to conduct the trial, artfully protracted it, and at length, instead of coming to a decision, suddenly adjourned

the court till the first of October.\* A few days after, the pope's recall of the legatine commission arrived, and the cause was transferred from London to Rome.

This produced the sudden disgrace of Wolsey, and an irreparable breach with the pope. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the cardinal's two bitterest enemies, were sent to demand the great seal, which the king delivered to Sir Thomas More, the first scholar of his day, and a man possessed of the most inflexible integrity, the purest virtue, and the most enlarged capacity. Wolsey was ordered to remove from York-place, a palace which he had built in London, and decorated and furnished with more than royal magnificence, and which, though it belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became henceforward the residence of the English monarchs, under the name of Whitehall.

It would be tedious and uninteresting, as well as foreign to our subject, to narrate the progressive steps which at length issued in Henry's divorce from Catharine, and his almost immediate marriage with Anne Boleyn. All this might have been foreseen from the beginning. The king was not a man to be diverted from his purpose, especially as it was supported by many plausible reasons and respectable authorities. Irritated by opposition, fatigued by delay, and stimulated by passion, his impetuous spirit burst asunder every fetter, and defied all consequences. He had already created Anne Boleyn marchioness of Pembroke, and on the 14th of November 1532, privately married her. The ceremony was performed by Rowland Lea, soon after promoted to the see of Coventry, and it was witnessed by the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, by her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, the afterwards renowned archbishop of Canterbury.† The king, enraptured with the choice he had made, resolved to compensate the privacy of the queen's nuptials, by all the possible splendour of her public coronation. Godfrey Boleyn, her ancestor, had filled the city chair in 1457; in consideration of which, the city was called on to act a distinguished part in this magnificent spectacle. The lord mayor was ordered to make every preparation, suitable to the high occasion, for conducting the royal consort from Greenwich to the Tower, by water; and to put the city in a proper state of decoration, to grace her procession from the Tower to Westminster. In obedience to this precept, all that loyal, opulent, stately London could display, was ready by the 29th of May, the day appointed for the solemnity. The luxurious queen of Egypt in all her glory, never could exhibit in her fluvial

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 73.

† Herbert, p. 340, 341.



excursions, half the pomp, wealth, and glee, which the silver Thames that day wafted on her swelling bosom. Two days after, for it required a rest at the Tower of that duration, to a delicate woman far advanced in pregnancy, and to whom state was punishment, the land pageants commenced. Of these it is sufficient to say that they surpassed all the glories of the water, and happily terminated in her majesty's safe arrival at Westminster, where she thanked the lord mayor and citizens for their services, and retired to her apartment. All this was but preparatory to the grand ceremony, which required a new day, and renovated vigour of body and mind. The day after, accordingly, the lord mayor repaired to Westminster, arrayed in a mantle of crimson velvet, and his collar of SS, attended by the aldermen in their scarlet gowns, collars, and gold chains, and performed the several parts allotted them in this lofty drama. The king was so highly gratified by the zeal, respect, and affection expressed by his good citizens on this occasion, that, on the birth of his daughter the princess Elizabeth (September 7th, 1533), in process of time the far-famed queen of that name, he invited the lord mayor, aldermen, and forty of the principal men of the corporation, to attend the ceremony of the christening.\* We now turn to objects of a different complexion.

Complaints of the dissolute conduct, of the insolence, and of the usurpations of ecclesiastics, had been of long standing in England, as well as in the rest of Europe. But the clergy, by artfully blending the cause of religion with all that related to their persons, character, and behaviour, had hitherto been able to suppress the voice of complaint, by fixing the dreadful imputation of heresy, and denouncing its tremendous punishment, on every man who dared to censure a churchman, however blameworthy. But men were now learning to think, and acquiring courage to speak out. Books were written, printed, dispersed, read, adopted. The mysterious mantle with which priestcraft and credulity had, in the days of ignorance, enveloped the fair form of truth, began to fall off, and her native beauties to appear. From the pope downward, the person of a priest ceased to be held so very sacred. The claim of infallibility was examined, and found defective. Henry VIII., with an unabated attachment to the doctrines of the church of Rome, was disposed, indeed determined, to break off all intercourse with her ecclesiastical and civil polity, and, though his motives were far from being pure, he certainly acted well, as a sovereign, in renouncing all foreign supremacy, and in declaring himself head of

\* Stow, An. Engl.

the church of England. Multitudes of his subjects of all ranks, from worthier motives, rejected at once the doctrines, and the authority which supported them. In both houses of the English parliament bold and manly sentiments were delivered, from which conscious ignorance and absurdity shrunk abashed and confounded. Laws were enacted from day to day, totally subversive of the papal authority. The people had been gradually prepared for this great change. Several preceding sessions had, one after another, retrenched somewhat from the power or emolument of the sovereign pontiff. For years past, Henry had connived at least, at the pains taken to teach the nation, that a general council was far superior to the pope. But now, London being the centre and source of opinion to the rest of the kingdom, a bishop was appointed to preach, every Sunday at Paul's cross, the novel but sound and acceptable doctrine, That the pope possessed no authority whatever beyond the limits of his own diocese.\* There was no Thomas à Becket to dispute the will of a resolute sovereign. Henry found as ready a compliance with his inclinations in the clergy, as in his parliament and the great body of his other lay-subjects. The convocation ordered, that the act prohibiting appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to every church door in the kingdom: and they voted, That the bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England, than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had presumed to exercise there, was mere usurpation, admitted through the sufferance of the English monarchs. This important vote passed in the lower house against a minority consisting of only four voices and one *non liquet*; in the upper it was carried unanimously. The bishops stretched their complaisance so far, as to take out new commissions from the crown, in which it was expressly declared, That all their spiritual and episcopal authority flowed from the civil magistrate, and was entirely dependent on his will and pleasure.† So disposed are ecclesiastics to go with the tide, and pay court to the head of the church, whether pontiff or king.

But what promoted a real reformation of religion among the people, was the diffusion of knowledge, through the medium of the press. Innumerable treatises were written and published, in which not only the vices of the clergy were exposed, but many of the ancient doctrines were examined and confuted. A translation of the Scriptures at length appeared, the production of Tindal and other English

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

† Collier, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii.



reformers, and was read with avidity. Tostot the bishop of London took the alarm at this, and, eager to suppress so daring an innovation, bought up every copy in circulation, and had them publicly burnt at Paul's cross;\* a greater proof of zeal than of wisdom. Men may be kept in ignorance, but it is impossible to bring them back from knowledge to ignorance. The public mind, however, was still in a state of violent agitation on the subject of religion. The king, the court, and the nation at large, entertained very different views, and were actuated by very different motives, in pursuing and effecting a separation from the church of Rome. The number of those who had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, from a conviction of their truth, was comparatively small, and those who maintained them from a principle of conscience had still much to suffer from the ancient bigotry and intolerance. Henry, separated for ever from the catholic church and its spiritual head, by every thing that passion, policy, and interest could interpose, was proportionally tenacious of the catholic doctrine; he had written in defence of it, and he deemed it a point of honour to guard by fire and sword, the imagined orthodoxy of his speculative opinions. It is matter of no surprise to see a half-scholar, armed with arbitrary power, becoming a furious and unrelenting bigot; but it is matter both of astonishment and humiliation, to see such a man as Sir Thomas More, the first scholar, the finest genius, and the most virtuous character of the age, transformed into an intolerant persecutor of heresy. James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, was accused of favouring the new opinions, and carried to the chancellor's house for examination. On his refusal to delate his associates, More ordered him to be whipt in his presence, and then sent to the Tower, where he himself witnessed the torture applied to the prisoner, who, overcome by the sense of pain, at length confessed his heresy, and abjured it. Afterwards, stung with remorse for his apostasy, he resumed courage to avow his former principles, persisted in them, was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and burned in Smithfield.† So little did this great man comprehend that persecution can produce but one of two effects, to make men apostates or martyrs. It was not long before even-handed justice applied the bitter chalice to More's own lips. Within a year, he was convicted for adhering to a speculative opinion, the non-supremacy of the king, and was beheaded for it, on Tower-hill, July 6th, 1535.

\* Hall, fol. 186.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

The prosecutions before the spiritual court, for offences the most trivial, multiplied daily, and exhibit a deplorable view of the spirit of the times. One was accused of teaching his children to pronounce the Lord's prayer in English, another of reading the New Testament in that language. To cry down pilgrimages, to harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to speak against the irregularities of priests, and the like, were crimes of the deepest die. The executions which followed conviction inspire horror to this day, and teach us to associate, from our infancy, the idea of Smithfield with all that is barbarous and inhuman. The patience, the meekness, the fortitude of the sufferers, made a deep impression on the multitude, in favour of the cause for which they suffered, and defeated, instead of promoting, the design of their savage tormentors; and the new doctrines gained proselytes from the adoption of measures which threatened to quash them altogether.

Amidst this ferment of religious opinion, we find the improvement and police of the metropolis making a respectable progress. London had long been an object of national importance, and must ever continue to be so, as forming at once the head and the heart of the kingdom. By different acts of parliament,\* the Strand, Holborn, from the bridge to the bars, and Southwark high-street, were ordered to be paved with stone. Water was brought from the village of Hackney to Aldgate, where a conduit had been erected for the use of the eastern part of the city. With less wisdom the legislature thought proper to interfere in regulating the markets of the metropolis, and the prices of sundry necessaries of life were fixed by statute; as if acts of parliament could dispense "rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons." Experience soon demonstrated the impracticability of this measure, and the statute was very properly repealed. Anderson tells us,† that at this period the butchers in London, and the suburbs, did not exceed eighty, each of whom killed nine oxen a week, which, multiplied by forty-six, the weeks in a year, for during the six weeks of Lent no flesh was eaten, gives thirty-three thousand one hundred and twenty, as the total annual consumption of beef in London. The annals of modern Smithfield present a very different account.

Henry's fondness for the queen seemed to increase with the difficulties which opposed or disturbed their union; but no sooner had passion acquired secure possession of its object, than it began to languish, and at length expired. This change

\* 25 Hen. VIII.

† Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 362.



was quickly perceived by Anne's secret and avowed enemies, who availed themselves of it to work her ruin. She was considered as the principal support of the Reformation, and thereby incurred the hatred and resentment of all the retainers to the old religion. Finding they might traduce the ill-fated queen without danger to themselves, they poisoned the king's ear with cruel surmises of her infidelity to his bed, and, unfortunately, certain trifling levities of behaviour, into which the gaiety of an unsuspicious heart might have betrayed her, furnished them with the means. These were construed into crimes, and "trifles light as air, are, to the jealous, confirmations strong, as proofs of Holy Writ." With Henry, as with Othello, "To be once in doubt, was once to be resolved." Had love been alive, jealousy in a character like his, after hurrying him into a thousand extravagances, might have been purged off, and proved the cement, not the death, of affection; but it was the fullen jealousy of injured pride, resolved on vengeance; his love was already transferred to another object, Jane Seymour, one of the maids of honour to the queen, a young lady of superior beauty and rare endowments. Anne was on her way to the Tower before she received information of the offences imputed to her. She immediately gave herself up for lost, but on entering that fortress, she fell on her knees, and solemnly appealed to God as the witness of her innocence. When she had recovered a little composure of mind, she formed the resolution of making an attempt on the king's heart by an expostulatory letter;\* but the attempt was vain, her destruction was a point determined. She and her brother, the viscount Rochford,

\* The native energy and elegance of this epistle induced Mr. Hume to introduce it *verbatim* into the body of his History of England. The reader will not be displeased to see it at the bottom of a page of a history of London. It follows:

"Sir,

"YOUR grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one, whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

"But let not your grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on-

"no

Rochford, for part of her accusation was incest with him, were tried by a jury of twenty-six peers, their own uncle, the duke of Norfolk, presiding as lord high steward. In this reign to be accused was to be found guilty. Judgment was pronounced upon both; and the queen's sentence bore, that she should be burned or beheaded at his majesty's pleasure. When this dreadful award reached her ears, looking up to heaven undismayed, she exclaimed: "O! Father, O! Creator, thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." Then, turning to the court, made a most pathetic declaration of her innocence, after which she calmly resigned herself to her melancholy doom. She was beheaded by an executioner brought from Calais, as being more dexterous than any one in England. The body was thrown carelessly into a common chest of elm-tree, and buried in the Tower. The instrument of her punish-

"no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection, already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof, and that he will call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request, and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May (1536).

"Your most loyal,

"And ever faithful Wife,

"ANNE. BOLEYN."

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ment is still shown to strangers in the Spanish armory at the Tower. Henry's marriage with Jane Seymour, the very day after the execution, is this unhappy queen's most complete vindication. The king's new consort in due time (12th October 1537) gratified his earnest desire to have male issue, by the birth of a prince, who was named Edward, and who succeeded to the throne. This joyful event, however, proved fatal to the mother, who survived the birth of her son only two days,\* and left Henry at liberty to assume a fourth partner to his bed without the commission of a crime.

Archery had long been practised in England, not only as a useful and necessary art, but as a manly exercise and amusement. Several laws had been made for the encouragement of it, and for the importation and manufacture of bows and arrows. Henry himself was fond of the sport, and used to go to Mile-end to see the London archers practising. He was so delighted with their dexterity, that in the twenty-ninth year of his reign he formed them into a chartered incorporation, under the denomination of the fraternity of St. George. The charter contains this remarkable clause, that in case any person were shot and slain by the discharge of an arrow, the archer was not to be sued or otherwise molested, if immediately before he shot he had given notice, by calling aloud in the technical term of the game, *Faßt*. The king having appointed a grand shooting match at Windsor, one Barlow, a citizen of London, but whose residence was at Shoreditch, exhibited proofs of very superior skill, which so highly gratified his majesty, that he told Barlow he should be called duke of Shoreditch. The hint was sufficient, and this nominal title was henceforth assumed by the captain of the fraternity, who addressed his letters of summons to his officers by the inferior titles of marquis of Hoxton, earl of Pancras, and the like. This genteel exercise, though no longer useful in war, has of late become fashionable as an amusement; and ladies as well as gentlemen of the first rank have appeared in the archer's uniform.

A translation of the Bible had already appeared, and was in general circulation; but being deemed in some parts erroneous, and in others defective, the convocation in 1536, under the influence of Cranmer, Latimer, and others, who were supposed to speak the king's mind, had passed a vote for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures. The execution of this great work occupied the space of three years;

\* Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

but London could not yet furnish a press capable of doing it justice ; it was therefore sent over to Paris to be printed. Henry rated his own ability as a theologian very high, and therefore employed great caution and reserve in the publication of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, for fear that his subjects likewise might become casuists, and dispute his opinions. He would permit one copy only to be deposited in each parish church, affixed to a desk by an iron chain : and he informed the people by proclamation—" That they were to consider this indulgence not as  
 " imposed on him from the obligation of duty, but as the pure effect of his good-  
 " nefs and liberality : that, therefore, they should use it with moderation, for the  
 " increase of virtue, not of strife : " it was farther ordered, " That no man should  
 " read the Bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest when he chanted mass, or pre-  
 " sume to expound doubtful passages, without advice from the learned."

This was quickly followed by another work of great magnitude, and which was soon productive of the most important effects. Henry, impelled by rapacity, in the view of replenishing coffers exhausted by profusion, had resolved on the total suppression of all the monastic orders. He accordingly began with the lesser monasteries in the parliament of 1536, which enacted their abolition, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, and granted their revenues to the crown, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, besides their goods, chattels, and plate, valued at one hundred thousand pounds more.\* The greater monasteries, in 1538, shared a similar fate ; and thus in less than two years the whole monastic revenue and other property became the king's. Not only so, but their tricks were studiously exposed, their pretended miracles detected, their relics, and other instruments of their superstition, turned into derision. Among the rest, a great wooden idol, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought from Wales to London, and cut up for fuel to burn friar Forest, who had presumed to deny Henry's supremacy.† In brief, the king, at different times, and under various pretences, suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries, of which twenty-eight had abbots who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties ; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels ; one hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of those numerous establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds per annum.‡

\* Hollingsh. p. 939.

† Goodwin, Annals. Stow, p. 575.

‡ Herbert, Life of Hen. VIII.



While Henry was thus undermining the enormous fabric of the papal hierarchy, and though he had changed many of his religious tenets with a levity which formed part of his character, there were certain points of doctrine of which he was as tenacious as if infallibility had actually been transferred from the pope to himself. The real presence of Christ in the sacrament was his favourite topic. To doubt or disbelieve this was, with him, the most execrable and unpardonable of all crimes, and in proportion to the absurdity of the doctrine was his zeal to maintain and propagate it. Of this, history furnishes an illustrious and a fearful instance; and, as the metropolis was the theatre on which it was exhibited, this is the time and the place to introduce it. One Lambert,\* a schoolmaster in London, happening to hear Dr. Taylor, afterwards promoted to the see of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, had the boldness to state in writing, to Taylor himself, his objections to what he had heard. The preacher, probably galled by the shrewdness of Lambert's arguments, accused him of heresy before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever were their private sentiments, durst have no public creed but the king's. These prelates humanely endeavoured to persuade the man to retract his opinions, and shun the impending storm. Instead of complying, to their utter astonishment, he appealed from them to the king. Henry, delighted at an opportunity of displaying his learning as well as his supremacy, accepted the appeal, and determined to render his triumph as splendid as possible. Public notice was given of his intention to argue the point with the schoolmaster in person, and orders were issued to fit up Westminster-hall for this brilliant occasion. Thither, on the day appointed, repaired his majesty, in all the pomp and glory of this world, to support the doctrine of transubstantiation; and an humble pedagogue, unaided, unfriended, unprotected, to attack it. Never was contest so unequal; never had the world beheld a contrast so striking.

The bishop of Chichester opened the scene with a rhetorical eulogium of the king's wisdom, clemency, and other princely qualities, declaring, at the same time, his firm determination to preserve the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity the slightest deviation from it: that he had, therefore, taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an assembly, to convince Lambert of his errors, which if he renounced, well; if not, he must lay his account with the most exemplary punishment. Henry himself then advanced

\* Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

to the charge, and with a stern countenance demanded of his antagonist, What was his opinion of Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament of the altar? Lambert, beginning to preface his reply with a compliment to his majesty, was interrupted with strong marks of indignation and disdain. The king then pressed him with arguments from the Scriptures and the schoolmen; to the great edification of his numerous and dignified audience, who expressed the warmest encomiums on the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition. To make sure of victory, however, Cranmer the primate next entered the lists, and supported the proofs adduced by the king with fresh arguments: Gardiner succeeded, to follow up Cranmer's blow: Tonsal followed Gardiner; and was in his turn followed by Stokesley: six bishops more, one after another, took the field, an evident demonstration of the conscious weakness of the cause. This solemn farce was protracted for five hours; when Lambert, oppressed, confounded, worn out, was at length reduced to silence. Now was the time for the king to gather the laurels of the conqueror. He asked Lambert, Whether or not he was convinced? and followed up that question by another, which was decisive, by demanding, Whether he was resolved to live or die?—The unhappy man, pressed by the power of truth and conscience, on the one hand, and by the love of life on the other, replied, that he cast himself entirely on his majesty's mercy.\* “Then,” says the king, “you have “nothing to expect: I will show no favour to heretics; if this be your final “answer, to the flames you must go.” Cromwell, in his character of vicar-general, immediately pronounced the dreadful sentence.

Lambert heard his doom, and met his fate, with firmness and composure. The executioners, in the true spirit of the times, contrived to render his punishment as tedious and cruel as possible. Personal opposition to the king was an aggravation of criminality, which called for the whole weight of vindictive justice. He was burnt at a slow fire, and his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps before he expired. At length some of the soldiery, from an impulse of compassion, lifted the mutilated trunk on their halberts, and tossed it into the midst of the fire, where

\* Mr. Hume very ungenerously ascribes Lambert's courage and perseverance to obstinacy and vanity. Had he suffered in any other cause, except religion, that historian would probably have bestowed upon him more unqualified praise. Candour certainly required to put the fairest construction possible on a conduct throughout so deliberate, firm, and dignified. Prejudices against religion are fully as illiberal in their expression, and as uncandid in judging, as those in favour of it.



he was consumed. In dying agony he was heard several times to exclaim, *None but Christ ! none but Christ !* \* About the same time four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, were burnt to death at Paul's cross, and a man and woman of the same persuasion and country were committed to the flames in Smithfield.†

It was Henry's fate to be continually unhappy in the married state. In the close of 1539 he espoused Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves, partly allured by a flattering picture of her painted by Holbein. She was conducted to the capital with more than usual state, and the nuptials were solemnized at Greenwich, January 6th, with extraordinary festivity and magnificence. But all was show and outside. The king was whimsical and capricious in his taste, the queen coarse and homely in her person, as well as vulgar in her mind and manners. Besides, she knew no language except her native German, of which Henry did not understand a single word. He expressed his dislike of her in terms the most gross and indelicate, and his will in every thing sacred and civil was law. It is needless to add, therefore, that a divorce, pronounced by the convocation, and ratified by parliament, put an end to this short-lived union. It made way for another of not much longer duration. He married Catharine Howard, of the Norfolk family, August 8th, 1540, with whom he lived in a state of rapturous enjoyment for a few months, when it was discovered that she had been a professed wanton both before and since her marriage. She suffered death on Tower-hill, in company with the conductor of her amours, the infamous lady Rochford, by whose perjury Anne Boleyn and her own husband, the lord viscount Rochford, had been brought to the block. They died unpitied, and the approved profligacy of the viscountess afforded additional evidence of the innocence of the unfortunate queen Anne.

While Henry showed no mercy to protestants who denied the real presence, he exercised equal severity on papists who presumed to call in question his own supremacy. Of this tremendous impartiality he now exhibited a notable instance. Three protestants and three catholics were dragged two and two to execution on the same hurdle ; the popish convicts bemoaning it as the most grievous part of their punishment to be associated in death with abominable heretics.‡ A foreigner then in England observed, on this occasion, that the country was reduced to a sad dilemma, for those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him hanged.

\* Fox, p. 427.

† Stow, p. 556.

‡ Saunders de Schism. Angl.

The house of commons, fervilely devoted as they were to the royal will, had now acquired a very lofty idea of their own privileges, which has ever since been retained by that popular assembly. George Ferrers, member for Plymouth, was arrested in London, and committed to the compter, at the suit of one White, for a debt of two hundred marks. The house taking fire at this, immediately sent their serjeant at arms into the city to demand the liberation of the prisoner. The officers of the compter refused, and a scuffle ensued, in which the serjeant's mace was broken. The sheriffs being sent for, thought proper to support their own officers, and dismissed the messenger of the house in a very uncivil manner. He returned, and made his complaint. It was heard with indignation, and he was instantly sent back with a peremptory order to discharge the member. The sheriffs, meanwhile, having taken advice, complied, and set Ferrers at liberty. This not being deemed sufficient atonement, they were ordered to attend the house next day at Westminster, with White the creditor, and all who had been concerned in the assault. Being brought to the bar, and severely reprimanded by the speaker, they and White were committed to the Tower, and one of their clerks to a close apartment in it called *Little Ease*; and the officer who had executed the arrest, with four more, were sent to Newgate, where they continued for a considerable time. At length, at the intercession of the lord mayor, and on their making proper submissions, they were by order of the house set at liberty.

By a statute of the thirty-second of Henry, various other streets of the city were ordered to be paved with stone, new conduits to be erected, and such as were falling into decay to be repaired; and the lord mayor and aldermen were invested with authority to put the act into execution, by levying the necessary assessments and punishing defaulters. There cannot be clearer demonstration of the increasing population and importance of London than the frequent acts of parliament during this reign, which have for their object the progressive improvement of that great city. The streets paved under this act were Aldgate High-street as far as to White-chapel church, Chancery-lane, High Holborn, Gray's-inn-lane, Shoe-lane, and Fetter-lane. And within three years afterward the act was extended to White-crofs-street, Chiswell-street, Grub-street, Shoreditch, Goswell-street, St. John's-street, Cow-crofs, Wych-street, Holywell-street by St. Clement's Danes, the Strand from Temple-bar to Strand-bridge; Petty-France, Westminster; Water-lane, Fleet-street; Long-lane, West Smithfield; and Butcher-row, without Temple-bar.

These



These must all have been thoroughfares at that time much frequented. Water was conveyed into the city in additional streams from Hampstead-heath, St. Mary-le-bonne, Hackney, Muswell-hill, and the springs of St. Agnes-le-clair, Hoxton.

By a great mortality among the cattle, in 1543, the price of meat became so high, that it was found necessary to repress luxury in the city by sumptuary laws. By an act of common-council, the dinner and supper table of the lord mayor was restricted to seven dishes, that of the aldermen and sheriffs to six, the sword-bearer's to four, and the officers of the lord mayor and sheriffs to three, under a penalty of forty shillings for every supernumerary dish. It was farther enacted, that from Easter ensuing, neither the lord mayor nor sheriffs should purchase crane, swan, or bustard, under a penalty of twenty shillings for each bird. This year the city was visited likewise with the plague, which carried off great numbers, and occasioned an adjournment of the term to St. Alban's.\*

Sir John Allen, mercer, who had served the office of chief magistrate, dying in 1544, among other rich and benevolent bequests, too long to be enumerated, gave to the city a rich collar of gold, to be worn by the lord mayor for the time being. It was first used by Sir William Laxton, who filled the chair the year after.

In 1545, Henry having involved himself in war with Scotland, the twelve city companies agreed to advance him twenty-one thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence, on a mortgage of certain crown lands; for the immense wealth which he had acquired by the pillage of the church was all dissipated. This sum falling greatly short of his necessities, he had recourse to the odious measure of raising money by a benevolence, and sent commissioners into the city to settle the assessment. Alderman Richard Read had the spirit to resist this arbitrary exaction, and peremptorily refused to pay the sum at which he was rated. The king, whom no one disobeyed with impunity, had him enrolled as a foot-soldier, and sent into Scotland, where, after enduring incredible hardships, he was at length taken prisoner, and obliged to purchase his liberty at a very high price.

Cranmer, the primate himself, had almost fallen a victim to Henry's irritability of temper, and zeal for orthodoxy.† It was artfully insinuated that the archbishop's mildness and tolerating spirit were the great support and encouragement of heresy, and that there was reason to suspect his own soundness in the faith. This made some impression, and a resolution was at one time actually formed to

\* Hall, Chron.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 343:

commit him to the Tower. But Henry stood in need of him; his ancient friendship revived, and counteracted the poison, and he sternly commanded all proceeding against him to be stopped. But in his present ulcerated state both of body and mind, the imposthume which was repelled in one part, only broke out the more violently in another. The tempest, ready to burst on the head of an archbishop, discharged itself on a hapless female, who has purchased for herself an immortal reputation at the expense of a pitiless king, and sordid, servile, inhuman ministers. Anne Ascue, a young lady of an ancient, wealthy, and respectable family in Lincolnshire, and possessed of uncommon sense, learning, and other valuable accomplishments,\* had been by dint of parental authority forced into marriage with one Kyme, a bigotted catholic, who used her so cruelly that she left his house and fled to London. In resentment of this she was accused of denying the king's favourite doctrine of the real presence. Instead of treating her tender age and sex with lenity and indulgence, he was provoked beyond measure that a woman should presume to set up her judgment against his, and ordered her to be prosecuted for heresy. Being a person of some consequence, she was previously examined before the council, and answered the delicate and ensnaring questions put to her, with so much ingenuity and acuteness as greatly to astonish and perplex her persecutors. This, however, availed her nothing; she was tried under the horrid law of the six articles, the denial of the first of which, the real presence, subjected the offender to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason, without being permitted the privilege of abjuring. Being found guilty, she was doomed to the flames. After her conviction it was discovered that she had been in habits of intimacy with many of the first ladies of the court, particularly with the countess of Hertford, the dutchess of Suffolk, and the queen, Catharine Par, herself, who were all suspected of leaning toward the new opinions. The zealous catholics, willing to give a death's wound to the Reformation, by the punishment of such illustrious delinquents, Anne Ascue was removed from Newgate to the Tower, and closely interrogated respecting her connexions with those ladies, but would discover nothing. The rack was then applied to her body to extort confession. She preserved her constancy in the agony of torture. Wriothesley the chancellor, who directed this dreadful process, commanded the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the engine farther. Nature recoiled from the office, and he refused to obey. The chancellor,

\* Speed, p. 780.



under the impulse of blind zeal, and provoked at the firmness of the prisoner, applied his own hand to the instrument with a violence which dislocated some of her limbs, and had well nigh severed them from her body. Her fortitude even then remained unsubdued, and her weak enemies desisted from the execrable contest. At last she was conducted to the stake in Smithfield, so enfeebled with the torture which she had undergone as to be incapable of standing. She was therefore placed in a chair, and in that posture met death with unshaken intrepidity and a smiling aspect. Together with her, for the same crime, were brought to the same place, John Lascelles, a gentleman of family and fortune, and belonging to the king's household; Nicholas Belenian, a priest; and John Adams, a taylor. After they were bound to the stake, and the faggots applied to their bodies, Wriothesley sent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and would be instantly sent, if at the last moment they would recant.\* The bitterness of death was already past with them; they considered this as an additional gem to their crown of martyrdom, triumphantly rejected the condition, and beheld with composure the flame kindled which was to consume them to ashes; and the chancellor had the mortification of seeing that his mercy was as ineffectual as his severity, towards subduing the human mind, when supported by conscious rectitude, and the prospect of immortality.

The fidelity and firmness of Anne Askue had saved the queen from the charge and punishment of heresy, but her own incautiousness nearly involved her in destruction. Henry's favourite topics of conversation were drawn from theology, a subject of which he thought himself a perfect master. Being now in a bad habit of body, with a mind proportionally irritable, peevish, and passionate, the queen's attendance on him necessarily became more frequent, and, being a woman of understanding, her conversation amused and even delighted him. With more wit than wisdom she would sometimes follow him to the dangerous field of controversial divinity, and push her arguments with a shrewdness and force which neither his temper nor pride could well bear. He complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who had the art to inflame his resentment, by insinuating that the high rank of the offender, and her nearness to his person, were aggravations of her criminality; that the punishment of such an one would operate as the most terrible of all examples; and that the sacrifice would appear the more glorious in the eyes of posterity. The

\* Speed, p. 780. Fox, vol. ii. p. 578.

chancellor, being consulted, powerfully supported these sentiments, and actually received orders to proceed against the queen. Fortunately he happened to drop from his pocket a draught of the articles of impeachment signed by the king, which by chance fell into the hands of one of Catharine's friends, who conveyed it to his royal mistress. Sensible of her danger, when almost too late, she resolved to make every effort to avert the gathering storm. When next she attended the king, without betraying any symptom of knowledge of what was going on, or of fear on that account, she artfully introduced some of the points in which Henry chiefly delighted, with many expressions of gratitude for the edification which she had derived from the lessons of so able an instructor, and acknowledged that she had sometimes ventured to maintain opinions not her own, merely to enliven the conversation, and to draw forth his superior powers of reasoning, for the sake of her own improvement. This was attacking her formidable husband on his weak side. "Is it so, sweet-heart?" replied he, embracing her tenderly; "then we are perfect friends;" and dismissed her with every assurance of his kindness and protection. Her enemies, entirely ignorant of this scene, were preparing to execute the king's warrant, by committing his royal consort to the Tower; and next day the chancellor, attended by forty pursuivants, appeared for this purpose, while their majesties were walking together, and conversing lovingly in the palace garden. The king withdrew to a little distance from her, and rated Wriothesley in the severest language that rage could dictate: she could distinctly overhear the terms *knave*, *fool*, *beast*, liberally bestowed on that magistrate, whom he commanded instantly to quit his presence. On his rejoining the queen, she had the good sense to attempt to soften his resentment: "Poor soul!" said he, "you little know what a slender title this man has to your good offices." Catharine learnt caution from the danger which she had so narrowly escaped: but Gardiner, whose malice had fomented the quarrel, never could recover the king's favour.\*

The city had fallen under his majesty's displeasure for their resistance of the benevolence toward carrying on the war with Scotland; but they recovered his good graces by raising, and completely fitting out, at their own expense, a regiment of foot, consisting of a thousand men, as a reinforcement to the army in France.† Peace was, however, soon after concluded between the two kingdoms, and proclaimed with great solemnity in London, on Whitfunday, 1546. A grand process-

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560.

† Hollingsh. Chron.



sion paraded from St. Paul's to Leadenhall-street, and back to that cathedral, composed of a company of men bearing the parochial silver crosses, followed by all the parish clerks, choristers, and priests in London, including the choir of St. Paul's in their richest habits, chanting sacred music. The several city companies in their formalities succeeded; and the lord mayor and aldermen, in their scarlet gowns, closed the procession. Shortly after, the public entry of the French ambassador was celebrated with similar magnificence, and, on his return to France, the city presented him with wine, wax torches, and four superb silver flagons richly gilt.\* The same year, the earl of Surrey, eldest son of the duke of Norfolk, and the finest gentleman in the kingdom, was committed to the Tower, December 12th, and presently brought to trial at Guildhall, on charges the most frivolous and unsupported. Sir Martin Bowes, the lord mayor, sat as one of his judges. He was, on evidence grossly defective, found guilty of high treason, and hurried to death with indecent speed.

The last act of Henry's tyranny was exercised against the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, the duke of Norfolk himself. Though in the last stage of his own life, he eagerly thirsted for the blood of a man whose services to the crown had been frequent and important, and whose innocence was apparent to the whole nation, except the jealous, violent, and capricious despot who ruled it with a rod of iron. He hastily assembled parliament, the usual instrument of his vengeance. It met January 14th, 1547; and with such shameless rapidity were the proceedings conducted, that a bill of attainder had passed both houses, and received the royal assent, by commission, in the course of a few days. Cranmer, much to his credit, though uniformly in opposition to the duke, refused to give his countenance to a trial so iniquitous, and retired to his seat at Croydon.† Norfolk was ordered for execution on the morning of January 29th; but fortunately for him, Henry himself paid the debt of nature the night before, and it was not judged advisable by the council to stain the very commencement of the reign of a minor king, by shedding the blood of the first peer of the realm, who had been condemned by a sentence palpably unjust and tyrannical. Thus was Henry's last act and deed a deliberate and inhuman murder, and thus a righteous Providence defeated his malicious purpose. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months.

\* Hollingsh. Chron. Stow, Annal. Engl.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 348.

The beginning and progress of the reformation of religion in England, no thanks to the sovereign, constitute the chief glory of this reign. The art of printing made daily improvement, the Bible was translated into the language of the people, letters were cultivated, and the human mind, ashamed of the inglorious fetters which it had worn so long, asserted its birthright prerogative, by thinking for itself. Parliamentary attention was paid, as we have seen, to the exterior improvement of London, in many important respects. Her commerce was extended, her police regulated, nuisances were removed, new avenues were opened, and such as had become difficult and obstructed were cleared and amended. Neither were morals neglected. The London apprentices and journeymen of 1798, may learn useful lessons from the regulations, both parliamentary and municipal, of 1527. An act of common-council, of that date, contains the following sensible instructions to apprentices:

“ Ye shall constantly and devoutly, on your knees, every day, serve God, morning  
 “ and evening, and make conscience in the due hearing of the word preached, and  
 “ endeavour the right practice thereof in your life and conversation. You shall  
 “ do diligent and faithful service to your master for the time of your apprenticeship,  
 “ and deal truly in what you shall be trusted. You shall often read over the cove-  
 “ nants of your indenture, and see, and endeavour yourself, to perform the same,  
 “ to the utmost of your power. You shall avoid all evil company, and all occa-  
 “ sions which may tend to draw you to the same; and make speedy return when  
 “ you shall be sent of your master’s and mistress’s business. You shall be of fair,  
 “ gentle, and lowly speech and behaviour towards all men, and especially to all  
 “ your governors. And, according to your carriage, expect your reward for good  
 “ or ill, from God and your friends.”—While the wicked, absurd, and contradic-  
 tory statutes of the day have undergone repeal, or have fallen into desuetude, these are still the salutary injunctions of the chamberlain of London to young men entering on business.

The art of war has unhappily, in every age, occupied a superior rank. At this period it underwent an almost total change. The use of the bow, and of the battering-ram, began to give place to that of the musket, the cannon, and the mortar. The invention of far-destroying gunpowder was hastening to divest the soldier of personal animosity, and to abbreviate the duration, and diminish the carnage of combats. The martial spirit, however, was unabated, and the city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men.\* Some of the inferior, but far more useful

\* Hall, p. 235. Hollingh. p. 547. Stow, p. 577.



arts, were then hardly known in England. That of gardening, now carried with us to the highest perfection, did not exist at all. Anderſon aſſures us,\* that in the year 1509, the firſt of Henry VIII., queen Catharine could not procure a ſalad in the kingdom, till Henry ſent to the Netherlands for a perſon who underſtood the method of raiſing the neceſſary ingredients. So much earlier, and ſo much more eaſily, do men learn the means of deſtroying life, than of cheriſhing and ſupporting it.

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The hiſtory of London, on the acceſſion of every new ſovereign, is the hiſtory of ſimilar ceremonies and pageants, juſt as every royal birth-day fills the page of the quotidian journaliſt with a tireſome deſcription of ſimilar fine clothes, carriages, and dances. It was at this time the cuſtom for the prince to ride in ſtate from the Tower of London, through the principal ſtreets of the city, to Weſtminſter-abbey, the place of coronation. Edward VI., a youth of nine years and nine months, went through this ceremony, February 24th, 1547. Among the other amuſements of that feſtive day, a Spaniard diverted the young king as he paſſed, by ſliding down along a ſlanting rope, from the ſummit of St. Paul's great tower to Dean's-gate, in the church-yard.

Sundry excellent ſtatutes were enacted in the firſt parliament of this reign, of which London in particular enjoyed the benefit. The late laws againſt treaſon were abrogated, and that crime and its puniſhment brought back to the definition of the ſtatute 25 Edward III. The ſanguinary ſtatutes which adjudged Lollards and heretics to the flames were likewise repealed; private maſſes were aboliſhed; the laity were admitted to communion in both kinds, the cup as well as the bread; biſhops were to be elected under letters of *conge d'elire* from the crown; and their courts were to be held in the king's name. Together with the good produced by the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries in the late reign, one evil had reſulted, it filled the country, and particularly the city, with vagabond prieſts and mendicant friars: a very ſevere law was now framed to reſtrain perſons of this deſcription. The increaſe of manufactures and trade rendered many new regulations neceſſary. Conſpiracies had frequently been formed among mechanics, labourers, and others, to raiſe the price of labour, and to abridge the days and hours of working. By a ſtatute of

\* Hiſt. Com. vol. i. p. 338.

the 2d and 3d of Edward VI. such conspiracies were declared to be unlawful, and the conspirators, on conviction, were subjected to penalties of ten pounds, or twenty days imprisonment, for the first offence ; of twenty pounds, or the pillory, for the second ; and for the third, forty pounds, or to stand in the pillory and have an ear cut off, which was the same thing as to become for ever infamous, and to be rendered incapable of giving evidence upon oath.

The inconveniences flowing from the exclusive privileges of corporate bodies now began to be felt, and parliament interposed in favour of certain descriptions of artificers, who were authorized to exercise their several occupations in cities and boroughs, though not free of the corporation. This excited an alarm in London, ever jealous of her rights and franchises ; and the citizens represented to the legislature, as a reason against extending a community of privilege to non-freemen, the costs and charges to which their craftsmen were subject, in supporting the national as well as the municipal revenues, and the great danger of the decay of *cunning*, by driving away freemen, from the unbounded admission of foreigners. This was plainly admitting that their restrictions had a tendency to cramp commerce, by raising the value of labour, and consequently of commodities, which naturally must throw many branches of manufacture into the hands of strangers, who could afford to work at a cheaper rate, and bring their goods to market at an inferior price. Government, however, rose above this contracted and selfish policy, and in 1549, through the influence of archbishop Cranmer, encouragement was held out to persecuted foreign protestants, to come over and settle in England, by tendering to them the free exercise of their religion. They came in great numbers, bringing with them their trades, their skill and industry, their temperance, frugality, and other virtues, by which they amply repaid to the nation the protection they had received. Hence, to the Reformation we are indebted not only for our political and religious liberties, but for the extension of manufactures and trade, the temporal glory and strength of the British empire. These aliens settled principally in London and the vicinity, in Southwark, Canterbury, and other great towns in the southern parts of the kingdom.\*

The subversion of an ancient and firmly established national religion is not to be effected without a long and violent struggle. Men are tenacious of the formalities of religious worship, in proportion to their want of importance. Had Edward

\* Anderfon, Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 380.



attained the maturity of his age, with the understanding which the dawn of his life promised, there can be little doubt that popery must have been well nigh exterminated in England. But the counsels of a minority are necessarily fluctuating and indecisive; and the king's reign was too short to carry into complete execution the plans of reform which his ministers, with his own knowledge and approbation, had formed. A wonderful progress was nevertheless made. By order of council, images were removed out of churches; and a new communion-service was composed, in the preface to which auricular confession, that great support of priestly domination, was left free to every man's private option, a liberty of which the greater part undoubtedly would avail themselves. The public mind continued, however, in a state of violent agitation, which was kept up by the mutual and vehement invectives of the partisans on both sides, not only from the pulpits in the churches, but in every open place where a crowd could assemble. These did not always disperse peaceably, and it was found necessary to lay restraints on preaching, and, at length, to silence preachers altogether.\* This was followed by the publication of a new liturgy, in the vulgar tongue, in which the invocation of saints and other superstitions were omitted. Priests were permitted to marry, but were at the same time admonished rather to refrain.†

Somerfet, the lord protector, had given great disgust to some of the higher nobility, by stretching the power and authority of his office beyond all the bounds of decency, and of the constitution. Having a complete ascendant over the mind of his royal pupil, he procured from him a patent by which the will of the late king was entirely set aside, the government changed, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom subverted. He was named protector with full regal power, that particularly of appointing his own council, and of altering it at his pleasure. The protector and his council were authorized to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they should deem serviceable to the government, without incurring penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever.‡ Such an exorbitant acquisition of power by a subject, under the letters patent of a minor, was a flagrant usurpation, which gave just and great offence, and which indeed no reason can justify. As he had rendered himself obnoxious to the higher orders by the assumption and exercise of this extraordinary and illegal authority, so he for-

\* Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

† 2d and 3d Ed. VI. c. 21.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii.

feited the favour of the people, whom he courted, by acts of a different kind. He had brought his own brother, the lord Seymour, a popular nobleman, to the scaffold on Tower-hill: this was justly viewed in an odious light. He had introduced foreign troops into the kingdom, a measure at all times regarded with a jealous eye. The immense estate which he had suddenly accumulated, at the expense of the crown and of the church, gave offence to men of every description; and the ostentatious display of his wealth, in the magnificent palace which he was rearing in the Strand, drew on him the severest censures. This has now given place to the much more magnificent pile, devoted to the public service, which still continues to bear his name. But the original structure arose under very inauspicious circumstances. To furnish room and materials for it, the parish church of St. Mary, with the mansions of three bishops, was demolished. Besides this sacrilege, an attempt was made to pull down St. Margaret's, Westminster, the stones of which were to be applied to the same purpose; but the parishioners rose in defence of their sacred edifice, and put the protector's workmen to flight. He next laid violent hands on a chapel in St. Paul's church-yard, with the cloisters and charnel-house belonging to it, and on a church dedicated to St. John of Jerusalem, which he likewise applied to the building of Somerset-house. What rendered these dilapidations peculiarly offensive to the people, was the violation offered to the ashes of the dead, by defacing their monuments, removing the bones, and burying them in unconsecrated ground.\*

The protector's whole conduct formed such a mass of violence, rapacity, vain-glory, and imprudence, that it became intolerable, and a party was formed in council to oppose and humble him. They met at Ely-house, and began to act independently of Somerset, whom they now boldly and successfully represented as the author of every public grievance and calamity. They wrote letters to the nobility and gentry all over the kingdom, explaining the measures which they had been constrained to adopt for the general safety, and soliciting their support. They sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their commands, whatever contradictory orders they might receive from the duke. This being laid before the common-council of the city, they declared as one man their approbation of the new counsels, and their resolution to stand by them. Similar injunctions were laid on the lieutenant of the Tower, and were received with similar

\* Heylin, p. 73. Stow, Surv. Lond.



compliance. Somerset finding himself deserted by every person of rank except the primate, and that the people showed no inclination to stand by him, that the city and Tower had declared against him, and that even his best friends and confidants stood aloof, being a man of no resolution, he gave up all for lost, and threw himself on the mercy of his enemies. The members of the council carried their complaints to the king; the city of London deputed Sir Philip Hobby to address his majesty to the same effect; and their united representations had such weight, that the duke, having resigned his protectorship, was committed prisoner to the Tower. When parliament met, November 4th, 1549, a confession made by Somerset on his knees, before the council, of all the charges alleged against him, was produced; and being authenticated by his signature, and acknowledged before a committee of the house who had been sent to examine him, he was deprived of all his offices, and subjected to a fine of two thousand pounds a year in land. The prosecution was however carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king, and he was restored to liberty. Warwick, the chief instrument of his downfall, and now at the head of affairs, re-admitted him into the council, and even consented to form a union between the families, by marrying his son, lord Dudley, to the lady Jane Seymour, Somerset's daughter.\*

The sweating sickness again visited the kingdom in 1551, and, as in the case of every pestilential malady, fell with peculiar severity on the metropolis, where it carried off great numbers of all ranks. Happily it soon disappeared, and during the lapse of now two centuries and a half has returned no more. This year the city of London obtained a very ample charter, by which certain lands and tenements within the borough of Southwark and county of Surrey were vested in the corporation, together with the manor and appurtenances thereof; the assize of bread, wine, beer, and ale; and a fair for three days, being the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September annually. Moreover, the offices of coroner, escheator, and clerk of the market, are by the same instrument for ever vested in the lord mayor for the time being.

About the same time, John Alasco, a Polish nobleman of the protestant persuasion, having been driven from his native country by the rigours of popery, took refuge first at Embden in East Friesland, where he officiated for some time as pastor

\* Hayward, p. 309.

to a church of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecution which threatened those provinces, and which quickly fell upon them, he prudently sought an asylum in England, and brought over his congregation with him. The council considering them to be, as indeed they were, a sober, industrious, intelligent people; and being desirous of alluring hither useful mechanics of all countries, immediately granted them the church of the Augustine friars for the exercise of their religion, and even bestowed on them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four assisting ministers. This establishment was declared to be totally independent on that of the church of England, and differed from it in sundry rites and ceremonies.\* It is one of the few of that period whereof some vestiges still remain. The Dutch church is to this day in quiet possession of the Austin friars, Old Broad-street. The liturgy now underwent a revival, and some offensive rites were very properly omitted.

The present council of Edward contained men of real ability, capable not only of settling ecclesiastical canons, but of forming diplomatical and commercial arrangements; and while the reformers were disgracing themselves by practising the very enormities which had been exercised for the suppression of speculative opinions in the reign of Henry VIII., as in the case of Joan of Kent, who denied the immaculate incarnation of Christ, and of Van Paris, a Dutch Arian, who were both burned in Smithfield, A. D. 1549;† the civil rulers possessed capacity, felt inclination, and found leisure to attend to the commercial interests of the nation, which in the ferment of religious contention had been at times sadly neglected. The greater part of the trade of England, from ancient times, had been in the hands of foreigners, particularly of the Hanseatic merchants, vulgarly called Easterlings. They had been erected into a corporation by Henry III., were endowed with peculiar privileges, and exempted from sundry heavy duties levied upon other aliens. So little was the nature and benefit of commerce then understood by the English, that for more than three hundred years, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom was engrossed by those strangers, denominated in their patent *Merchants of the Steel-yard*. These gentlemen naturally employed the shipping of their own country, and the navigation of England proportionally languished. The London merchants indeed, by whom alone the real principles of trade were understood, looked on their rivals with an evil eye, and the populace occasionally insulted

\* Mem. Cran.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 112.



them. But as they could make large presents to the crown for its protection, they pursued their plans of profit, regardless of a little dirt and a few hard words levelled at them by the mob. The English company of Merchant Adventurers had been established in opposition to them, but from want of spirit, want of means, or want of industry, had hitherto made no figure in the competition. The short-lived but vigorous administration of Warwick has the honour of delivering the commerce of his country from this inglorious and ruinous rivalry. It had been made to appear to the council, that the preceding year, forty-four thousand pieces of English cloth had been exported by the Easterlings, and only eleven thousand by the merchants of England; and besides, that from the port of Southampton alone, sixty ships laden with unmanufactured wool had sailed for the Netherlands, the price of which valuable commodity those engrossers had reduced to almost nothing. The Hanseatic privileges were declared to be forfeited, and in place of *one*, a duty of *twenty*, per cent. was imposed on all their imports and exports, as on those of other aliens. Strong remonstrances were made on this subject by Lubec, Hamburgh, and the other Hanse-towns; but the council had the firmness to persevere, and the good effects to the nation were presently felt. The English merchant, from his situation as a native, possessed advantages above the foreigner, in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities, of which he had neglected to avail himself: but when alien's duty was levied on all foreigners without distinction, he discerned his advantage, awoke from his lethargy, and a spirit of industry and exertion was kindled over the whole kingdom;\* for the very next year the English merchants exported forty thousand pieces of cloth to Flanders.

The same ministry entered into a treaty with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated that, in return for bullion, his subjects might carry away English commodities without paying custom; that he should carry no bullion elsewhere; that in return for ozimus, steel, copper, &c. he should pay custom for English commodities on the footing of a native; and that in return for other merchandise, he should be allowed free interchange, paying custom as other aliens.† The bullion thus obtained enabled administration to reform the coinage, and to call in much of the base metal which had been issued in the preceding reign. This likewise greatly tended to the encouragement of trade. Some of the chronicles of the day tell us, that Edward having had occasion to borrow a considerable sum of

\* Hayward, p. 326. Strype's Mem. p. 295.

† Heylin, p. 109.

Anthony Fugger and company, bankers in Antwerp, the lord mayor became bound as a collateral security for the repayment of the money; and the king granted to Sir Andrew Judd, mayor, a recognisance to indemnify himself and the corporation. In 1552, a law was enacted against usury, which meant taking interest for money. This was soon found to be injurious to commerce, as well as unjust to individuals, and was of course repealed. The prohibition only suggested means of eluding the statute; for, in defiance of it, the common rate of interest was at that time no less than fourteen per cent.\*

The bishoprics of London and Westminster were now united into one see, and bestowed on Ridley; a promotion for which he paid dearly in the ensuing reign. One thousand a year and a prebend were deemed sufficient to support the splendour of these conjoint dignities: the other temporalities of the two sees were swallowed up by the hungry retainers on administration.† To make way for this economical arrangement, Thirlby bishop of Westminster had been persuaded to accept the see of Norwich, become vacant by resignation.

The increase of taverns, wine-vaults, and other haunts of intemperate and expensive luxury, engaged the attention of the legislature, and by a statute, 7 Edward VI., it was enacted, that the number of tavern-keepers or retailers of wine, in London, should not exceed forty, nor those of Westminster three. Unfortunately the increase and support of the revenue have become an object to government of superior importance to the preservation of the morals of the people: and when a nation is far gone in habits of excess, no sumptuary laws, no accumulation of impost on intoxicating liquors, can bring them back to moderation and self-denial.

Among the other acquisitions made by the city in Southwark was an hospital dedicated to St. Thomas the apostle, which had been, among many other receptacles for misery, swallowed up in the late dissolution of religious foundations. It was now repaired, enlarged, and appropriated to its original benevolent purpose. The good Edward likewise, in this last year of his short but auspicious reign, founded Christ's hospital, on the site of the convent of gray-friars, and richly endowed it, as a seminary for youth. The ancient palace called Bridewell was also granted, to be converted into a house of hospitality, for the reception of poor way-faring persons, and of correction and employment for vagabonds, strumpets, and idlers. By a charter, dated June 6th, 1553, the lord mayor, commonalty, and citizens of

\* Hayward, p. 318.

† Strype, Mem. vol. ii. p. 217. 272.



London, in succession, are incorporated as governors of the royal hospitals of St. Thomas the apostle, of St. Bartholomew, of Christ, and of Bridewell, together with possession of all the goods and revenues pertaining to them. Such establishments are the true glory of a prince, and these establishments constitute at this day part of the glory of the capital of the British empire. Edward survived this act of royal authority only one month. He had been visibly declining for some time, to the universal regret of the nation, the more violent catholics excepted. The case was rendered desperate, by a rash measure of Warwick, now created duke of Northumberland. By his advice, and an order of council, the king's physicians were dismissed, and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who engaged, by the use of medicines known only to herself, speedily to restore him to perfect health. This promise was not fulfilled; her specifics utterly failed, and the patient grew worse and worse. At length he was seized with a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse became languid, his colour livid, his legs swelled, and every thing indicated approaching dissolution. He expired at Greenwich, July 6th, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, leaving his crown and kingdom, not according to his own destination, to the most accomplished lady of that or of any age, but to a resentful, bigotted, popish, female tyrant.

The ambitious Northumberland, in the view of perpetuating his own power, under a successor of his own appointing, had persuaded the dying king to pass by both his sisters, and to settle the crown by patent on the lady Jane Gray, to whom her mother the dutchess of Suffolk, daughter of Mary of France, had formally resigned her own prior right.\* To make sure of an ascendant over the amiable young person whom he was thus elevating to the throne of England, he had married her to his son, lord Guildford Dudley, while both parties were still under the age of seventeen. Lady Jane, possessed of understanding far beyond her years, foresaw the danger of such bold measures, and refused to avail herself of Edward's settlement; but overcome by her father-in-law's arguments and importunity, at length in an evil hour consented to be a queen. It was in that age customary for the sovereigns of England to pass the first days after their accession in the Tower. Thither therefore Northumberland conducted his daughter,† approaching her himself with all the respect due to majesty, and exacting similar homage from all who were admitted to her presence. The lords of council were

\* Hollingshed, p. 1083.

† Heylin, p. 159.

immediately summoned to attend her in that fortress, and thereby became in some measure prisoners to the high-minded duke, and consequently fell under his influence and authority. Orders were issued to proclaim queen Jane all over the kingdom, but they were obeyed only in London and the vicinity. Even there no acclamation accompanied the ceremony, the proclamation was heard with silent concern by the greater part of the multitude assembled, and was treated by some with expressions of the most marked contempt. All the eloquence of the protestant preachers, in support of Jane's title, produced no conviction; and even Ridley the bishop of London himself, who was employed in this service, harangued his audience in vain:\* to such a degree did a sense of justice prevail over the spirit of party, and even over the prejudices of religion.

Meanwhile the tide flowed in all directions in favour of the legal heir, Mary, the elder daughter of Henry VIII. No sooner had Northumberland left London, to take the command of the troops levying to maintain the lady Jane's claim, than the council withdrew from the Tower, repaired to Baynard's-castle in the city, and concerted the means of delivering themselves and the nation from the duke's usurpation, and of supporting the legal succession. The earl of Arundel proposed, as the only atonement they could make for their past conduct, that they should without a moment's delay return to their allegiance, and make their submissions. Pembroke declared himself of the same opinion, and clapping his hand to his sword, swore he would fight any man who dared to express an opposite sentiment. The resolution to proclaim queen Mary passed unanimously, and the lord mayor and aldermen of London being immediately sent for to receive the necessary instructions, discovered extreme alacrity in complying. The people expressed their satisfaction by repeated bursts of applause. Suffolk, who had the command of the Tower, observing the direction of the torrent, threw himself into the stream, and declared for the rightful sovereign. The lady Jane herself, after queening it for ten days, contrary both to her judgment and inclination, retired to a private station with inexpressibly more delight than she had felt in assuming royal state.† Northumberland himself, deserted by his followers, and despairing of the cause, proclaimed Mary queen with apparent marks of loyalty and affection.‡ On her progress towards London, she was every where received with loud acclamations; and was met on the road by the lady Elizabeth her sister, at the head of one thou-

\* Stow, p. 611.

† Thuan. Hist. l. xiii. c. 2.

‡ Stow, p. 612.



land horse, which she had assembled to maintain their common rights against every pretender to the throne.\*

Northumberland's guilt was of too deep a die to be overlooked or forgiven. He was immediately arrested and brought to trial; without making a defence, he acquiesced in the justice of his sentence, and on the 22d of August was brought to the block, where he professed himself a Roman catholic, and exhorted the people to return to the religion of their forefathers. Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates, his principal associates in this daring enterprise, suffered with him: this was all the blood shed on the occasion, a moderation which Mary's future government but indifferently justified. Sentence was indeed pronounced on the lady Jane Gray and her husband; but their youth and inexperience pleaded powerfully in their behalf; and the queen, willing to purchase the praise of clemency, granted them a respite.

Mary wanted both sense and probity. She had given the most solemn assurances, while the succession was unsettled, of her resolution to maintain the religion of the nation as it stood; but hardly was she seated peaceably on the throne, when all her passions and prejudices discovered themselves. It was an article of her creed, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. The catholic worship was accordingly restored, and the deprived bishops re-instated in their sees. Under pretence of discouraging controversy, all the preachers over England were silenced, except such as should receive a special licence; and it required little sagacity to foresee, that this privilege would be confined entirely to catholics. The bishops who had promoted the reformation were, in their turn, deprived, degraded, and cast into prison. Cranmer among the rest was marked out for vengeance. He had committed the irremissible sin, in conducting the business of queen Catharine's divorce, which all his good offices to her daughter, during the two last reigns, were unable to obliterate. He was arrested and tried for the part which he had taken in opposing the queen's accession, though his guilt in that respect was not greater, but much less than what attached to all the other members of council. Sentence of high treason was however pronounced against him, but was not immediately executed. This venerable prelate, female revenge reserved for a punishment still more terrible.

The gloom spread over the nation, by these discoveries of Mary's character and

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 240.

intentions, was greatly deepened by a declaration of her design to join herself in marriage to Philip II. of Spain, a dull, obstinate, unfeeling papist. The violent and precipitate subversion of the national religion had spread alarm over the whole kingdom; and the prospect of this Spanish match excited the most dismal apprehensions even in those who had no scruples of a religious kind to overcome. Many foresaw in it no remote danger to the liberty and independence of the country. The court took the alarm in its turn, from the daily rumour of conspiracies forming, and insurrection on foot, for the prevention of this ominous alliance. Knowing the importance of standing well with the city, the queen summoned the lord mayor, aldermen, and other leading men of the corporation, to attend her in council, and by her command the chancellor addressed them in a very pathetic speech, recommending to them in the most earnest manner, to exert themselves in their several stations, at that critical juncture, to preserve the peace of the metropolis.\* This admonition was by no means unnecessary; for, within ten days, the lord mayor received advice from the lord chamberlain, of a dangerous insurrection in the county of Kent, under the direction of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was said to be on his march to London with a formidable army, and therefore strictly enjoining him to put the city into a proper state of defence against every attempt, whether of force or surprise. Orders were accordingly issued by the magistrates to plant a strong guard in every ward, and at every gate of the city, in the double view of repelling external attack, and of preventing internal commotion in favour of the insurgents. Two days after the lord treasurer came in haste to Guildhall, demanding in the queen's name an immediate supply of five hundred men, to reinforce the army already on march to oppose Wyatt. This was executed with so much dispatch, that the very next day the force required was at Gravesend, under the command of Alexander Brett, an experienced officer, where they joined the duke of Norfolk, the queen's general, and thence proceeded to dislodge Wyatt, who had taken possession of Rochester. On approaching that city, the duke sent a summons to the rebels to surrender, under a promise of general pardon to officers and men. This being rejected, the royalists were ordered to advance and attack the bridge. Brett hereon addressed his party in a short and sensible harangue on the absurdity of going to cut the throats of their friends and countrymen, in favour of a proud, imperious Spaniard, who was coming to impose a yoke on their necks. He was listened

\* Stow, An. Engl.



to with unbounded applause by his men, who immediately cried out, *A Wyat!* *a Wyat!* and pointing their cannon against the queen's army, immediately went over to the enemy. This so intimidated Norfolk and his principal officers, that they made a precipitate retreat, leaving their ordnance, ammunition, and field equipage a booty to the insurgents. Wyat, on the other hand, considering Brett's revolt as an indication of the general disposition of the citizens, thought he had only to appear to be welcomed into London. He accordingly advanced toward that capital without opposition, and reached Deptford; but on marching through Southwark to gain the bridge, he found the passage strongly barricadoed against him. He then attempted to avail himself of the public consternation to reduce the queen to terms. He required of her that the Tower should be put into his hands, that four counsellors should be delivered to him as hostages, and that, as a security to the nation for the preservation of their liberties, she should immediately marry an Englishman. This negotiation coming to nothing, he resolved to get into the city by another route; he marched up to Kingston on Thames, and forced a passage across the river at the head of four thousand men, then returned to London on the Middlesex side of the water, flattering himself with the hope of being joined by such numbers as should overawe the city, and enforce compliance on the part of the court. But the opportunity was for ever lost. The time which he had wasted in Southwark was not to be recovered. The success of all popular commotions depends on dispatch. While he was marching upward and downward, the queen's friends had leisure to make the necessary arrangements; at the same time, his adherents, fatigued and disappointed, began to fall off. He was permitted to enter Westminster without resistance, and even obtained an advantage over Sir John Gage at Charing-cross, which emboldened him to proceed through the Strand and Fleet-street to Ludgate. Here his progress ended. The gate was shut and powerfully guarded. On attempting to return the way he came, he found his retreat cut off at Temple-bar, by a body of horse under the earl of Pembroke. He had nothing left but to surrender at discretion; and the block on Tower-hill soon after settled the account.\* About seventy persons more suffered for this ill-concerted and ill-conducted enterprise, by the hand of the executioner: four hundred were presented to the queen with ropes about their necks, who falling down on their knees and imploring pardon, received it and were dismissed. A report had been circulated,

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 270.

that Wyat on his examination accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire as his accomplices ; when he came to the scaffold, he acquitted them in the most public and solemn manner of that imputation.

The princess had, from the beginning, been treated with uncommon reserve and severity by her sister. She was permitted to rank at court *after* the countess of Lenox and the dutchess of Suffolk, which amounted to a declaration that her birth was illegitimate. Her virtues and accomplishments, which became every day more conspicuous, presented to the queen a mortifying contrast to her own personal defects, and repelling manners. Malevolence wanted but a pretext whereon to found harsh treatment ; and the newly-suppressed rebellion seemed to furnish an opportunity of fixing a suspicion at least of criminality on the princess. Mary had her brought under a strong guard, from her retirement in the country, and committed to the Tower, where she underwent a very strict examination before the council. But as not a shadow of guilt attached to her conduct, it was found necessary to liberate her ;\* but she only exchanged one prison for another : she was conducted from the Tower, still strongly guarded, to keep suspicion alive, to Woodstock, where she was detained in close custody.

The stern and vindictive Mary, unable to reach the life of her own sister, resolved to exercise her power where it was subjected to no restraint. She had two victims at her mercy, the lady Jane Gray, and her husband lord Guildford Dudley ; and them she now devoted to death. They had been convicted of high treason, when their father Northumberland was condemned and executed ; but even bigotry paused to inflict the punishment on a young couple, whose only crime was imprudent submission to a parent's will. Lady Jane received orders to prepare for the execution of her sentence. The preparation was already made, as far as a life of singular purity and piety, a mind elevated above the world, and the firm hope of a blessed immortality could make it. Her last moments were however somewhat embittered by the officious zeal which the queen expressed for the salvation of her soul. She employed learned divines to attempt the work of her conversion, who molested her night and day with matters of doubtful disputation. She even granted her a respite of three days longer, in hope that a salutary impression might be made upon her. Lady Jane had sufficient strength and composure of mind to defend the principles of her religious belief. She wrote a letter to her sister† in the Greek lan-

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 273:

† Fox, vol. iii. p. 35.



guage, and sent it together with a copy of the Scriptures in that tongue, exhorting her, in whatever circumstance she might be placed of Providence, to maintain a steady and persevering adherence to the faith which she had embraced. On the day of execution, February 12th, 1554, lord Guildford expressed a wish to have a parting interview with her. This she begged leave to decline, alleging it might have the effect of shaking that constancy which became them both on so trying an occasion. Their separation, she said, would be but momentary, and then they would meet in the regions of purity and peace, and be for ever united in a world where no sorrow nor pain could find access, or mar their felicity.\*

It had been at first intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guildford on the same scaffold, on Tower-hill: but, on reflection, the council apprehensive that the sight of youth, beauty, innocence, accomplishments, and high birth, brought to a violent and untimely end, might create an interest too powerful with the people, and leave an impression too deep, gave orders for her execution within the verge of the Tower. Lord Guildford suffered first. She beheld him pass to undergo the sentence of the law, and from her window bid him, by silent signs, a solemn farewell. She then calmly waited the summons to follow him; and had even the fortitude to look at the procession on its return with the lifeless body, confirmed not shaken in her resolution, by a spectacle so tender and affecting. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, as he was conducting her to the scaffold, entreated her to bestow on him some token of remembrance, which he might preserve as a perpetual monument of his admiration and esteem. She gave him her table-book, in which she had just written three short sentences, suggested to her mind by the sight of her husband's headless corpse; one in Greek, another in Latin, the third in English.† They are to this purpose: That while human justice killed the body, divine mercy received his soul: That if her own offence merited punishment, the inexperience of youth pleaded some excuse: and, That God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour.—What a precious treasure to the antiquary were that little table-book! Her address to the spectators from the scaffold was worthy of her exalted character and cultivated understanding. Without uttering a word of complaint against the severity with which she had been treated, she acknowledged the justice of her sentence, and took the whole blame to herself. Her crime, she said, was not her having stretched forth the hand to a crown, but want of firmness in

\* Baker, p. 319.

† Heylin, p. 167.

rejecting it: That she had erred not from ambition, but from an excess of filial duty and submission: That she met death willingly, as the only reparation she could make to her country; and though her violation of the laws was involuntary, she would, by a cheerful acquiescence in their sentence, evince a desire to make atonement for a transgression into which she had been betrayed by virtue: That she justly merited this punishment for having suffered herself to be made, however reluctantly, the instrument of the ambition of others: and, That her tragical end, she hoped, would serve as a lesson, that no innocence or rectitude of intention can be admitted as an apology for actions which affect the tranquillity of the state. Having thus expressed herself, in a distinct, unfaltering tone, with the help of her women she disrobed, and with a steady serene countenance met the stroke of death.\*

Through much difficulty, opposition and delay, the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain was at length effected. He landed at Southampton July 19th, and the nuptials were celebrated with great state, a few days after, at Westminster. The royal pair made their public entry into London, August 12th ensuing, amidst an ostentatious display of foreign and domestic wealth and pride; the English court, the Spanish prince and his retinue, and the good citizens of London, nobly vying with each other for the praise of magnificence. Besides bearing their own expenses, however, it cost the city no less than sixty thousand pounds in a forced loan to the queen. This pageant being finished, the fond pair retired to Windsor to revel in the sweets of conjugal love. Philip's sullen and reserved deportment confirmed the disgust preconceived of him. He took no notice of the salutes of even the most considerable of the nobility; he made himself almost invisible, and when he appeared, was perfectly unapproachable from the forms and state in which he had entrenched himself.† But the nation had soon much more serious cause of complaint. By dint of Spanish gold, a rigid exercise of the royal prerogative, and the zeal and influence of the catholics, a corrupt house of commons was obtained, ready to sanction and support every measure of a violent, sanguinary and bigotted court. Cardinal Pole arrived in London, invested with a legatine commission, the object of which was to replace the kingdom and church of England in the bosom of the holy apostolic see. The king and queen having never been separated from it, Pole addressed himself to parliament, tendering them on the part

\* Heylin, p. 167.

† Baker, p. 320.



of his holiness pardon and reconciliation. Every thing being predisposed, both houses voted an address to their majesties, in which they acknowledged, with much contrition, the dreadful guilt contracted by their defection from the true church, and entreated their gracious sovereigns to intercede with the holy father in their behalf, that they might be forgiven and restored.\* This, it may be supposed, was very readily granted. The legate, in name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, removed all ecclesiastical censures, and received them in due form into the bosom of the church.

The queen's eager desire to be a mother rendered her extremely credulous respecting the slightest symptom of pregnancy. When the cardinal was introduced to her, she imagined she felt the embryo stir in her womb. Flattery immediately found a counterpart to this in the history of John Baptist, who leaped for joy in his mother's belly at the salutation of the Virgin.† This joyful event was formally announced to all the foreign courts: public thanksgivings were ordered, and rejoicings made: the household of the little prince was presently settled, for no doubt was entertained as to the sex of the child; and Bonner, bishop of London, commanded all the clergy of his diocese to put up public prayers, that he might be beautiful, healthy, and witty. But as dropsies have sometimes terminated in child-birth, so the queen's pregnancy terminated in a dropsy, the effect of a disordered habit of body, which rendered her incapable of having children. The belief of her being pregnant was however carefully kept up, and artfully employed by Philip to maintain his authority; and a law passed which, in case of the queen's death, constituted him protector of the kingdom during the minority. This solemn farce was nevertheless a prelude to real scenes of a very serious nature, as will presently be seen. We turn for a moment to lighter matters.

A law passed, prohibiting linen-draper, woollen-draper, haberdasher, grocer, and mercer, who lived in the country, and were not free of some city, borough, or corporation town, to vend their several commodities in such towns, except at open fairs, and by wholesale. A sumptuary law, the offspring of aristocratical pride, was enacted at the same time, which deserves to have a place in the history of the period. It was conceived in terms to this purpose: "That whosoever shall wear silk in or upon his hat, bonnet, girdle, scabbard, hose, shoes, or spur-leather, shall be imprisoned for three months, and forfeit ten pounds, ex-

\* Fox, vol. iii. p. 3.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 292.

“ cepting

“ cepting magistrates of corporations, and persons of higher rank: and that any  
 “ person knowing his servant to have offended against this law, and not having  
 “ put him forth from his service within fourteen days, or having received him  
 “ again into his service, shall forfeit one hundred pounds.”\* The condition of  
 the lower ranks must have greatly changed, when the legislature found it necessary  
 to restrain them in luxury of dress: but it is to be observed, that men in a savage  
 state are always most addicted to ornament and finery; and an attempt to repress  
 this harmless vanity is fully as ridiculous as the vanity itself. It is rather  
 extraordinary that this absurd statute stood unrepealed till the first parliament of  
 James I.

An act of the common-council of London had passed in 1543, as has been  
 mentioned, with a view to check immoderate luxury of the table, but without  
 effect. The expense incurred by serving the office of the higher magistracies  
 had become so enormous, from the frequency and costliness of public entertain-  
 ments, that many gentlemen had retired into the country to avoid being elected.  
 This bye-law of the corporation was therefore, in 1554, put in force, with a few  
 variations; and in order to alleviate the burden to the lord mayor and sheriffs, of  
 entertaining guests of high rank on lord mayor’s day, and other public occasions,  
 for the honour of the corporation, a certain sum was ordered to be issued annually  
 from the city chamber to those officers for the time being. The reader will smile  
 when he is told that the original sum allowed was one hundred pounds.

Frequent and well-founded complaints had been lodged against Husbands, keeper  
 of Bread-street compter, for his cruelty and extortion exercised upon the unhappy  
 prisoners under his charge, and for harbouring disorderly persons of both sexes,  
 for his own emolument. But notwithstanding the reprimands, and still severer  
 censures, passed upon him, both evils continued, to the great scandal and discredit  
 of the city. The magistrates, at last, delivered the prisoners from his oppression,  
 by removing them to a spacious and airy mansion fitted up for a compter in Wood-  
 street, and which is still used as a place of confinement for the criminal and unfor-  
 tunate.

In 1555, the city mechanics obtained an act of common-council against employing  
 foreign workmen within the liberties; but it contained a clause of exception in favour  
 of brewers, felt-makers, cap-thickers, carders, spinners, and knitters. So little

\* 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 2:



progress had the London artificans made in some of the simplest and most necessary occupations of civilized life ! In January 1556, alderman Draper, of Cordwainers' ward, instituted a new officer of the night, that of bellman, part of whose business was wise and salutary, and part, in our eyes, ludicrously unnecessary. He was to patrol the streets and lanes of his ward, and ringing his bell at certain stations and intervals, to admonish the inhabitants with an audible voice, to attend to their fires and other lights, to relieve the poor, and to pray for the dead. This office was deemed so useful and important, that it was presently adopted by the other wards of the city. The bellman now walks his rounds only for a night or two previous to Christmas, to furnish him with a pretence to solicit a christmas-box from door to door, after that festival is past.\* Subjects more melancholy, and more deeply interesting, now demand our attention.

Cardinal Pole was a man of superior wisdom, learning and ability, as well as of great humanity, candour and moderation. These qualities, embellished and supported

\* The bellman had afterwards an occasional office assigned him, which ought not to be omitted, as it conveys a characteristic feature not only of an individual but of the age. A solemn exhortation used formerly to be given to convicts ordered for execution at Tyburn, on their way from Newgate. Mr. Robert Dow, merchant-taylor, made an improvement upon this, by bequeathing the annual sum of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for ever, to be paid to the bellman, on condition of his delivering to the condemned prisoners, murderers excepted, the following pious admonition, in Newgate, on the night before they suffered ; as well as that which was addressed to the spectators and them as they passed by in the cart to the place of execution :

*Admonition to the Prisoners in Newgate, on the Night before Execution.*

“ You prisoners that are within,

“ Who for wickedness and sin,

“ after many mercies shown you, are now appointed to die to-morrow in the forenoon ; give ear, and  
 “ understand, that to-morrow morning, the greatest bell of St. Sepulchre's shall toll for you, in form  
 “ and manner of a passing-bell, as used to be tolled for those that are at the point of death : to the end  
 “ that all godly people, hearing that bell, and knowing it is for your going to your deaths, may be stirred  
 “ up heartily to pray to God to bestow his grace and mercy upon you, whilst you live. I beseech you,  
 “ for Jesus Christ's sake, to keep this night in watching and prayer, to the salvation of your own souls,  
 “ while there is yet time and place for mercy ; as knowing to-morrow you must appear before the judg-  
 “ ment-seat of your Creator, there to give an account of all things done in this life, and to suffer eternal  
 “ torments for your sins committed against him, unless, upon your hearty and unfeigned repentance, you  
 “ find mercy, through the merits, death, and passion of your only mediator and advocate Jesus Christ,  
 “ who now sits at the right hand of God, to make intercession for as many of you as return penitently  
 “ to him.”

*Admonition to the condemned Criminals, as they are passing by St. Sepulchre's Church Wall to Execution.*

“ All good people pray heartily unto God for these poor sinners, who are now going to their death,  
 “ for whom this great bell doth toll.

“ You

ported by high birth, consanguinity with the queen herself, and a legatine commission, would have given preponderancy to his counsels in any cabinet except that of Philip and Mary. But he was not formed by nature to be the instrument of unrelenting bigotry and gloomy superstition. These found one much more congenial in Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who penetrated into the character of his sovereigns, and, by entering into all their severe and sanguinary views, had the satisfaction of glutting his own vindictive disposition. He began his career of blood with Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and a man eminent for virtue as well as learning. Gardiner's idea was to begin the attack on persons of this description, in hopes that either their recantation or perseverance, and consequent punishment, would make a deep impression on the public mind. In Rogers he found a perseverance and fortitude which neither terror, flattery, nor promises could shake, though he had many and powerful motives, besides the love of life, to bend him to compliance. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and a family of ten children; yet such was the composure of his spirit, even after condemnation, that the jailors had to awaken him out of a profound sleep, as the hour of execution approached. He expressed a wish to be indulged in one interview with his wife before he suffered: but Gardiner, blending insult with cruelty, sent him word, That being a priest he could not possibly have a wife. Rogers calmly acquiesced, and was burnt at the stake in Smithfield.\*

Hooper bishop of Gloucester was tried at the same time with Rogers, and, to strike terror into his immediate flock, was sent down to that city to be executed. Ridley bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates of distinguished learning and virtue, perished together in the flames at Oxford. Latimer, as they were binding him to the stake, called aloud to his companion; "Be of good cheer, brother; we are going this day to kindle a flame in England, which I trust in God will never be extinguished." The executioners here showed more mercy than was permitted in other cases. They applied bags of gun-

"You that are condemned to die, repent with lamentable tears; ask mercy of the Lord, for the salvation of your own souls, through the merits, death, and passion of Jesus Christ, who now sits at the right hand of God, to make intercession for as many of you as penitently return unto him.

"Lord have mercy upon you.

"Christ have mercy upon you.

"Lord have mercy upon you.

"Christ have mercy upon you."

\* Fox, vol. iii. p. 119. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302.



powder to several parts of the body of the two convicts. Latimer, now in the extremity of old age, was instantly killed by the explosion: Ridley remained alive for a considerable time in torment.\*

Gardiner had vainly imagined that a few eminent examples of the rigour of law would be sufficient to check the spirit of reformation, and awe the nation into conformity with the religion of the court. But he found himself mistaken. Every execution produced a new harvest of martyrs, and excited greater detestation against popery in the minds of the people than a thousand sermons could have done. He began to tire of the horrid work in which he had engaged, and felt disposed to delegate the heavier parts of it to others. Bonner bishop of London was at hand to undertake the office; a man of profligate manners and a brutal character, who took a savage delight in the sufferings of his unfortunate victims.† He would sometimes whip the prisoners with his own hands, till his strength failed for this truly prelatie employment. He plucked out the beard of a poor weaver, who refused to renounce his religion; and to give him an idea of burning, held his hand in the flame of the candle till the veins and sinews shrunk and burst.‡ Such was the inhuman monster to whose tender mercies this great city and the churches of its diocese were now abandoned. However painful the task, historic truth and justice demand the production of some instances to show how this man exercised his power.

A young man of nineteen, named Hunter, an apprentice, having been decoyed into disputation with a priest, had unwarily denied the real presence. He became presently sensible of his danger, and absconded. Bonner ordered his father to be apprehended, and threatened to treat him with the last severity, unless he produced his son, to stand trial for heresy. The noble-minded youth, alarmed at the storm ready to burst on the head of his parent, voluntarily surrendered himself, and instead of a statue sacred to filial affection, received from the bloody bishop of London a crown of martyrdom. Thomas Hawkes, on being conducted to the stake, had signified to his friends, that if he found his pain tolerable he would convey to them some token of it. He was animated to such a degree by zeal in the cause for which he suffered, that he stretched out his arms in the midst of the flames, the signal which had been agreed on, and in that posture expired.§ Such examples

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 318.

† Heylin, p. 47.

‡ Fox, vol. iii. p. 187.

§ Id. p. 265.

of deliberate fortitude excited at once pity and admiration, and instead of intimidating, inspired desire and ambition to partake of the same illustrious distinction.

Even the more delicate sex, with a propensity at least as great to religion as the men, discovered a magnanimity as noble, and a fortitude as invincible, in maintaining the profession of it against all the fury of persecution. One execution was accompanied with circumstances so affectingly horrible, as to excite astonishment blended with indignation, even in times when the heart was seared into callousness. A woman of Guernsey was dragged to the stake in the very last stage of pregnancy, without any regard had to that interesting female situation. The pain of the fire threw her into such agitation that her belly burst, and the mature fruit dropped from her into the midst of the burning. One of the guards, from an impulse of humanity, snatched up the infant, and attempted to save it; but the commanding officer, in the true spirit of his employers, ordered it to be thrown back into the flames, declaring that nothing should survive which sprung from such an abominable and obstinate heretic.\*

The reader needs a little relief from scenes of this dismal complexion. The history of the times supplies it, in an incident which exhibits in contrast the very different spirit by which the reformers were actuated. One Bourne, chaplain to the bishop of London, took occasion, in preaching before a crowded audience at St. Paul's, to pronounce a warm panegyric on that prelate, which led him to throw out some very illiberal and indecent reflections on the memory of the late king. This roused the indignation of the multitude. They hooted and hissed the senseless orator, pelted him with dirt and brick-bats, and some one darted a dagger at him with such force, and so good an aim, that it stuck fast in the pulpit behind him. He saved his life by stooping, but still remained exposed to the rage of an incensed populace, who threatened to tear him in pieces for his presumption, which they would have executed but for the interposition of two popular protestant preachers, named Bradford and Rogers, who protected him at the hazard of their own persons, and conducted him safely to his home.† By men's fruits ye shall know them. "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his."

Without going further into the detail of the shocking enormities which pollute the last three years of this detestable reign, it is computed that, during this short period, no less than two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered death by fire:

\* Fox, vol. iii. p. 747.

† Hollingsh. p. 1089.

besides



besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fine, and confiscation. Among those who died at the stake were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. Were not the facts authenticated beyond all possibility of doubt, such is the change which has taken place in the mind and manners of posterity, that we should be tempted to deem them incredible, and to consider the representation as a hideous caricature of human nature. But these horrors were not confined to England. A great foreign historian\* computes that, in the Low Countries alone, from the time that the edict of the emperor Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, and burned, on account of religion; and that in France, the numbers who perished as heretics had been very considerable:† yet in both those countries, he is obliged to admit, that the diffusion of the new opinions was extended, not narrowed, by the violent methods employed to suppress them. A strong presumption at least, if not a proof, that they were founded in truth; and that persecution ever did, and ever will, defeat its own purpose.

The bloody and implacable Mary had one distinguished sacrifice more to offer up on the altar of revenge. The venerable archbishop Cranmer had been detained a prisoner for almost three years, under sentence of death for high treason. This was not a respite of mercy, but of deep-rooted malignity. The punishment of heresy was more formidable than even that of high treason, and she determined that he should drink the bitter cup to the very dregs. Though it was notorious he could not obey the summons, being in close custody at Oxford, he received a citation to appear before the pope at Rome, and stand trial. Not appearing to answer the charges against him, he was condemned as contumacious, and delivered over to the secular arm. Bonner, and Thirlby bishop of Ely, were sent down to perform the ceremony of his degradation, preparatory to the last stroke of the law. Bonner performed his part of this service with a savage exultation, and with an accumulation of mean, unmanly insult, which betokened a vulgar mind and a ferocious

\* Father Paul, lib. v.

† We find a singularly striking computation on this subject, not altogether foreign to our purpose, in a French treatise, entitled, "*Les Secrets des Finances, par Froumentau,*" in which it is asserted that, during the first twenty years of the civil wars in France, on the score of religion, no less than 765,200 persons perished in battle; that 12,300 females suffered violation; and that 128,256 houses were burned, or otherwise destroyed.

heart. The queen's vengeance, not satisfied with the torment and destruction of his body, and the everlasting damnation of his soul, of which she entertained no doubt, with a refinement in malice worthy of her character, aimed a mortal blow at his reputation also, that every thing mortal and immortal of the man she hated, might perish for ever. She employed persons of insinuation and address to attack him on the side where she knew he was vulnerable. The restoration of all the honours of his high station, of the intercourse of the numerous, agreeable and potent friends whom his virtues had procured him, and many days of respectability and happiness, were artfully placed in his view, provided he would relax a little, and gratify the queen in a favourite point or two. The love of life, and the near prospect of pains from which nature shrinks with horror, staggered his resolution, and, in a moment of weakness, he subscribed a paper containing an acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy, and of the real presence in the sacrament. Mary had now got all she wanted; and with equal perfidy and cruelty, sent orders that he should make his recantation publicly in church, before all the people, and then be dragged to execution. Cranmer, ashamed of what he had done, and humbled in his own eyes, derived new strength from his weakness, which he maintained steadfastly to the last. When produced to avow in words the contents of the paper which bore his signature, he surprised the assembly, to the great delight of his friends, and equal mortification of his enemies, by giving an explicit and direct contradiction to the articles which he had been induced to subscribe. He confessed his weakness, and expressed his hope that God would forgive it. He declared his readiness to seal with his blood the doctrines which he believed, and his resolution to make that member of his body which had been the instrument of his frailty, the witness also, and the proof, of his recovery to truth and virtue. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults and abuse of the wretched hirelings of an inhuman and perfidious court, which he bore with unruffled dignity and composure. The fire being kindled, he stretched out his right hand into the hottest of the flame, and without betraying by voice, look or gesture, any sense of pain, he held it there till it was entirely consumed. His mind seemed to be entirely absorbed with a sense of the infirmity into which he had fallen, for he several times called aloud: *This hand has offended.* Having made this atonement, his countenance brightened into a smile, his thoughts became concentrated, and the fire seemed to have no more



power over him.\* It has been pretended, that after the rest of the body was consumed, his heart was found among the ashes entire and untouched. This possibly might pass for a literal fact with the fondly credulous, at the time : but it was the spirit of the man, not the bodily organ, which the fire of the persecutor was unable to subdue or destroy.

In her politics, Mary was the wretched dupe of the ambition of a husband on whom she doted, but who had scarcely ever indulged her with an expression of reciprocal affection. Philip was now engaged in war with France, and omitted nothing that could tend to involve England in the quarrel. Though he never liked this country, and had withdrawn from it in disgust, he returned to London to try what his personal influence could do. Knowing his ascendant over the queen, he plainly told her, that if she did not gratify him by a declaration of war against France, he would never more set foot on English ground. This menace was a thunderbolt to her ; she no longer regarded the honour, the safety of her kingdom ; but in defiance of every maxim of prudence, in the face of the remonstrances of her real friends and natural counsellors, with an exhausted treasury, and a scanty revenue, without a reason, and without an object, she plunged herself and her people into the distresses of war, to humour the caprice of a man who despised her, and whom the whole nation justly abhorred. What commenced in rashness, shortly terminated in disgrace. Among other resources for carrying on this inauspicious contest, in which nothing was to be got, the queen had recourse to the city for a loan of twenty thousand pounds, which on certain securities, and at an interest of twelve per cent., was advanced by the several companies. The events of this war are few, but memorable, and they do little honour to the councils which then governed England. Calais, the key of France, which had been in possession of the English above two hundred years ; which had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, though at the head of a powerful army which had just come off victorious from the plains of Crecy ; which the French, in the midst of their greatest successes, and the deepest depression of their rivals, had never attempted to recover, from a persuasion of its being impracticable, was now restored to its ancient master, after a siege of eight days, in the depth of winter, at which season it was deemed absolutely impregnable.† The news of this disaster kindled indignation in every breast. The nation saw, with just resentment, its honour sacri-

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 331 & seq.

† Thuan. Hist. lib. xx. c. 2.

ficed, its blood and treasure wasted, its glory tarnished, in supporting the political interests of a cold-hearted foreign despot, who hated mankind, and was by all men detested. The loss of Calais deeply affected the queen herself, who considered it as the first jewel in her crown. She said frequently to her attendants, that when she was dead, they would find Calais at her heart.

The English had lately discovered a passage to the port of Archangel, and through it opened a valuable traffic with the vast empire of Russia. A Russian company had already been established in London; and the mutual importance of this intercourse appeared so great to both countries, that the emperor of Muscovy thought proper to send Osep Napea, as his ambassador extraordinary to the court of England, to open a friendly correspondence between the two courts.\* He and his retinue had the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland, where they were treated with great kindness and hospitality, and detained till the rigour of the season was past. The Russian company, on hearing of this disaster, dispatched a respectable deputation to his excellency, with a plentiful supply of every necessary, and to escort him to London. He was met, twelve miles from the city, by eighty merchants on horseback, in rich attire, who regaled him sumptuously at Highgate, where he rested all night. On proceeding for the city the day after, the cavalcade was joined by the Russia merchants to the number of one hundred and forty, attended by their servants in superb liveries. On the part of the queen, he was met and welcomed by the lord viscount Montague, accompanied by three hundred knights and gentlemen esquires on horseback, and conducted to Islington; where four merchants of distinction waited for him, and presented him with a stately courser, ornamented with trappings of crimson velvet, and enriched with gold, on which he mounted, and advanced to the city. He was received at Smithfield-bars by the lord mayor and aldermen in all their formalities, and by an innumerable concourse of people of every description. From thence he rode through the streets of the city in great pomp, between the lord mayor and lord Montague, to his apartments in Fenchurch-street, where many rich presents from the queen waited his arrival. The whole expense of his journey to London, and of his residence there, was defrayed by the Russia merchant company of that city. Mr. Hume with much appearance of probability conjectures, that this was the first intercourse which the Russian empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

\* Hollingsh. p. 732.



This is the last event of the reign which it falls within our plan to detail. Happily for the nation it was hastening to a period. The queen had long been in a declining state; and a complication of bodily infirmity and of mental solicitude was now hurrying her to the grave. Her imagined pregnancy had, through injudicious treatment, degenerated into a confirmed dropsy. She had the mortifying consciousness of being hated by her subjects, and the mortifying prospect of her sister's succession, whom she cordially hated, and in whom she foresaw the formidable adversary of the catholic interest in England. She was not insensible to the distracted and calamitous state of the country; and the recent and irrecoverable loss of Calais lay with an oppressive weight upon her spirits. To fill up the measure of her wretchedness, her husband was on the wing to depart, never more to return. She fell into a deep dejection, which nothing could relieve, and thence into a lingering fever, which terminated in her death, November 17th, 1558, after a short, unfortunate, and execrable reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

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#### SECTION VII.

*The History of London, from the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1558, to the Death of that Princess, A. D. 1603.*

THE day which saw Mary expire, and Elizabeth mount the throne, was one of the happiest that ever dawned upon England; for it put an end to pernicious foreign political influence, and emancipated the nation for ever from ecclesiastical domination; it introduced a new order of things into the kingdom, and opened a career for talents and virtue unknown to preceding ages. And as through the goodness of divine Providence the reign of the elder sister was contracted to a span, so that of the younger was extended to almost half a century; both to the unspeakable advantage of the people whom they governed, and of mankind at large. Many a blow had been aimed at the life of the princess during Mary's violent and intemperate administration, all of which, her vigilance, prudence and fortitude, aided by the partial favour of the public, enabled her happily to escape. The vigour of her mind, and the superiority of her genius, turned to profit even the rigours of captivity and the languor of retirement; and she came to the possession of royalty in

all the maturity of a cultivated understanding and enlarged experience, and at an age when the personal and mental faculties in woman have attained their highest perfection. The world was about to see, what had never been seen before, the sceptre of a potent, warlike, commercial nation, swayed by a female arm, with all the firmness, constancy, sagacity and perseverance, which characterize the most illustrious sovereigns of the other sex; and thereby a renown acquired for herself and for her country, to be lost only in the wreck of nature.

Parliament had been assembled a few days previous to Mary's death. When that event was announced by the chancellor, an involuntary, instinctive, prophetic burst of satisfaction filled the houses, and every tongue in unison proclaimed: "God save queen Elizabeth; long and happily may she reign!" The sound was instantly caught by the people without, and, with the rapidity of thought, diffused over the whole metropolis, while repeated shouts of, "Long live queen Elizabeth!" rent the air. The ceremony of her proclamation, at the usual stations in the metropolis, which took place that same day, renewed the general joy; and this auspicious commencement seemed to prognosticate that national prosperity and glory which the event so completely justified.\*

The queen was at Hatfield when the news of her sister's decease reached her. She discovered no extraordinary emotion on the occasion. Mary's treatment of her had not been such as to excite the regret of natural affection; and the magnanimity which had supported her under hardship and danger, preserved her from being dazzled by the lustre of a crown. She prepared however to assume her high station, and to execute the arduous duties belonging to it. As she approached the capital, she was received at Highgate by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and an immense concourse of people, vying with each other in expressions of loyalty and affection, which she received in the most affable and engaging manner. She was conducted first to the Charter-house, which she made her residence till the 28th of the month, and then, according to custom, rode in state through the city to the Tower. On entering that fortress as its mistress, and as a queen, she could not help calling to remembrance the very different circumstances of her entrance a few years before, a prisoner, and exposed to all the malignity of numerous and powerful enemies. The moment she alighted, she dropped on her knees, and offered up to Almighty God, who had delivered her from danger so imminent, a solemn and

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 373.



devout thanksgiving, for an escape as miraculous, so she expressed herself, as that of Daniel out of the mouths of the lions. Here she buried all painful recollections and resentments. With a wisdom, and an elevation of soul, worthy of a great sovereign, she received graciously all who approached her, whatever their former demerits. To Sir Harry Bennisfield himself, who had treated her with extreme harshness while she was under his custody, and who nevertheless had the assurance to appear in her presence, she only said somewhat sternly: "Begone, sir; when I have a prisoner whom I wish to be treated with uncommon severity, I will send for you." But even this man felt no farther mark of her displeasure.\* When the bishops came in a body to pay their homage, it was accepted with complacency; from Bonner alone she turned away with tokens of disgust, as from a man polluted with innocent blood, and justly odious to every friend of humanity.† On the 1st of December she removed from the Tower to Somerset-house, by this time converted into a royal residence.

Having arranged her necessary domestic concerns, she notified her accession to foreign courts, and among the rest to her brother-in-law Philip, then in the Netherlands. To that prince she had been indebted for liberty and protection, during the former reign; and she now took care to acknowledge the obligation, expressing, at the same time, a hope that the good understanding which subsisted between them might be maintained. Philip, who had conceived the design of annexing England to his other vast possessions by his marriage with the late queen, though that project had failed, was still unwilling to abandon an object of so much importance, and hoped to accomplish his purpose by espousing the other sister. He accordingly dispatched orders to his ambassador at London to make proposals of marriage to Elizabeth, engaging to obtain a papal dispensation to that effect. It cost the queen very little deliberation to reject this offer; it was done, however, in such civil terms, that the Spanish monarch still entertained hopes of success, and actually sent a messenger to Rome to solicit the dispensation.

Elizabeth, unwilling to provoke enmity from any quarter, ordered the English ambassador at Rome to announce to his holiness her sister's death, and her own elevation to the throne. Instead of receiving this compliment with the politeness and complaisance which it deserved, that high-minded priest assumed the lofty tone. He haughtily told the ambassador, That England was a fief of the holy see:

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 374.

† Heylin, p. 102.

That it was unpardonable presumption in any one to exercise the sovereignty of that kingdom, without his permission: That Elizabeth, in particular, being the spurious offspring of Henry VIII., could not possibly inherit: That she must, therefore, renounce all pretensions to the succession, and cast herself on his mercy.\* Had the queen not been already determined what measures to adopt, this insolence must have fixed her resolution. She smiled at the folly of the hoary pontiff, recalled her ambassador, and stedfastly set her face toward the re-establishment of the protestant religion, which she meditated in her heart. Happily, in the present case, the rights of the sovereign, and the tide of popular opinion, flowed in the same channel. But though decided as to her object, she perceived the necessity of pursuing it with caution.† As a temporary encouragement, however, to her protestant subjects, who had suffered so severely under the recent persecutions, she issued immediate orders to invite back all exiles, and to liberate all prisoners on account of religion. An anecdote is preserved, to which these orders gave birth, and which merits a place here. One Rainsford told the queen, that among other prisoners, he had a petition to present in behalf of four still in durance, namely, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Her majesty archly replied, that she thought it her duty to consult the prisoners themselves, and learn of them whether they desired the liberty which he demanded for them.‡ These acts of indulgence to the reformers were speedily followed by others. The pulpits having been again charged with mutual fulminations, Elizabeth thought proper, by proclamation, to silence all preachers of both parties, without a special licence;§ and though she was pleased to grant such licence only to those of her own sect, she was at pains to select such alone as were of known prudence and moderation. She proceeded to give orders, that a great part of the church-service, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels, should be read in English. This was accordingly done in all the churches of London, January 1st, 1559, and has continued ever since. She then published an injunction, that all the churches of the kingdom should conform to the practice of her own chapel, and immediately after prohibited the elevation of the host, for the future, in her presence.

These innovations were an unequivocal declaration of her farther intentions; and the bishops clearly perceived an approaching revolution in the religion of the

\* Father Paul, lib. v.

† Heylin, p. 103.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 378. Cambden, p. 371.

§ Id. p. 104.



country. They refused, therefore, to assist in the ceremony of the queen's coronation; and it was not without some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at length prevailed on to officiate. This important solemnity was nevertheless conducted in a style of uncommon magnificence, and celebrated with a display of popular favour and satisfaction never exceeded on any former occasion. On January 12th she came from Westminster to the Tower of London by water, attended by the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, in the city barge, with the several companies in their proper barges, sumptuously adorned. On the 14th she proceeded in state from the Tower, through the city, to Westminster, with the nobility of both sexes in her train, the city magistrates in scarlet, and all the companies in their formalities. When the procession had reached the upper end of Cheapside, Randolph Cholmondely, the recorder, presented the queen, in name of the corporation, with one thousand marks of gold, in a purse of crimson velvet richly embroidered, requesting her acceptance, not in consideration of the value of the gift, but as a token of the affectionate loyalty of faithful citizens to their sovereign; whose prosperity they wished, and whose protection they implored. The queen, taking the purse into her hand, expressed herself to this purpose: "I thank my lord mayor, the aldermen and citizens of London, for this distinguished mark of their affection. They may at all times depend on my favour and protection; and, should occasion require, they will find me ready to spill my blood for their safety."\* At another stage of her progress through the city, a beautiful boy, intended to personate Truth, was let down from a triumphal arch, and presented her with a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most engaging gracefulness of deportment, placed it in her bosom, and declared, that of all the endearing proofs of attachment which she had that day met with from her loving subjects, this she considered as the most precious, as it was to her of all others the most acceptable.†

Peace was proclaimed in London with the usual solemnities, April 7th, between the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and France; the city magistrates, as usual, assisting the proper officers in the discharge of this pleasant part of duty. But though public tranquillity was restored, the city wished to make it appear in more than words, that they were disposed, as they had the ability, to defend their sovereign and country against every foe. On July 2d, the twelve companies presented

\* Hollingsh. Chron.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 380.

the queen, at Greenwich, with a body of fourteen hundred men completely disciplined and equipped for service; a mark of public spirit which was cordially accepted and gratefully acknowledged.\* Parliament had made a firm and temperate, yet an efficient progress, in the settlement of the national religion; but the movements of that deliberative body were not sufficiently rapid to keep pace with the zeal of some of the reformers. They had indeed suffered hard things from the violence of Bonner, and the spirit of retaliation was strongly felt. They abstained from the persons of their enemies, but they showed no mercy to the instruments of their superstition. The populace of London, spirited on by the vehement harangues of the protestant preachers against idolatry, broke into the popish churches, and demolished the statues and portraits of the once venerable saints, burnt their costly vestments, altar-pieces, books, and sepulchral banners; and thus disgraced the best of causes by committing the very excesses, of which they themselves had formerly been the victims.†

Our city annalists have transmitted to us a domestic incident of this period, which must not be omitted, as it exhibits human nature in a respectable light, and opens to us one of the sources of wealth and nobility, at which the present possessor has no cause to blush. The lord mayor of the year was Sir William Hewet, a merchant of high reputation and affluent fortune. His family consisted of three sons and an only daughter, a child then in arms. Hewet's house was built on London bridge, and the lower part projected over the current of the Thames. The infant's maid, amusing herself and little charge at an open window, had the calamity to drop her into the stream, to the great horror of the family, who considered her as irrecoverably lost. A young gentleman of the name of Osborne, apprentice to Sir William, quick as thought sprung into the river, and, at the risk of his own life, saved the child's. On good and honest minds, this must have made a deep and mutual impression. Osborne could not but value the person whom he had snatched from the jaws of death; the father looked with a gracious eye on the gallant deliverer of his darling; and the young lady, as she grew up, must have been made of very insensible stuff could she have without emotion, from day to day, beheld a handsome, generous man, who had braved danger to preserve her from destruction. When she became marriageable, her father's fortune attracted suitors of very high rank, among others the earl of Shrewsbury; but the worthy knight rejected every

\* Stow, An. Engl.

† Id. *ibid.*



propofal, declaring, that as Osborne had faved her life, fo none but Osborne fhould have her to wife; and with her he beftowed on him very large eftates in money and land. That Osborne was the ancestor, in a direct line, of the ducal family of Leeds, and afterwards filled the higheft city offices with diftinguifhed credit and ability.\* The compiler of this narrative has heard his grace the prefent duke of Leeds, and one of the moft amiable of mankind, fpeak with exultation of his mercantile ancestry, and claim an hereditary diftinction among the citizens of London.

The founders of feminaries for ufeful literature defervedly rank among the great ones of the earth. In 1550, Richard Hills, merchant-taylor, formerly mafter of that company, gave the fum of five hundred pounds towards purchafing certain tenements, called the Manor of the Rose, on the eaft fide of Suffolk-lane, Dowgate, on which to erect a free-school for the education of youth. This institution by fubfequent endowments, and confequent improvements, is become one of the moft refpectable feats of claffic and other learning in the Britifh metropolis. The fame Hills gave to the company of merchant-taylors a plat of ground adjoining to Crutched-friars, Tower-hill, on which to erect alms-houfes for the accommodation of fourteen lone women.

The cathedral church of St. Paul received confiderable damage from lightning, July 4th, 1561. It was then furmounted by a lofty fpire, the upper part of which, being of wood, eafily caught fire, and, aided by a high wind, the flames burnt furiously downward, feized the great tower, and confumed a confiderable part of the main body of the building. In a fuperftitious age this was confidered as an immediate judgment from heaven, which both parties interpreted conformably to their refpective paffions and prejudices; and, being flatly contradictory, could not poffibly be both right; but we may venture to affirm, were certainly both wrong. The progrefs of fcience has enabled pofterity greatly to diminifh the danger arifing from the explofion of thunder-ftorms.

Proteftants all over Europe looked up to queen Elizabeth as the grand fupport of the caufe. Thofe of France, in particular, claimed her protection. The Vidame of Chartres was difpatched to London for this purpofe, with powers from the prince of Condé, who was at the head of the proteftant party, in that country

\* He ferved the office of fheriff in 1576, and of lord mayor in 1583, when we fhall have occafion again to mention him.

denominated Huguenots, to tender to the queen the immediate possession of Havre-de-Grace, provided she would send over a garrison of three thousand men to guard the place, and three thousand more for the defence of Dieppe and Rouen, together with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns for the use of the prince. The offer was tempting. Havre, the key of the Seine, would almost compensate the loss of Calais, a darling object with both the sovereign and people of England; and it was at once her inclination and her interest to give effectual aid to whatever had a tendency to disappoint the views and to curb the power of her catholic enemies. The proposal was accordingly accepted, and three thousand English, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, sailed without delay, and had the ports of Havre and Dieppe instantly put under their protection. The earl of Warwick arrived soon after with the other three thousand troops, at the former of these stations, and assumed the command. The issue of this enterprise by no means corresponded to the flattering prospects with which it commenced. Warwick was besieged by the king of France in person, and the flower of his army. But a much more formidable enemy had forced its way into the garrison. The plague was making dreadful havoc among the English soldiers; and this grievous calamity, increased by excessive fatigue and unwholesome diet, thinned them at the rate of one hundred men a day, till they were reduced under fifteen hundred capable of doing duty.\* The English general was therefore under the necessity of capitulating, which he did, July 28th, 1563, under the simple stipulation of liberty to withdraw the remains of his garrison. Unfortunately, the disaster did not terminate here. The infected soldiery carried the plague with them to England, where it swept off vast multitudes, especially in the city of London. Above twenty thousand died there of this malady within a year. Scarcity of provisions and stagnation of trade were a dreadful aggravation of the public distress.

The English company of Merchant-adventurers had obtained from Edward VI. a revocation of the privileges of the Hanseatic league. During the fluctuating and ill-directed councils of Mary, the rival associations had maintained a constant struggle for royal favour and support. The sagacious and steady Elizabeth, in the sixth year of her reign, very properly gave the turn of the scale favourably to her native subjects. She granted the company a charter of incorporation, empowering them to use a common seal, to choose their own successors in perpetuity, to purchase lands,

\* Forbes, p. 450, &c.



and to exercise their privileges in any part of England. And such was the jealousy entertained of foreign connexions, that it was expressly declared: "That if any  
 " freeman of this company shall marry a wife born beyond sea, in a foreign  
 " country, or shall hold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in Holland, Zealand,  
 " Brabant, Flanders, Germany, or other places nearly adjoining, he shall be,  
 " *ipso facto*, disfranchised of and from the said fellowship of Merchant-adventurers,  
 " and be utterly excluded from the fellowship thereof."\*

At this period flourished a citizen of London, who was the ornament of his age and country; whose capacious and liberal mind embraced his fellow-creatures to the latest posterity, and devised the means of their moral and intellectual improvement from generation to generation. Sir Thomas Gresham, a name ever memorable in the annals of commerce and of science, was an intelligent and successful merchant of this great metropolis. No profession, perhaps, opens more enlarged views, or inspires more benevolent purposes, than that of a merchant; and no individual ever displayed the spirit of that profession more honourably for himself, or more usefully for mankind. Animated by a generous ambition to facilitate and extend the mercantile transactions of England, and of all nations, he made a noble offer to the corporation of London, to rear at his own sole expense a *bourse* or exchange, for the accommodation of men of business, as a place of resort, with proper offices adjoining for the dispatch of affairs, provided they would procure for him a central and commodious situation. This was a tender too beneficial to be rejected. Fourscore houses, composing two little alleys, called Swan and New St. Christopher's, leading from Cornhill into Threadneedle-street, were purchased accordingly,† and the ground cleared away immediately. Sir Thomas, assisted by the city magistrates, laid the foundation of his intended edifice June 7th, 1566; and with such spirit and application did the work proceed, that in November of the year following the building was completely covered in, and in a condition to receive company. On this occasion the queen came into the city, and honoured the founder with her company at dinner. Instead of the foreign term by which such rendezvous were commonly designed, she commanded this new erection to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, in plain English, THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.‡ The original edifice was consumed, after it had stood exactly a century, by the tremendous conflagration of 1666, and was replaced by the elegant structure which

\* Anderson, Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 403.

† Stow, Surv. Lond.

‡ Id. ibid.

still bears the same name. The statue of the illustrious founder is placed in an obscure corner under the north piazza, shrouded with placards, shop-bills, and advertisements, while a recently erected one, in marble, of Charles II., occupies the centre of the area. So little are some of our public monuments the records of worth and the rewards of virtue.\*

But Gresham meditated, and as far as human power extends, executed a still nobler fabric, sacred to humanity, letters, science, and religion. He bequeathed the produce of the Exchange, and of the offices adjoining, to the lord mayor and citizens of London, and to the mercers' company; on this condition, that the corporation should, out of their moiety, employ four persons properly qualified, to read a regular course of lectures on divinity, astronomy, geometry, and music, free of all expense to the public, at his mansion-house in Broad-street, to be denominated Gresham-college, with a yearly salary of fifty pounds each; and that the mercers' company should, in like manner, employ three qualified persons, with a similar salary, to read lectures on law, medicine, and rhetoric, at the same place. It inspires sorrow and regret to reflect that this glorious devise is degenerated into seven sinecure places. Gresham-college is swallowed up of the Excise-office; the professors of the liberal sciences make their periodical obeisance to the empty walls of a musty apartment over the Exchange; and a convivial entertain-

\* It is the province of history to correct the decisions of adulation, ignorance, and injustice. The first statue of Charles, in the centre of the Royal Exchange, was reared by the company of Merchant-adventurers, and the pedestal presented this ridiculously false and absurd inscription:

*"Carolo II. Cafari Brittannico, patriæ patri, regum optimo, clementiffimo, auguftiffimo, generis humani deliciis, utriufque fortunæ victori, pacis Europæ arbitro, maris domino et vindici, focietas mercatorum adven-  
tur' Angliæ, quæ per CCCC jam prope annos regia benignitate floret, fidei intemeratæ, gratitudinis æternæ,  
hoc testimonium venerabunda pofuit. Anno fal. humanæ, MDCLXXXIV."*

"To Charles II. the British Cefar, the father of his country, the best, most clement, most august of kings, the delight of mankind, the conqueror of both good and bad fortune, the arbiter of the peace of Europe, the lord and avenger of the ocean, the Company of Merchant-adventurers of England, flourishing for almost CCCC years under royal benignity, in veneration erected this monument of incorruptible loyalty, of eternal gratitude, in the year of man's redemption MDCLXXXIV."

The inscription is now withdrawn, but is preserved here to expose fullsome, unmerited panegyric to the derision which it provokes. Will the reader accept, by way of contrast, the modest, well-merited encomium bestowed on the worthy knight in question, by lord Cobham, under his bust in the Temple of British Worthies, Stowe Gardens?

"SIR THOMAS GRESHAM,

"Who, by the honourable profession of a merchant, having enriched himself, and his country, for carrying on the commerce of the world, built the Royal Exchange."

ment



ment four or five times a year, is all that remains of a design which does honour to humanity.

To record but the names of those citizens of London, who rank high as the benefactors of mankind, would fill a volume; and to enumerate their public and private charities would compose a library. In whatever other sense of the word England and her metropolis are denominated *great*, on a comparison with other countries and cities, in respect of establishments for the purposes of mercy and benevolence their *greatness* stands absolutely unrivalled. But however valuable such monuments of human excellence, and however worthy of being displayed in full light, their number and variety necessarily restrict the annalist to a selection, leaving the undistinguished multitude of the friends of their fellow-creatures, to shine on a fairer page, the book of God's remembrance. It is at once a pleasing proof of the increasing commerce of London, and of the beneficence which commerce produces, that at the period now under review, a noble emulation prevailed in the city, not merely of accumulating wealth, but of rendering opulence, authority and influence, subservient to the general good. Contemporary with Gresham, and animated with the same spirit, was Sir Thomas Rowe, of the merchant-tailors' company, who executed the office of chief magistrate A. D. 1568. This man has the honour of having first established a substantial permanent watch within the city. He reared a convenient fabric for the accommodation of the audiences attending public worship at Paul's cross. He purchased and enclosed a large spot of ground to the east of Moorfields, now called Old Bethlehem, as a place of burying for poor citizens, free of expense: and he made provision for preaching a sermon there on the morning of every Whitsunday, in presence of the lord mayor and court of aldermen. He gave one hundred pounds to be lent to eight poor tradesmen in succession, free of interest. He appropriated lands and tenements to the yearly value of forty pounds, for the maintenance and relief of ten poor men, of five occupations specified, which he deemed peculiarly laborious or exposed to danger. And during his mayoralty a conduit was erected in Walbrook, for supplying that quarter of the city with water forced up from the Thames.\*

The following year exhibited a novelty of most pernicious example in the annals of the country. The first public lottery in England began to be drawn at the west gate of St. Paul's cathedral, January 11th, 1569. The occasion and purpose of

\* Stow, Annal. Engl.

it have not found their way into history ; and happy had it been for the country if this ruinous source of revenue had never existed. The drawing continued without interruption, night and day, up to May 6th following : \* so immense must have been the concern, or, what is more probable, so awkward were our ancestors in the management of such an innovation. It is impossible not to connect with this the contemporary disorderly state of the city. It was found necessary in the month of April, that is toward the close of the lottery, to issue orders to the sixteen beadles of the several hospitals, to take up, secure, and bring to punishment the swarms of vagrants, idlers, sturdy beggars, of both sexes, with which the streets were infested. Whoever has observed the effects and consequences of modern lotteries on the fortunes and morals of the lower orders, will be disposed to believe, that the irregularities which then called for suppression were committed by the unfortunate, perhaps successful adventurers in the lottery. The number of delinquents was so great, and their depredations so daring, that a feeble band of beadles were found unequal to the task. This gave rise to the creation of a new office, for the conservation of the public tranquillity, that of city-marshal, who was to be armed with proper authority, endowed with a competent revenue, and supported by a force sufficient to overawe and restrain the guilty. Two gentlemen, William Simpson and John Read, were appointed in the first instance to execute the office. The peace of the city being thus restored, and a regular watch established, the pompous, expensive, and useless cavalcade of the marching watch was finally laid aside. †

Anderfon has transmitted a mercantile fact of this year, which farther corroborates the progress of commerce. A treatise on merchant's accompts, constructed on the Italian method of double entry, was composed by James Peale, and printed at London. The style of this performance, we are told by that curious and accurate collector of commercial anecdote, is obsolete, but the method perfectly correct. ‡

Though Elizabeth was now firmly established on the throne of England, that is, in the hearts of her subjects, nevertheless she had too many enemies, both at home and abroad, to admit of relaxation in vigilance and exertion. The rooted hatred which Philip of Spain bore to her, had hitherto been expressed only by insults offered to the shipping and the merchants of England. These she had both the

\* Stow, Annal. Engl.

† Id. Surv. London.

‡ Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 408.



spirit and the power to retaliate, but no open war between the two countries as yet appeared. But about this time the Spanish monarch began to play a more serious game. The duke d'Alva commanded in the Netherlands ; and from the proximity of that part of Philip's dominions, it was easy to open a correspondence with the English Roman catholics, who favoured, from religious prejudices, the pretensions of Mary queen of Scots. An invasion of England was projected in favour of those pretensions, and Chiapini Vitelli, a gallant and experienced officer, was dispatched to London, under a plausible pretext, but really to assume the command, if a revolt could be effected. This did not escape the penetration of Elizabeth and her ministers. As one precaution, but at the same time without appearing to point suspicion against any one in particular, an order of council was issued, directing an exact account to be taken of all strangers resident in London, according to their respective country, rank, occupation, and pursuit. The execution of this order brought to light the following amusing particulars : The amount of Scots then in London was forty ; of French, four hundred and twenty-eight ; of Spaniards and Portoguese, forty-five ; of Italians, one hundred and forty ; of Dutch, two thousand and thirty ; of Burgundians, forty-four ; of Danes, two ; of Liegois, one.\* To these must be added an illustrious foreigner, and his train, who arrived shortly after, Andrew Gregorowitz Saviana, ambassador extraordinary from John Basiliowitz, emperor of all the Russias. He landed at Tower wharf, August 27th, where he was received with every mark of respect by the corporation, and by the Russia merchant company, and conducted to a house prepared for his reception in Seething-lane.† This attention to the number and quality of foreigners resorting to the metropolis could not but produce very important effects. Elizabeth thus acquired exact knowledge of the nature and extent of her danger, and was thereby instructed what precautions to employ ; and the most daring stranger, or subject, was overawed by the consciousness that the eye of a vigilant and vigorous government was upon him.

The history of a great city, nay of the mightiest empire, must consist of petty incidents, as well as of events deeply important ; just as the functions of a king, a statesman, a general, must exhibit the mere animal as well as the exalted public character. But it requires both taste and judgment to select the minuter objects which enter into the composition of the picture. The great aim ought in every

\* Stow, Surv. Lond.

† Id. Annal. Engl.

case to be the production of a good moral effect. A dispute arose about this time between the corporation and the bishop of Ely's tenants in Holborn, who claimed exemption from the city's jurisdiction. The parties had the moderation and good sense to settle the difference by arbitration. The award was favourable to the city, and the authority of the lord mayor over the bishop's rents was finally established.\*

The duke d'Alva now governed the Spanish Netherlands. By his orders the intercourse which had long subsisted between London and Antwerp, the two great *emporia* of the globe, was prohibited. The former of these cities used to serve as a treasury to our English monarchs in cases of emergency. Elizabeth being in want of money, and this resource obstructed, made application to the company of Merchant-adventurers for a loan, which to her great surprise and mortification was refused, but drew from her no mark of displeasure except a gentle reprimand by the secretary of state. Some opulent aldermen and merchants to the number of thirteen, with the lady Laxton, stepped voluntarily forward, and advanced to the queen on bond sixteen thousand pounds at six per cent. interest, for six months, which, with consent of the lenders, was extended to twelve months, and then by this frugal and exact princess the debt was punctually discharged.

The intrigues, foreign and domestic, carrying on to disturb the queen's government, produced an order to the lord mayor, in March 1572, to train the younger citizens to the use of arms, for the defence of the capital. This was obeyed with so much alacrity, that by the beginning of May following, a choice body of three thousand men, completely armed and disciplined, presented themselves to be reviewed by her majesty in Greenwich park.† Having now resolved to make a progress over the kingdom, she addressed a very gracious and affectionate letter to the lord mayor,‡ enjoining him to pay particular attention to the peace and good government of the city during her absence, and appointing as his coadjutors the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and other persons of distinguished character, among whom we find the respectable name of Sir Thomas Gresham. Of this progress history transmits no account.

In 1573 the country was visited with a great dearth of every species of provisions, occasioned in part by an imprudent exportation of corn, beef, butter, and other necessaries, to the Netherlands, then desolated by civil war. Sir Lionel Ducket, the lord mayor, sent a spirited remonstrance on the subject to the ministry,

\* City Rec.

† Hollingh. Chron.

‡ City Rec.



and the progress of the evil was stopped. The year after the plague re-appeared in the city, and the queen, out of her maternal concern for the health and life of her people, recommended to the chief magistrate to omit the magnificent procession usually made on the day of his entering into office, and which by collecting immense multitudes might prove the means of spreading the contagion, and of sending it from the city to ravage the country. This grievous calamity was considered by many as a judgment from heaven for the generally prevailing dissoluteness of manners, occasioned chiefly by the corrupted state of theatric exhibitions. The drama had formerly been of at least an innocent, if not of a moral tendency. The original actors were persons of decent character, the parish clerks of the city, reputable tradesmen, gentlemen's servants, and the like, who exhibited in private houses, sometimes in open places, for their own amusement merely, and that of their neighbours, and without fee or reward. But the case was now totally changed. Acting of plays had become a separate profession. The place of representation had been transferred to great rooms in taverns and other places of public entertainment. Money was taken at entrance, and promiscuous admission granted. The character of the pieces, as well as that of the performers, had greatly degenerated; and the entertainment of the evening frequently terminated in scenes of lewdness and intemperance. Nor was this all: the most favourite and attractive dramas were reserved for Sundays, and other sacred festivals; the play-house was crowded and the church deserted, and the public morals were thus attacked at the very root. From the stage therefore, as from a fountain, issued the various evils which infest society: waste of time and money, habits of idleness and dissipation, dangerous and seductive connexions, disastrous and sometimes fatal accidents, thefts, quarrels, murders. The common council of the city, as guardian of the public virtue, taking these things into serious consideration, enacted a variety of regulations, which reflect the highest honour on their memory, respecting the exhibition of stage-plays and interludes, among which are the following: " That no piece be represented within  
" the city or liberties, containing words, examples, or doings of any unchastity,  
" sedition, or such like unfit and uncomely matter, under pain of imprisonment  
" for fourteen days, and five pounds for every such offence; That no inn-keeper,  
" tavern-keeper, or other person within the liberties, shall show or play, or cause  
" to be showed or played, within his house or yard, any play, which shall not  
" first be perused and allowed by the lord mayor and aldermen's order; That no

“ one shall suffer plays to be exhibited on his premises, but by such persons as,  
 “ upon good consideration, shall be thereunto permitted and allowed by the lord  
 “ mayor and aldermen; That no person shall avail himself of such permission,  
 “ until he become bound to the chamberlain of London, in certain sums, for the  
 “ maintenance of good order, and for avoiding and preventing discords and other  
 “ inconveniences; That no one shall exercise such licence or permission at any time  
 “ when the same shall be by the lord mayor and aldermen restrained, that is, in  
 “ any usual time of divine service on Sunday or holiday; nor receive spectators in  
 “ time of service, under a penalty of five pounds for every offence; That every  
 “ person obtaining a licence shall pay, during its continuance, for the use of the  
 “ hospitals in the city, or of the poor visited with sickness, such sum or sums as  
 “ shall be agreed upon between the lord mayor and aldermen and the person to be  
 “ so licensed, and failing such payment the licence to become void; and finally,  
 “ That all sums and forfeitures to be incurred for offences under this act, shall be  
 “ employed toward the relief of the poor in the hospitals, or of the poor infected  
 “ or diseased in the city, and that the chamberlain be directed to take the proper  
 “ steps to recover the same.”\*

The players appealed from the authority of the common council of London, to the queen and her council, but obtained no redress. Permission was granted them to perform under restrictions still closer. They were to exhibit only in private houses, at weddings and such like domestic festivities. They were not to play publicly till the amount of deaths in a week were reduced to fifty or under, and continued so for twenty days together. They were not to perform at all on the sabbath, nor on holidays till after evening-prayer was concluded. There was to be no playing after the night set in, nor was the exhibition to be prolonged to an hour which did not permit the audience to reach their dwellings in London before sunset, or at least before it was dark. The queen's company of comedians only were to be licensed, and their names and number to be notified in the lord treasurer's letters to the lord mayor, and to the justices of Middlesex and Surrey. They were not to parcel themselves out into several companies; and the violation of any of these articles was to be a forfeiture of their licence. It is amusing to reflect that this was the period, and this the state of the English stage, when our great dramatic luminary, William Shakespear, began to appear above the horizon, in the form of

\* Hollingshed, Chron.



a runaway lad from Warwickshire, and exercising the humble employment of horseholder to gentlemen frequenting the theatre. In such a disguise and under such unpromising auspices, did the first of human geniuses begin his immortal career.

The work of reformation of manners laid hold of another object. The number of taverns within the city and liberties had been lately limited, but houses of vulgar entertainment had multiplied to such a degree, and with such a pernicious influence, as to attract the attention of government. Lord chancellor Bacon, in the Star-chamber, among other nuisances which challenged suppression, made a minute of the extraordinary increase of superfluous ale-houses, which he communicated to the lord mayor, with a request, that with the assistance of the proper officers he would purge the city and neighbourhood of this plague. Having consulted with the magistrates of Southwark and Lambeth, it was found necessary to put down no less than two hundred of those haunts of idleness and vice within their several jurisdictions; and the example was immediately followed by the city of Westminster, the duchy of Lancaster court, the liberty of the Tower-hamlets, and other places contiguous to the metropolis.\*

Such at this time was the vigilance of the magistracy, and such the concurrence and support given by administration, that at the London assizes for 1575 there was not a single criminal to be brought upon trial. In communicating the history of this maiden sessions to the lord treasurer, then with the court at Buxton, Fleetwood, the recorder of London, unfolds some of the tricks then employed to obstruct the course of justice, and to screen the guilty. As his letter presents a characteristic feature of the times, and displays the sensible, plain, honest disposition of the writer, we give it in his own words: “ The only cause that this  
 “ reformation taketh so good effect here about London, is, that when, by order,  
 “ we have either justly executed the law, or performed the council’s command-  
 “ ment, we were wont to have either a great man’s letter, a lady’s ring, or some  
 “ other token from such other inferior persons, as will devise one untruth or other  
 “ to accuse us of, if we perform not their unlawful requests. The court is far  
 “ off; here we are not troubled with letters, neither for the reprieve of this pri-  
 “ soner, nor for sparing that fray-maker. These secretaries, chamber-keepers, and  
 “ solicitors in the court, procure many letters from their lords and ladies upon

\* City Rec.

“ untrue

“ untrue suggestions ; the which letters do great hurt.”\* Thus in every age have the great, with all their pride, been made the dupes of the low and vicious.

A public-spirited and benevolent citizen, William Lamb, of the cloth-workers’ company, in 1577, undertook and executed at his own sole expense a work of considerable magnitude and utility. He collected into one reservoir the water of several springs, at the upper extremity of Red Lion-street, Holborn, denominated from him *Lamb’s-conduit*, adjoining the spot on which the Foundling-hospital now stands. He had it thence conveyed in a leaden pipe two thousand yards long to Snow-hill, where he rebuilt a ruinous conduit long in disuse, for the accommodation of that neighbourhood with this invaluable necessary of life. The whole is said to have cost him the sum of fifteen hundred pounds.†

The government of Elizabeth was now so completely established in the hearts and minds of her people, and her administration so firm and prudent, that the domestic history of the nation and of its capital, for many years together, exhibits no one very striking feature to catch the eye of posterity. Happy is it for the nation and city, and happy for the period of their existence, when the materials of the annalist become scanty. Times of public peace and prosperity leave few and faint traces behind them : but when the historian has much to record, the people must have had much to do, and much to suffer. John Casimire, son to the elector Palatine, arrived in England January 22d, 1579,‡ and landing at the Tower in the night, was received by many of the prime nobility, the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal merchants, who conducted him by torch-light to the mansion of Sir Thomas Gresham in Bishopsgate-street ; and on the 3d February he was entertained magnificently by the corporation, Sir Thomas Ramsey being then lord mayor. §

An uncommon calamity attacked the city, April 6th, 1580. An earthquake, though but of one minute’s duration, produced such a violent agitation, that several churches and other buildings were shaken to the foundation, and many persons buried in the ruins. ||

Elizabeth by this time lay under the papal sentence of excommunication ; but that thunder was no longer formidable to a sovereign of England, especially to one who stood so well with the people of all descriptions. But this great princess nei-

\* City Rec.

† Stow, Annal. Engl.

‡ Camd. Life Queen Eliz.

§ Stow, Annal. Engl.

|| Id. ibid.



ther shrunk from danger the most alarming, nor neglected the most inconsiderable. She therefore again gave orders to take account of foreigners resident in London; and they were now found to amount, within the city and liberties, to six thousand four hundred and ninety-two: of whom two thousand three hundred and two were Dutch; one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight were French; one hundred and sixteen Italians; English born of foreign parents, one thousand five hundred and forty-two; of other nations not specified, four hundred and forty-seven; and of non-descripts, two hundred and seventeen. This, in a period of thirteen years, since the former survey was made, exhibited an increase of three thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, that is, the number was considerably more than doubled. It appeared likewise, that the concourse of native English from all the provinces to the metropolis, was every year likewise on the increase. An apprehension therefore of a population threatening to become excessive, and of a capital too vast for the size of the kingdom, produced a representation on the subject from the lord mayor and court of aldermen to government; and this, on mature deliberation, produced a royal proclamation prohibiting the multiplication of new buildings in London and the vicinity. Three causes chiefly are assigned for taking this strong measure: the difficulty of properly governing so great a number of people, collected within so small a circumference; the danger of communicating the plague and other contagious distempers; and the supposed impossibility of supplying such an immense multitude with provisions, fuel, and other necessaries at a reasonable rate. Experience has demonstrated that these apprehensions of the city and court were groundless and chimerical. Modern London, of more than six times the size, and containing at least six times the population of London two hundred and eighteen years ago, is infinitely better governed and supplied, and beyond all comparison more healthy, than it was in queen Elizabeth's days; and its daily increasing numbers and magnitude give no manner of alarm to magistracy or administration. So little are the wisest qualified to reason from the present to the future.

The cross in Cheapside, once not only an ornament to that street but an object of religious worship, had now become doubly offensive. Being in a central situation, it was found to be a considerable obstruction in the way of carriages and other operations of a daily extending trade; and the images with which it was decorated gave great scandal to the inhabitants of a protestant city, determined to destroy idolatry root and branch. The inquest had frequently presented it as a nuisance,

but without effect. Many still venerated it as a monument of other times, and men are naturally reluctant to violate antiquity, but for some very apparent present benefit. The populace took the cause into their own hands, and one night without ceremony levelled the edifice with all its superstitious appendages to the ground. A proclamation was issued, offering a reward of ten pounds to the person who should discover any of the perpetrators of this irregularity; but no conviction appears to have followed.\* An outrage offered to a statue of the Virgin did not now appear in so criminal a light as it would have done while Mary filled the throne; it was accordingly overlooked, and the cross in Cheapside had fallen to rise no more.

The kingdom being now in a state of profound tranquillity, the arts of peace were cultivated, and the internal order of city and country became an object of attention to their rulers. On a representation of Sir James Harvey, the lord mayor, to the lord treasurer, respecting the frauds committed in the use of false and unjust weights and measures, orders were given for the establishment of a public standard, according to which all private weights and measures were to be adjusted, under severe penalties on such as should offend. By an act of common council, in 1582, the dress, deportment, and behaviour of apprentices were regulated, and that important part of the community was reduced to habits of decency and order. This year is farther memorable for the first erection of the water-works under London bridge. Commerce was continually attracting great numbers to the river's side; but though the finest stream in the world washed their habitations, few had learned to avail themselves of such an invaluable gift of nature. Peter Maurice, a German engineer, now presented to the lord mayor and court of aldermen, a scheme for supplying the lower regions of the city with water forced up out of the Thames, by machinery fixed under the bridge, and to be worked by the flux and reflux of the tide.† Maurice obtained a lease of one arch, in which to place his engine, for a term of five hundred years, at the moderate rent of ten shillings a year. It answered beyond all expectation, and was found to be such an accommodation to the public, that the proprietor readily obtained the lease of a second arch on similar conditions. The successive improvements made in this structure became a mine of gold to Maurice and his heirs, who, in 1701, sold the whole property to one Richard Soams, a goldsmith, for thirty-six thousand pounds. The wheels by this time occupied four arches of the bridge; and Soams having obtained from the city

\* Stow, Surv. Lond.

† Id. *ibid.*



a confirmation of the original leases, parcelled out the property into three hundred shares of five hundred pounds each.

The plague, which was continually lurking in some corner or another of the city, occasioned many communications between the magistracy and administration, relative to the means of preventing or checking the infection. From an account of the mortality, in bills still extant, it appears that from December 28th, 1581, to December 27th, 1582, there died of this distemper six thousand nine hundred and thirty persons; and this is considered in the bills as moderate, compared to some preceding years. It is remarkable, but not accounted for by annalists, that not one death by the plague is reported from the parishes of St. Mary-le-bow, St. Margaret Moses, Friday-street, St. Matthew, Friday-street, nor St. Augustine, near St. Paul's.

The United Provinces had by this time emancipated themselves from the Spanish yoke; and they had, next to their own valour, resolution, and perseverance, been principally indebted for the maintenance of their liberties to the support which they had received from Elizabeth. In 1585 she entered into close alliance with the revolted states, making it one common cause with them to resist the domination, and check the ambition of the Spanish monarch. Aware of the power and resentment of that vindictive court, she perceived the necessity of putting her own kingdom in a proper state of defence against every attack. In this she was cordially seconded by her subjects of all ranks. The navy was put on a respectable footing: the country at large was trained to the use of arms; and the city companies furnished a body of five thousand men, completely armed and accoutred, who encamped on Blackheath, and had the honour of being several times reviewed by the queen in person, with expressions of high approbation. The earl of Leicester being shortly after sent with a considerable force to the assistance of the Dutch, the city put under his command an additional reinforcement, armed at their expense, and dressed in a scarlet uniform.

We have this year the first instance on record, of the custom which has since obtained, except on extraordinary occasions, of the lord mayor's nominating sheriffs, by drinking to the persons deemed to be qualified for the execution of that office. We find indeed his right disputed by the livery in the time of Charles I., and claimed by the lord mayor of that period, on a prescriptive title of three hundred years standing. The ceremony observed on this occasion merits a place in a history of the city. Some time in the month of July, when the companies were feasting

in their severall halls, Sir Edward Osborne, the lord mayor, of whom honourable mention has been already made, with severall of the aldermen and the recorder, dined at Haberdashers' hall. After the second course was served up, the chief magistrate took the great cup, the gift of Sir William Garret, which being filled with hippocras he stood up, and, silence being commanded, expressed himself aloud in these words: " Mr. recorder of London, and you my good brethren the  
 " aldermen, bear witness that I drink unto Mr. alderman Massam, as sheriff of  
 " London and Middlesex, from Michaelmas next coming, for one whole year;  
 " and I do beseech God to give him as quiet and peaceable a year, with as good  
 " and gracious favour of her majesty, as I myself, and my brethren the sheriffs now  
 " being, have hitherto had, and as I trust shall have." Having thus spoken, all the company present pledged the same health. The sword-bearer upon this repaired to Grocers' hall, where Mr. alderman Massam was at dinner, and reported the words which the lord mayor had used. The alderman made this modest reply;  
 " First, I thank God, who, through his great goodness, hath called me from a very  
 " poor and mean degree unto this worshipful state. Secondly, I thank her majesty  
 " for her gracious goodness in allowing to us these great and ample franchises.  
 " And, thirdly, I thank my lord mayor for having so honourable an opinion of  
 " this my company of grocers, as to make choice of me, being a poor member  
 " of the same." He and all the company then pledged his lordship's health, and returned him their thanks.

The magistrates continued laudably to exert themselves in purging the city and suburbs of the gangs of thieves and pick-pockets who were committing continual depredations on the public. At the July sessions of this year, the bench directed its whole attention to the detection and punishment of persons who kept houses of resort for idle and profligate characters. Of these seven were suppressed in London, six in Westminster, two in Southwark, and three in other places of the vicinity. In the course of this inquest it was discovered, that the art of cutting purses and picking of pockets was taught scientifically. One Wotton, who had once been a merchant in good credit, but fallen into decay, was reduced to keep an alehouse at Smart's quay, near Billingsgate. Here youth was regularly instructed in the practice of this infamous trade, by means of a purse and pocket supplied with counters, and garnished with little bells on all sides. The pupil was deemed unqualified to go upon the street till he had acquired the dexterity of filching out  
 the



the counters without jingling the bells. It farther appeared, that encouragement had been given to such hordes and seminaries of vice by the patronage of the great; for we find Fleetwood the recorder, a man of sense and probity, who communicated these discoveries officially to the lord treasurer, complaining to this nobleman, that the evil originated in the court itself, inasmuch as it had become a trade with some persons very high in rank to solicit and procure pardons and reprieves for the most notorious malefactors.\*

In 1586 a very dark and dangerous conspiracy was formed to assassinate Elizabeth, to place Mary queen of Scots, who had been now almost eighteen years a prisoner in England, upon the throne, and to restore the catholic religion.† The Scottish queen unfortunately connived at least at this criminal design, which proved fatal to the contrivers and intended perpetrators of it, and to herself. On its being detected, for what could elude the sagacity of the queen and her ministers? the joy diffused over the metropolis was excessive, and expressed not only by devotional thanksgivings, but with all the festivity that bells, bonfires, and artillery could announce. Elizabeth was so deeply affected with these demonstrations of loyalty and attachment, that she could not refrain from testifying her grateful sense of them in a gracious letter addressed to the lord mayor, with a request that the contents of it might be communicated to the citizens at large.‡ The conspirators, to the  
number

\* Stow, Surv. Lond.

† Stow, Annal. Eng.

‡ A copy of this letter will no doubt be acceptable to some readers. It follows:

“ Right trusty and wel-beloved, we greet you well. Being given to understand how greatly our good and most loving subjects of that citie did rejoyce at the apprehension of certaine divelish and wicked-minded subjects of ours, that through the great and singular goodnesse of God have been detected, to have most wickedly and unnaturally conspired, not onely the taking away of our owne life, but also to have stirred (as much as in them lay) a general rebellion throughout our whole realme: wee could not by our own letters witnes unto you the great and singular contentment wee received upon the knowledge thereof, assuring you that wee did not so much rejoyce at the escape of the intended attempt against our owne person, as to see the great joy our most loving subjects took at the apprehension of the contrivers thereof, which to make their love more apparent, they have (as we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no outward shew, that by any external act might witnesse to the world the inward love and dutifull affection they beare towards us.

“ And as we have as great cause with all thankfulnessse to acknowledge God's great goodnesse towards us, through the infinite blessings he layeth upon us, as many as ever prince had, yea, rather as ever creature had; yet do we not, for any worldly blessing received from his Divine Majesty, so greatly acknowledge the same, as in that it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our subjects, even from the first beginning of our raygne to carrie as great love towards us, as ever subjects carryed towards prince, which ought to move us (as it doth in very deede) to seeke with all care, and by all good meanes that appertaine to a Christian prince, the conversation of so loving and dutiful affected subjects;

“ assuring

number of fourteen, were apprehended, tried, and executed, seven of whom made full confession of their guilt, the others were convicted on the clearest evidence. Measures were then taken to bring to trial and conviction the ill-starred Mary, on whose account, and with whose concurrence, so many attempts had been made against the life of the queen, and to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. She was found guilty. On the 6th of December, the sentence of her condemnation was proclaimed with great solemnity by the lord mayor, assisted by several of the nobility, the aldermen in their appropriate habits, and eighty of the principal citizens dressed in velvet, and decorated with gold chains, in Cheapside, at Leadenhall, at the end of London bridge, and at the bottom of Chancery-lane. This awful ceremony was attended by great multitudes of the people with clamorous expressions of joy and satisfaction. The sentence was executed at Fotheringay castle, February 7th, 1587.

The nation was now alarmed by certain intelligence that Spain was making formidable preparations for a descent on England. Elizabeth, undismayed, prepared in her turn to meet the gathering storm. She dispatched the gallant Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept Philip's supplies, to ravage his coasts, and to destroy his shipping. Drake had under his command four ships of force belonging to the queen, and twenty-six of various sizes with which the London merchants had supplied him, in prospect of sharing in the plunder. Having received information that a Spanish fleet richly laden lay in the bay of Cadiz, ready to sail for Lisbon, the general rendezvous of the armament, he bent his course immediately toward the former port, and made a bold and successful attack on the enemy. He obliged six galleys which ventured to oppose him to take shelter under the land batteries: he burned about a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores; and destroyed a great ship of the marquis of Santa-Croce. He thence set sail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by assault the castle situated on that promontory. On his return he insulted Lisbon itself, and steering for the Tercera islands had the good fortune to fall in with and capture a rich carrack from South America. By the

" assuring you, that we desire no longer to live, then while we may in the whole course of our govern-  
 " ment carry ourselve in such sort, as may not only nourish and continue their love and good-will towards  
 " us, but also increase the same: Wee thinke meete, that these our letters should be communicated in  
 " some general assembly to our most loving subjects the commoners of that cittie.

" Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor, the 18th of August, 1586, in the 28th yeare of  
 " our reigne."

success



success of this short expedition the adventurers were encouraged to engage in farther enterprises; the English seamen learned to despise the clumsy, unmanageable ships of the Spaniards; the naval preparations of the enemy were interrupted, and the intended invasion of England retarded for at least a twelvemonth, and leisure thereby was afforded the queen to pursue effectual measures for her own security and that of the kingdom.\* This year likewise, a spirited navigator, Thomas Cavendish, fitted out three vessels of no great burden, with which however he ventured into the South-seas, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen of their ships, some of them very richly laden, and returning home by the Cape of Good Hope, arrived safely in England, and in the true spirit of an English tar, sailed up the river in a kind of naval triumph. His mariners and soldiers were dressed in silk, his sails were of damask, and the top-sails cloth of gold. These prizes were considered as the richest which had ever been brought into an English port.†

These disgraces and insults served only to stimulate the haughty Spaniard to revenge, and inspired the queen with confidence to oppose him. She found in every class of her subjects a cordial desire to co-operate with their sovereign in the national defence. The city of London entered with peculiar zeal into all the patriotic views of administration. All the commercial towns in the kingdom having been called upon to furnish ships and men, proportionably to their size, population and trade, the capital was rated at fifteen ships to reinforce the royal navy. The court of common-council, to demonstrate their ardour in their country's cause, immediately voted a supply of sixteen of the largest ships in the Thames, and four light frigates, completely manned and stored for instant service. This number was afterward increased to thirty-eight. The force supplied by the city toward recruiting the army was in full proportion. In compliance with a requisition from the queen, couched in very affectionate terms, but expressive of a decided and resolute spirit, ten thousand men completely armed, accoutred and disciplined, were speedily in a condition to march wherever the exigencies of their country might require. These were raised by the several wards, according to a stated ratio. The same zeal animated every description of men in the kingdom. The menace of foreign invasion ever did, and it is to be hoped ever will, unite the hearts of Englishmen, and nerve their arms to repel the attempt. Many catholics, sinking the papist in the patriot, gene-

\* Camden, p. 540.

† Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 57.

rously stepped forward to the national defence. Conscious that the prudence of government would not entrust to them stations of influence and authority, gentlemen of that persuasion entered as volunteers both in the army and on board the fleet.\* Some fitted out armed vessels at their own cost, and gave the command of them to protestants: others exerted themselves among their tenants, vassals, and neighbours, to excite and direct patriotic ardour; and all ranks of men, burying party distinctions, discovered one heart and one soul, in preparing, with order as well as energy, to resist every hostile attempt made on their native land.

The queen herself was the directing head and the animating spirit of the public counsels and operations. Undismayed by the danger which threatened her crown and kingdom, she issued all her orders with a dignified composure; she communicated vigour to every preparation, even the naval and military, by her personal presence and superintendence. She added art and eloquence to wisdom and valour, in order to rouse her people to a spirited defence of their sovereign, their religion, their laws, and their liberties. The barbarities exercised in England during the preceding reign were all imputed to the unrelenting bigotry of a Spanish tyrant. The horrid massacres committed in the Indies, the multiplied and inhuman executions in the Low Countries, the infernal cruelties and injustice of the Inquisition, were portrayed in striking colours, and diffused over the kingdom. A list and description was published of the various instruments of torture with which the Spanish armament was said to be furnished, and, to produce the deeper effect, pictures of them were engraved and dispersed among the people. Some of the originals are actually preserved, and shown to this day, among the other curiosities of the Spanish armory in the Tower of London. One division of the fleet having rendezvoused in the Thames, off Purfleet, Elizabeth went down and reviewed it, previous to its sailing to join the rest of her naval force. Then mounting her palfrey, dressed in a tunic of steel over her female attire, she rode to Tilbury, where a camp of twenty-two thousand foot, and one thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was formed for the protection of the capital. Her presence and countenance; her intrepidity, patriotism, and eloquence, inspired confidence, and kindled the love of his country in every breast.† She rode through the  
lines,

\* Stow, p. 747.

† It would be a crime not to devote half a page of the history of the metropolis, to the transmission to posterity of a speech which had its safety for a leading object, and which would have done honour to the  
the



lines, exhorting the soldiers to remember what they owed to their country and their religion: she declared her resolution to lead them herself to meet the invading enemy, determined to perish in the field, rather than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. Her appearance and behaviour excited at once tenderness and admiration. Attachment to her person blended itself with zeal in the common cause, and every bosom panted for an opportunity of encountering dangers and death, in supporting such a sovereign and such a cause.

Nor was the danger small which called for these extraordinary exertions. The whole wealth, power, industry, jealousy, and resentment of Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, had been employed for three years in making preparations for a descent on England, and had produced a force both naval and military, of which history had till then furnished no example. The fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty vessels, of which near one hundred were galleons of a much larger size than any hitherto seen in Europe. It had on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six seamen, two thousand and eighty-eight galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was completely victualled for six months, and was attended with twenty smaller ships, called caravals, and ten salves of six oars each.\* After many difficulties and delays, occasioned by the very magnitude of the enterprise,

the purest periods of Greek or Roman public spirit, courage and eloquence. The queen's address to the soldiery encamped at Tilbury was in these words:

“ My loving people,

“ We have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery; but assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that under God I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour, and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn, that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead; than whom never prince commanded more noble and worthy subject; not doubting, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.”

\* Strype, vol. iii. Appen. p. 221.

this formidable equipment at length put to sea, additionally strengthened by the benediction of pope Sixtus V., and the imposing name of *The Invincible Armada*. It falls not within our province to detail its progress and disappointment. Suffice it to say, that by a series of providential interpositions, and through the skill, valour and perseverance of the tars of Old England, this mighty armament was almost totally destroyed, its purpose completely defeated, and its wretched remains driven back with disgrace to the place from whence they came, with a dismal report of the loss of their companions, of the incredible courage and address of English seamen, and of the dreadful seas which surround their island. So perish every attempt on the constitution, liberty, and independence of Great Britain! The States of Holland, recently emancipated, through the interposition of Elizabeth, from the Spanish yoke, cordially rejoiced in the failure of the Armada, as they foresaw in its success the loss of their own liberties, and the restoration of Spanish despotism. Conformably to the taste of that country, a silver medal was struck in one of the provinces on the occasion, which exhibits a specimen both of the piety and spirit of the age. On one side were displayed the arms of Zealand, with this inscription, *Soli Deo gloria*; to God alone be the glory:—on the reverse was a representation of the Spanish fleet, with the words, *Venit, ivit, fuit*; It came, it went, it is no more.\* But what joy could equal the joy of Elizabeth herself, and of the whole English nation, on this great deliverance? They agreed in publicly avowing, that it was not to be ascribed to the national force, which of itself was so inconsiderable, compared to the tremendous combination for their destruction, but only to the arm of the Almighty, who laughs to scorn the vain projects of the potentates of the earth. The queen accordingly appointed a day of solemn religious fasting to be observed over the whole kingdom, to be followed by a public rejoicing, to offer up thanks to God for victory over their enemies. Of this she herself set the example. On the day appointed (November 29th, 1588) she rode in state, mounted on a triumphal car, from which were suspended the standards and streamers taken from the Spaniards, attended by both houses of parliament, and all the great officers of the crown, from her palace to St. Paul's cathedral. The streets through which the procession was to pass were covered with blue cloth, and lined on both sides by the livery under arms with their banners, and the armorial bearings of the different city companies, and of other public bodies. Being arrived at St. Paul's, Elizabeth

\* Thuani Hist. lib. lxxxix.



cordially joined in the devotions of the day, which being finished, she repaired to the adjoining church-yard, to hear a sermon suitable to the occasion, exhorting the people, with her usual goodness, to follow her; the air resounded with repeated acclamations of *Long live the queen!* from the mouths of an enraptured multitude, who thus expressed their joy and gratitude, looking up to her, as, under God, the source of all their blessings.\*

From this elevation history must descend to topics of inferior importance, but however not to be altogether overlooked. A fleet which Elizabeth had equipped the following year (1589) under Norris and Drake, to attempt the restoration of Don Antonio king of Portugal, returned without accomplishing that object. The soldiery and seamen, being now inured to depredations on the enemy, disappointed by the ill success of this expedition, and rendered desperate by want of employment, entered into a confederacy, to the number of five hundred, to commit depredations at home, and resolved to begin with plundering Bartholomew-fair. With this flagitious design they had assembled at Westminster, waiting the proclamation of the market. Happily for society rogues cannot be true to each other. The purpose was betrayed, and Sir Richard Martin, the lord mayor, had time to collect two thousand well-appointed and disciplined citizens, at the head of whom he marched in quest of those lawless banditti. The very report intimidated and dispersed them, and the worthy magistrate had the satisfaction of returning into the city, after securing the tranquillity and property of the public, without so much as shedding the blood of a rascal.† So much better is prevention than punishment. The queen was still so much in the good graces of the city, that they advanced her a voluntary loan of fifteen thousand pounds at ten *per cent.*; and on the 21st of September supplied her with a choice body of one thousand men, whom she sent into France, to assist in supporting the claim of the king of Navarre, afterward the renowned Henry IV., to the crown of that kingdom.‡

History has to record and to deplore the combinations which have been formed in every age to oppress the poor. The great blot of this otherwise glorious reign was the unbounded licence exercised by the crown of granting patents of monopoly. The queen, incapable of satisfying the rapacity, or fulfilling the expectations, of her servants and courtiers, from her fair revenue, had recourse to this dangerous and destructive prerogative claimed by her predecessors, but never before carried to such

\* Thuani Hist. lib. lxxxix.

† Stow, Annal. Eng.

‡ Id. ibid.

flagrant excess. The monopoly of almost every necessary of life was granted to some favourite, or favourite's minion, who sold their patents to understrappers, and these were thereby enabled to raise the price of commodities to what rate they pleased, and to lay restraints innumerable on commerce, industry and honest emulation. The reader would stand astonished at an enumeration of the articles thus assigned to monopolists.\* When the list was read over in the house of commons, a member exclaimed, "Is not bread in the number?" *Bread!* in tones of surprise re-echoed from every corner of the house: "Yes, verily," replied he, "if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread itself subjected to a monopoly before next parliament."—Those monopolists were so exorbitant in their exactions, that the price of salt, next to bread the most essential support of human life, and a necessary ingredient in bread itself, was in many places raised from sixteen pence a bushel to fourteen and fifteen shillings.† Under one of those infamous patents, a combination was formed in 1590, to enhance the price of that necessary of life, coals, by which the article was much more than doubled, for from four shillings the chaldron, in the port of London, they rose to nine. To the disgrace of the country, the poor widow's peck of coals is to this day loaded with an impost to support the lordly pride of the spurious issue of a profligate king who died more than a century ago. The family, it is to be hoped, will one day renounce, with a spirit becoming nobility, a revenue infinitely more dishonourable than the bend-finister in a coat of arms. The year after (1591), the lord high-admiral claimed as one of the perquisites of office, the right of coal-metage in London. But the corporation having clearly demonstrated that the right was in them, he receded, and, to prevent future disputes, the queen was pleased, through the good offices of the lord treasurer Burleigh, to grant a specific confirmation of that right to the city.‡

About the same time a wicked and blasphemous impostor, named William Hacket, assumed the character of Jesus Christ come to judge the world. His arrival was proclaimed through the streets of London, by two of his accomplices Coppinger and Arthington, the one calling himself the prophet of mercy, the other of vengeance. The latter thundered out the most dreadful anathemas against all unbelievers, particularly the queen and her ministers. On this they were apprehended, tried, and convicted of high treason at the Old Bailey. Hacket was executed in Cheapside, reviling God and the queen: the prophet of mercy starved

\* D'Ewes, 648, &amp;c.

† Ibid.

‡ City Rec. Guildhall.

himself



himself to death in Bridewell, and his fellow died soon after in Wood-street compter.\*

The city was again visited with the plague in 1592, and notwithstanding every precaution that could be employed to prevent its spread, it swept away in that and the following year ten thousand six hundred and seventy-five persons. This awful visitation occasioned the adjournment of the term to Hertford. Weekly bills of mortality were for the first time compiled, December 21st, 1592, and continued till December 1595, when the contagion ceased. They were afterwards revived in 1603.†

It is not the least of the evils of war, that the return of peace throws upon the public multitudes of disbanded soldiers and seamen, many of them indeed objects of compassion, but the great majority disciplined, daring depredators; and the metropolis is always their great resort. This evil was so grievously felt in 1593, that administration was under the necessity of issuing a very severe proclamation for the suppression and punishment of vagrants, idlers, and dangerous persons. This was backed by an order of the privy council, addressed to the lord mayor of London, enjoining him to see it executed in the city and three miles round.

In the month of July 1594, the lord mayor and common-council, in compliance with her majesty's request, agreed to furnish at their own expense six ships of war and two frigates, with provisions and ammunition for three months; to which they afterwards added four hundred and fifty soldiers, to be likewise clothed and maintained at the city's charge: these were probably to form part of an expedition set on foot under the command of Frobisher and Norris, to drive the Spanish troops out of Brittany. From excessive rains which fell in the spring and autumn of this year, the crops of corn were both scanty and unwholesome. Wheat rose to three pounds four shillings a quarter. But famine was prevented by large importations, and the lord mayor laid strict injunctions on the several companies to lay up their proportions of supply till the return of harvest should relieve the pressure. The police of the city seems at this period to have been very imperfect, and the arm of magistracy greatly relaxed. The year 1595 was disgraced by frequent riots and outrages, in which bands of apprentice boys were the principal actors. The mischief had risen to such an enormous height, that the lord mayor thought it expedient to recommend to government the introduction of martial law,

\* Stow, An. Engl.

† Id. Surv. Lond.

a direct acknowledgment of his own feebleness. This method of suppression was accordingly adopted, and martial law was proclaimed; Sir Thomas Wilford was appointed provost-marshal, who at the head of a large body of horsemen armed with pistols, patrolling the streets, apprehended many of the delinquents, five of whom, after a very summary trial, were found guilty, and executed on Tower-hill, the usual rendezvous of the rioters. This well-timed though illegal severity, produced its effect: the unruly were overawed, and the peace of the city was restored, and for many years preserved.

The queen having thought proper to take the recorder into her own immediate service, she signified his preferment to the lord mayor and corporation, accompanied with a request that they would present her with a list of persons qualified for the office, in order to her selection of one to succeed him. The citizens, jealous of their privileges, suspected that a design was formed of vesting in the crown the right of nomination to that office; they returned therefore the name of only one gentleman, on whom the election had fallen, with a prudent letter from Sir John Spencer the lord mayor, to the lord treasurer on the subject, in which the city's right to choose their own recorder was modestly but firmly stated; and the matter dropt.\*

In 1596, while the lord mayor and aldermen were hearing sermon at Paul's cross, they received a letter from the queen ordering them to furnish a thousand men for immediate service. They left their devotions, and exerted themselves with so much diligence, that they had the number completed by eight o'clock that same evening, and armed and ready to march early next morning. They were destined to reinforce the French garrison besieged by the Spaniards in Calais; but the order being that very afternoon countermanded, this little corps was disbanded within a few hours from its formation. Similar orders were issued on the morning of Easter day; upon which the chief magistrate, attended by proper officers, went from church to church during divine service, and shutting the doors, speedily obtained the men required, who marched next night for Dover; but before they had arrived, intelligence was received that Calais had surrendered, and they returned home after a few days absence.† The crop of this year too having failed, from the falling of heavy rains through the summer, wheat rose in the city to four pounds the quarter, rye to forty-eight shillings, and the flour of oats to the same

\* Stow, Surv. Lond.

† Id. Annal. Engl.



price. Supplies from abroad likewise failing, the scarcity in London increased to absolute famine, for wheat had risen to five pounds four shillings the quarter, and rye to three pounds twelve shillings.\* Untaught by experience, the most sagacious of sovereigns and of administrations persisted in permitting the magistrates and inhabitants of the metropolis to trust the provision of the first necessary of life, to the uncertainty of a single harvest.

The Hanseatic merchants uniting their influence at the Imperial court with that of Spain, procured, in 1597, the exclusion of the English Merchant Adventurers from the markets of Germany; in expectation of obtaining the restoration of their own obsolete privileges in England as an equivalent for removing this restraint of the English commerce. Here however they failed. Affairs had greatly changed in favour of England; foreign trade was too well understood by the natives, and too successfully pursued, to be again resigned into the hands of aliens. The spirited Elizabeth retaliated the insult, by directing a commission to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, by which they were ordered totally to exclude the merchants of the Hanse towns from their house in the Stillyard; and banished all Germans from the kingdom. From this period the Stillyard has ceased to be the seat of commerce to foreign merchants.†

Towards the close of this reign, the city was harassed with frequent and exorbitant demands of supplies for both the land and sea service, which were granted with an alacrity that demonstrated how much government possessed the confidence of the people. The recollection of the formidable Armada was still fresh, and the very word Spain was so associated in the minds of men with every idea of horror, detestation and resentment, that to mention it was at once to load the piece and light the match. A report, whether well founded or not, was diligently propagated, of an intention to attempt another descent on England in 1599. The alarm was taken, and vigorous preparation was made for defence. The proportion to be furnished by the capital was six thousand soldiers, and sixteen ships of war: one half of the troops to take the field, and the other, consisting chiefly of gentlemen volunteers, were to attend her majesty's person as a body-guard, and to be maintained at their own and the city's expense. During this season of public danger, a rigid discipline, by the queen's special command, was observed in every quarter of the city, strong guards were placed nightly, the chains at the end of streets and

\* Stow, *Annal. Engl.*

† *Anderf. Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 447.*

lanes were drawn across, and a candle and lantern were ordered to be suspended over every door, under pain of death.\*

The year after London raised five hundred additional troops, completely armed, who were sent to Ireland, then in a state of great confusion through the intrigues of the earl of Essex, the lord lieutenant of that kingdom, and the queen's unworthy favourite. A farther demand was made on the corporation in 1601, by the queen's command, of gallies for sea service, for the fitting out and support of which a very heavy assessment was voted by the court of common-council and paid by the inhabitants.† In short, there was no end of exaction on the one hand and of compliance on the other.

The event proved that not the terror of the Spanish monarchy, but of an English subject, had given rise to these violent exertions of administration. After the death of the earl of Leicester, the person of Essex, his passion for glory, his military talents, and that inexplicable something which recommends a fine young man to the good graces of a female, at whatever period of life, had powerfully ingratiated this nobleman with Elizabeth. While as queen she steadily adhered to and supported her ancient, tried and faithful servants, as a woman she indulged herself in attachments of a different kind; and even to old age discovered all the weakness of the weakest of her sex, love of admiration, flattery, courtship and dress. The earlier stages of Essex's career lay out of our track, but what remains of it had the metropolis for its principal theatre. The ministry, disturbed and interrupted in their deliberations by the influence of an impetuous and daring favourite of their royal mistress, had found it expedient, under colour of doing him honour, but in reality to get him out of the way, to send him over to Ireland in quality of chief governor. His conduct in this important station, and at a very critical period, was unadvised, rash, and totally unsuccessful; and the last fatal step of it was, in the face of positive orders, to relinquish his post and hurry over to England, presuming on his ascendancy over the queen, and his popularity in the city, as more than a counterpoise to the weight of all his enemies. He found himself mistaken in both.‡ Flattered by his retainers with the fond belief that he had only to show himself in London to ensure a declaration of the people in his favour, he imprudently proceeded from his house in the Strand, at the head of two hundred of his most zealous adherents, who were presently joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell,

\* Camd. Life of Q. Eliz.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Id. *ibid.*



and riding furiously through the streets, exclaimed: "For the queen, for the queen; my life is in danger." Of the multitudes whom this tumult had attracted, no one seemed to understand its meaning, and no one showed a disposition to support him. On arriving at the house of Thomas Smith, one of the sheriffs, who he was assured would join him with a thousand men, he had the mortification of finding that Smith had made his escape by a postern; and was informed at the same time, that lord Burleigh, attended by Dethick, king at arms, had proclaimed him traitor in Cheapside, and in other parts of the city. Frantic with disappointment, rage and apprehension, he found it necessary to retire. On his return to Essex-house, he was stopped at Ludgate by a body of men posted there by the bishop of London, and commanded by Sir Thomas Levison. He gave orders to force a passage, in attempting which, several lives were lost on both sides. The earl was however repulsed, and his followers beginning to drop off, he repaired to Queenhithe, took water, and got home by that conveyance. He formed the desperate resolution of defending himself to the last extremity; but the earl of Nottingham having surrounded the house with a powerful body of troops, and threatening to take it by assault, his spirit failed: he at first proposed terms, which were peremptorily refused, and at length surrendered at discretion. He was carried prisoner to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, thence removed to the Tower, and soon after brought to trial for high treason. His guilt was too apparent to admit of doubt; he was accordingly condemned to die the death of a traitor. Elizabeth felt herself reduced to a dismal dilemma, between the dignity and justice of the sovereign, and the affections of the woman; for even to old age she was susceptible of tender emotions, and her partiality to Essex, though indifferently requited, was ardent and unabated. During the fervors of their first intimacy, she had, in a fit of fondness, presented him with a ring, assuring him that the production of it, on any emergency of importance to him, should be an infallible security for her favour and protection. Had she been left to herself at this crisis of her favourite's fate, the woman would, in all probability, have prevailed. But, beset by the earl's secret and avowed enemies, her ear was poisoned with reports to his disadvantage, such in particular as a fond female is least disposed to brook, which bore hard on her personal defects and infirmities. She impatiently expected however that he would make an appeal to her clemency by the pledge which affection had bestowed, but she expected in vain; no ring was produced. Essex had indeed care-

fully preserved this precious token, and now, driven to the last extremity, resolved to avail himself of it. For this purpose he delivered the fatal ring to the countess of Nottingham, with an earnest request that she would, in his name, present it to the queen. The countess, under the influence of her husband, the sworn enemy of Essex, retained the ring ;\* and what was destined for his preservation proved his destruction. Elizabeth construing his silence into obstinate rejection of her mercy, and contempt of her person, at length consented to the execution of the sentence. His deportment at death was more placid and composed than might have been expected from a spirit so hasty, and a life so turbulent. He was beheaded privately in the Tower, in compliance with his own request, February 25th, 1601.†

The queen was so well satisfied with the conduct of the city on the occasion of Essex's insurrection, that she sent an officer of high rank with a compliment of grateful acknowledgment for their loyal and dutiful behaviour, addressed to the lord mayor and the other magistrates, earnestly recommending to them, at the same time, to exercise unremitting vigilance and attention toward the preservation of the public tranquillity.

This year is further memorable, as being the era of the establishment of the East India company, now become the most opulent, powerful, and important chartered corporation in the world. The Dutch, who, under the protection of England, had lately acquired liberty and independence, were already daily acquiring, by their own industry and economy, wealth and power, which were one day to rival those of their deliverer. They had made themselves masters of the spice trade, and monopolized several other valuable articles of Asiatic produce. The jealousy of the English merchants was excited, and Elizabeth, ever awake to the glory of her kingdom, and the prosperity of her subjects, was easily prevailed on to exercise her prerogative in granting a charter to the projected company for carrying on trade to India. The name of George earl of Cumberland stands at the top of the respectable list of names, in whose favour the grant was executed. They were in number two hundred and fifteen, and consisted of knights, aldermen, and merchants of the first rank ; they are denominated in the deed, “ The governor and company of “ merchants in London trading to the East Indies.” The original share subscribed was only fifty pounds.‡ On a capital so moderate as seventy-two thousand pounds,

\* Birch, Negot. p. 206, and Mem. vol. ii. p. 481, &c. † Barlow's Sermon. ‡ And. Com. vol. i. p. 449.



operations commenced which were one day to embrace the finest continent on the globe, and to give a colour to the fate of nations. The first expedition consisted of five ships and a victualler, under the command of James Lancaster : it made a prosperous return, and the adventurers were encouraged to proceed.

London was the theatre of hardly any other event of moment during the remainder of this long and brilliant reign. Elizabeth had the satisfaction of living to see the pride of Spain humbled, the disturbances of Ireland settled, the marine of England waxing stronger and stronger, and her commerce extending in every direction. But the setting glory of the sovereign was destined to pass through a thick cloud of female wretchedness and infirmity. The countess of Nottingham, who by a perfidious suppression of the queen's ring had brought Essex to the block, falling into a dangerous illness, was smitten with remorse for what she had done, and could take no rest till she had made confession of her offence against her royal mistress. The queen was prevailed on to pay her a visit, little aware of the purpose for which it had been solicited. With marks of deep contrition the dreadful secret was imparted, and forgiveness implored. All the woman kindled in Elizabeth's bosom ; she shook the dying countess in her bed, exclaiming that *God might forgive her, but she never could*, and broke from her in a transport of rage. Never more did she recover composure of spirit. Fury made a quick transition into deep and settled melancholy. She rejected all consolation, and even obstinately refused to take food, cordial, or medicine.\* For ten days and nights she lay stretched on the carpet, bewailing her wretchedness most bitterly, without permitting herself to be undressed or put to bed. Nature at length sunk under a pressure so grievous. She lost the power of utterance, her senses failed, a lethargic slumber obstructed all the avenues of life, and she expired calmly, March 24th, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

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London has, at every period of its existence, exhibited manifold examples of the widely remote extremes of industry the most persevering, and of dissipation the most thoughtless ; of exorbitant wealth, and oppressive indigence ; of splendid magnificence, and abject meanness ; of exalted virtue, and detestable vice. The

\* Strype, vol. iv. No. 276.

reign of Elizabeth was peculiarly fertile in instances of all that is great, and of all that is vile in human nature; of all that is sage, firm, energetic, and efficient in government, and of all that is severe, tyrannical, and unrelenting in regal authority. The character of the queen herself presents, in the same individual, a contrast that must strike every observer, of qualities that excite respect and admiration, and that inspire sometimes pity, sometimes contempt, and sometimes abhorrence. According as the sovereign or the woman predominated, she was magnanimous, intrepid, sagacious, consistent, dignified; she was jealous, capricious, vain, vindictive, violent. When a competition however arose between the two characters, the sovereign for the most part acquired the ascendant, and a sense of what she owed to her high station moderated at least, if not totally suppressed, her private affections and resentments.

Notwithstanding the progress of civilization, and the severity of government, the streets of the metropolis continued to be infested with vagabonds and riotous persons. The power of the lord mayor, though aided by the arbitrary tribunal called the court of Star-chamber, being found insufficient to preserve peace and good order in the city, the queen thought proper to put it under martial law, and granted a commission of provost-marshal to Sir Thomas Wilford; “ Giving him authority, “ and commanding him, upon signification given by the justices of peace in Lon- “ don, or the neighbouring counties, of such offenders, worthy to be speedily “ executed by martial law, to attach and take the same persons, and in the presence “ of the said justices, according to justice of martial law, to execute them upon “ the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to such place where the said rebellious and “ incorrigible offenders shall be found to have committed the said great offences.”\* The ordinary administration of justice must have been very feeble and defective, when such a summary mode of procedure was adopted, and such a violent act of authority deemed necessary.

The predecessors of Elizabeth, in cases of urgent necessity, generally had recourse to the merchants of Antwerp for voluntary loans. But so low was their credit, that, beside paying an interest of from ten to twelve per cent., they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. Sir Thomas Gresham, that princely merchant, the glory of his age and country, had influence enough to procure a considerable loan for the queen from the company of Merchant-Adventurers

\* Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 279.



in London; and the principal and interest being regularly paid, her credit established itself in her own capital, which was hastening to rival, and at length to eclipse, Antwerp; and she began to shake off an inglorious dependence on foreigners.\*

The last transaction of this kind in which she engaged was in the earlier years of her reign, when she employed Gresham to negotiate for her with the Antwerpers a loan of two hundred thousand pounds, to enable her to reform the coinage, at that time shamefully debased. Of this she herself however made a very imprudent use, by dividing the pound of silver into sixty-two shillings instead of sixty, which was the ancient standard. Mr. Hume observes, that this is the last time the coin has been tampered with in England.†

With all her zeal to strengthen her naval force, and to promote commerce, its only sure foundation, Elizabeth, by a profusion of patents and monopolies, struck at the very root of industry, the parent of manufactures, and the only never-failing source of national wealth and happiness. But under every check and discouragement, the spirit of the age was so decidedly turned toward naval enterprise, that every rival foreign power was surpassed, new discoveries were made, new channels of trade opened, and English establishments formed in various parts of both the eastern and western hemispheres of the globe. Thus was London advancing to the proud pre-eminence which she has now attained among the cities of the earth.

The discovery of a passage to Archangel in the preceding reign, had opened a commercial intercourse between England and Russia; but it was not prosecuted with vigour, nor to any considerable extent, till 1560, at which period the queen obtained from the czar of Muscovy an exclusive patent in favour of the English, to the whole trade of his vast dominions.‡ Under this protection our enterprising countrymen penetrated much farther into this *terra incognita* than any other European nation had hitherto done. What will not industry, perseverance, and the love of gain effect? They transported their goods along the Dwina, in boats made of a single tree scooped out, which they partly rowed, partly dragged against the stream up to Wologda. It cost them a difficult land carriage of seven days from thence to Yeraslau, where they again embarked with a downward current along the Wolga to Astracan. At this city they built ships fit for the navigation of the Caspian, and proceeded to disperse their commodities over the kingdom of Persia.§ After the death of the czar, however, Theodore his son suppressed the patent which

\* Stow, Sur. Lond.

† Hist. Eng. ch. xlv.

‡ Camden, p. 408.

§ Id. p. 418.

conferred

conferred on the English a monopoly of the Russian trade. The queen remonstrated against this breach of compact, but the Muscovite calmly replied, that it was the duty of sovereigns to act with impartiality both towards their own subjects and towards strangers; and not permit commerce, which by the law of nations ought to be an universal benefit, to become a monopoly for the emolument of a few. So much juster notions of commerce, says Mr. Hume, were entertained by this barbarian, than were practised by the renowned queen Elizabeth!—In consideration, at the same time, that England had opened the communication between his empire and the rest of Europe, the czar continued to confer certain privileges on the subjects of that nation.

There was no direct commerce between this country and Turkey till 1583, and no sooner was it opened than the queen vested the exclusive right to it in a company. Such was the ignorance of the times, that till then, the grand signior had always considered England to be a province dependant on France.\* Elizabeth's widely-diffused reputation and glory scattered this illusion; the English were well received at Constantinople, and obtained more ample privileges than had been conferred on the French. So much does the celebrity of nations depend on individuals.

The present naval and commercial strength of the British empire would lead us to form a very diminutive idea of both these objects, during even the glorious reign of queen Elizabeth. In 1582, the seamen of England were computed to amount to fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five; † the number of ships to twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which only two hundred and seventeen exceeded eighty tons burden. The royal navy at the queen's death consisted of forty-two ships of various sizes. Of these, not one carried above forty guns, and four only were of that rate; there were but two of one thousand tons, and twenty-three under five hundred; there were some of fifty, and some even so low as twenty tons; the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet amounted to no more than seven hundred and seventy-four. ‡ The British navy at this day mounts considerably above thirty thousand guns. In the preparation made to meet the Spanish armada, in 1588, of the vessels fitted out by the nobility and sea-ports, there were not above five which exceeded two hundred tons. The state of English manufactures was proportionally low; and foreign commodities of almost every kind obtained the preference. But

\* Birch, Mem. vol. i. p. 36.

† Monson, p. 256.

‡ Id. p. 196.



the persecutions in France and the Low Countries were now driving multitudes of valuable artificers, with their capital, skill and industry into England, to instruct and enrich the country which afforded them an asylum. The improving trade and art thereby effected gave birth to that splendid idea of a London merchant which produced the Royal Exchange. In 1590, there were in the metropolis four persons only rated in the subsidy-books so high as four hundred pounds. So slender was the intercourse between the northern and southern kingdoms of the island, that though they were in profound peace, and the politics of the two countries closely interwoven, there were found only fifty-eight Scots in London, when inquiry was instituted on the subject in 1567.

Two attempts were made in the course of this reign to plant English colonies in America; one by Sir Humphry Gilbert in Newfoundland, and another by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia. Neither of them succeeded at that time, but both became afterwards establishments of very high importance to European commerce. Raleigh introduced from the last-mentioned province of the western continent, the knowledge and the use of tobacco, a plant now more universally known and enjoyed as a luxury, than any other vegetable on the face of the globe, and a source of wealth to individuals, and of revenue to states far richer than mines of gold and silver. The current coin of the kingdom, toward the conclusion of this reign, is computed at four millions.\*

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#### SECTION VIII.

*The History of London, from the Accession of James I., A. D. 1603, to the  
Dissolution of Monarchy, A. D. 1649.*

FORTUNATELY for James VI. king of Scotland, if the succession to a vast inheritance can be called fortunate, the death of queen Elizabeth left him an undisputed claim to the imperial crown of England. The intrigues of his mother and her partisans had frequently disturbed the government of his illustrious predecessor, and brought down destruction on their own heads. James, by not urging a pre-

\* Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 475.

mature title, rendered it eventually more secure, and by patiently waiting the course of nature, obtained, without effort, the highest object of human ambition. Whatever the possession of a second diadem might be to himself, his elevation to the throne of England proved a real blessing to both kingdoms. Their union under one-sovereign terminated the bitter national animosity which had for so many ages produced mutual incursion, depredation, and slaughter, and paved the way for that federal union of which Nature had laid the foundation, and which Time has consolidated by the cement of habit, of reciprocal interest, good-will, and common benefit. May it last as long as the island lifts its majestic head above the billows of the ocean !

Elizabeth having, with almost her dying breath, declared the king of Scots her successor, and not the shadow of a competitor standing in the way, the privy council, assisted by the lord mayor of London, proclaimed him king of England at the usual stations, and with the established formalities, the same day that the queen expired. This ceremony was accompanied with every demonstration of popular satisfaction. Light minds become satiated with the best things, and novelty has a charm for minds of every description. The zeal and attachment expressed by the city on this occasion, were so acceptable to James, that he immediately signified his cordial approbation of their loyalty and good conduct, by a letter addressed to the lord mayor and aldermen, bearing date, Holy-Roodhouse, March 28th, 1603.

History tires of repeating the description of funeral and triumphant processions, and the reader needs not to be told, that the British metropolis is ever the great theatre of those periodical displays of splendour and magnificence. Suffice it then to say, that James was received on his arrival in London with every mark of affection, and every exhibition of opulent pomp and pageantry which had ever graced the entry of the most renowned of his predecessors. He was highly gratified with this, for he was fond of show, and though a king almost from his cradle, he had never till now beheld what deserved the name. The superb situation of Edinburgh and of Stirling, presented indeed a grandeur of scenery capable of gratifying a taste for the beauties of nature ; but the magnitude, the populousness, the wealth of London, exhibited objects much more congenial to kingcraft, and to a relish for artificial glory. He hastened to testify his gracious acceptance of the incense offered him, by an indiscriminate and unbounded profusion of rank and titles. This cost him nothing ; the exercise of his prerogative flattered his pride, and he was  
weak



weak enough to imagine that multiplication increased, instead of diminishing, the value of courtly honours. But aiming at the gratification of too many, he rendered nobility vile in the eyes of the nation; the ancient nobles and gentry felt themselves degraded, and the new-made knights and peers did not find themselves greatly exalted. Elizabeth was frugal in the distribution both of money and honour, and had sometimes been blamed for an excess of economy in both. Her prudence and circumspection became an object of approbation, when contrasted with the thoughtless lavishment of her successor. Within six weeks from his coming into the kingdom he had conferred the honour of knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons. Among other sarcastic censures passed on this prodigal abuse of the royal prerogative, a placard was fixed on St. Paul's, informing the public where an art of memory was to be taught, for the purpose of retaining the names and titles of the recently created nobility.\*

James valued himself, above all his other qualities, on his eloquence and classic lore. He had indeed a considerable portion of learning, but far less than he imagined; enough for a pedagogue, but not sufficient for a scholar and a gentleman. He was impatient to display his rhetorical powers on a new theatre, the English parliament; but the meeting of that assembly was necessarily postponed, by a public calamity which inscribed vanity on all the pride and glory of man. The plague broke out in London soon after the king's accession, and raged with such violence, that thirty thousand persons are computed to have died of that destructive malady, within the year, which amounted to a full fifth part of its population at that period. He was contented therefore, for the present, to exercise his talents on an humbler field, and took the lead in a conference held at Hampton-court, January 4th, 1604, between some bishops and other dignified clergymen of the church of England, on the one hand, and certain popular leaders among the puritans, on the other, to ascertain and determine sundry points of doctrine, order, and worship. James had got a complete surfeit of presbytery in Scotland, and perceiving, as he thought, a striking resemblance between the spirit of this sect and that of the English puritans, he threw the whole weight of his dignity, authority, and literature, into the scale of episcopacy, and harangued so forcibly and fluently in support of the established church, that the archbishop of Canterbury, in a flow of grateful zeal, declared, that undoubtedly his majesty had spoken under the immediate influ-

\* Kennet, p. 665.

ence of God's spirit.\* A few trifling alterations were made in the liturgy, and the parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction and disgust.

The re-appearance of the plague rendered it necessary to issue a proclamation to suspend Bartholomew fair for that year, and all others within fifty miles of London, to prevent the communication of infection. Though that fore evil was occasioned in a great measure by the stagnant air, arising from the narrowness of the streets, both court and city were again seized with the horror of an extending capital, and of buildings reared on a new foundation. Proclamation followed proclamation, restricting the proprietors of decayed dwelling-houses and other premises, in rebuilding, to the identical limits formerly occupied; and all edifices reared in the city or suburbs, contrary to the tenor of the proclamation, were ordered to be demolished. The powerful operation of common sense and experience, however, and the still more powerful operation of necessity, bid defiance to acts of privy council and common council. London extended itself in every direction, and hastened to unite to the growing mass all the villages and hamlets in the vicinity.

James had at length an opportunity of making his appearance on the grand theatre of parliament, and of supporting the character of a public speaker, to which his highest ambition was directed. That assembly met March 19th, 1604, and considering the state of literature and politics at that period, the king, it must be acknowledged, acquitted himself in his opening speech with an ability that does him considerable credit, at the same time, with a pedantry and prolixity that ill accord with the dignified conciseness and reserve which ought to characterize addresses from the throne.

By an act of common council of ancient standing, already mentioned in its place, a court of requests, otherwise called the court of conscience, had been established for the recovery of small debts, contracted within the city and liberties. The object of this act was to rescue petty debtors from the power of resentful, rapacious, merciless creditors, who frequently prosecuted to utter ruin the unhappy beings who lay at their mercy, by suing them in the higher courts, the exorbitant costs of which sometimes exceeded tenfold the amount of the original debt. The utility of this institution was generally acknowledged, but its effect was limited. To give it therefore, at once, authority, stability, and extension, this first parliament of James established it by statute, and advantage being still taken, of certain

\* Kennet, p. 665.



ambiguous expressions which it contained, to render the jurisdiction of the court useless and ineffectual, by a subsequent act of the third year of the same king, it was explained and amended, and continues in force to this day.\* The court of conscience was so denominated, because the commissioners acting as judges in it, are vested “ with power and authority, to set down from time to time, such order “ or orders, between the party or parties plaintiff, and his or their debtor or debtors “ defendants, touching debts not amounting to the value of forty shillings, in “ question before them, as they shall find to stand with equity and good *consci- “ ence.*” Though the sum which falls under the cognisance of this court is very small, and from the alteration which has taken place in the value of money, might now be advantageously extended to five, or even ten pounds, it has been by long experience found a very equitable mode of settling petty debts, at little or no expense. The creditor obtains justice, without entering into ruinous litigation, and the debtor is greatly relieved by the indulgence granted under the act, of discharging his debt by instalments, being allowed to pay it into court in such portions as his circumstances permit. The lord mayor and court of aldermen appoint monthly such aldermen and commoners to act as commissioners, as they think fit, three of whom compose a court, which sits at Guildhall every Wednesday and Saturday, from eleven o’clock to two, to hear and determine causes. An action may be brought and decided at the trifling cost of tenpence, sixpence for the plaint and summons, and fourpence for the order. How much is it to be regretted that controversies on a greater scale should not be settled, on the same moderate principle, and at a proportional expense!

The revival of learning, and the reformation in religion, had by this time imperceptibly produced a wonderful change in the human mind all over Christendom, and no where greater than in England. The pretensions of priests had been examined, weighed in the balance, and found wanting. Religious emancipation generated civil liberty, and men began to look also into the pretensions of sovereigns, many of which were found violent, irrational, and exorbitant. Elizabeth’s superior genius, popular manners, and brilliant successes; her sex, and, latterly, her age, had reconciled the parliament and nation to many acts of despotism in her, to which they were not disposed tamely to submit, in a stranger, of uncouth address, and very inferior capacity. James had not sense to discern the change which had

\* 1 Jac. I. c. 14. amended—3 Jac. I. c. 15.

taken place, nor wisdom to conform to it. Filled with a lofty idea of his own prerogative, and an overweening conceit of his literary ability, and his skill in the art of government, he thought he could not stretch prerogative too far, exhibit his learning too often, or figure on the political stage too openly. But a spirit of liberal inquiry was now in action, real learning was cultivated, and the principles of a free constitution began to be felt, understood, and asserted. The valuable monuments of antiquity were drawn from the monkish cells, in which they had for so many ages slumbered and slept, and were unfolded to the eye of day. The animating examples, the exalted sentiments, the fervid eloquence of Greece and Rome, kindled a similar flame in every generous bosom, and the sacred fire communicated itself with the rapidity and force of lightning. The spirit and sound judgment of the house of commons, accordingly, early manifested themselves in this reign, not only in asserting their own privileges, but in their well-meant, though, for the present, unsuccessful endeavours, to deliver manufactures and trade from the galling fetters which the late queen's impolitic tyranny had imposed.

The king was advised, and very prudently complied, to call in and annul the numerous patents of monopoly granted by his predecessor, and by which almost every species of industry was cramped and discouraged. Monopoly on the broad scale was nevertheless still permitted to subsist. The great exclusive commercial companies engrossed almost all foreign trade, and every prospect of future improvement was sacrificed to a temporary emolument of the crown. These companies, which had London for their common centre, obtained privileges so ample, that the commerce of the whole nation circulated through that port; for it is matter of record, that the customs in London amounted to no less than one hundred and ten thousand pounds a year, whereas those of all the other ports of the kingdom produced no more than seventeen thousand pounds.\* What places monopoly in a still more striking and more odious light, the whole trade of the metropolis was then actually in the hands of about two hundred persons,† who were enabled, by a combination among themselves, to affix what price they pleased on both the imports and exports of the whole nation. This accounts for the decrease of shipping and seamen in England, during the whole of the preceding reign,‡ at a period when every other state in Europe enjoyed complete freedom and encouragement of trade. Thus dangerous and destructive it is, to aggrandise one branch of the community

\* Journ. May 21st, 1604.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Anglesey, State Engl. p. 128.



at the expense of another. It could be no great hardship on such an association, to advance his majesty a loan of sixty thousand pounds, with which they cheerfully supplied him in the month of September of this year.

Of all the events which the revolution of ages and generations has furnished to the pen of the historian, no one perhaps is more singular, or more memorable, than that which now demands our attention. It ought indeed rather to be denominated a *design*, or the *plan* of an event, which executed, would have given a colour to the future state and character of this great city, to the whole subsequent texture of English story, to the situation of Europe, nay to the face of the globe; for all these run in one chain of connexion and dependance. The historical reader anticipates the pen of the writer, and immediately turns his thoughts toward the *Gunpowder Treason*; the most daring project ever devised by the head, or digested by the heart of man.

While queen Elizabeth lived, popery felt itself overawed and restrained by the vigilance and vigour of her administration. But the succession of the son of Mary queen of Scots to the throne of England, who had fallen a martyr to her religion, revived the hopes of the catholics, who looked for indulgence at least, if not support, from the new government. But finding the ministers of the former reign continue in power, and the same measures, as far as they were concerned, still pursued, they grew desperate, and resolved on revenge. James was at first marked out as a solitary victim, and Piercy, a younger branch of the noble family of Northumberland, proposed to have him assassinated. Catesby, a man of parts, and likewise of an illustrious house, to whom the other had made this proposal in confidence, took the opportunity of disclosing a plan of treason, which comprehended not only the destruction of the king, and the principal branches of the royal family, but that of both houses of parliament, which involved the fate of ministers of state, of the judges, and of every other officer connected with the administration of government. It was to be effected by an explosion of gunpowder, at the moment his majesty was opening the session by the accustomed speech from the throne. Piercy listened to it with avidity, and they agreed to communicate the design, without loss of time, to a few tried friends, whose co-operation was necessary to its success. Among others Fawkes, an officer in the service of the king of Spain, a bigotted Roman catholic, and a person of undaunted courage and resolution, was invited over from Flanders to assist with his head and hands, in maturing and executing

cutting this tremendous enterprize. Every new associate admitted was bound not only by an oath of secrecy, but by the awful solemnity of taking the sacrament,\* the most sacred of sanctions among every denomination of Christians. Blind religious zeal had absorbed every sentiment of humanity in the breasts of these devout sons of the church; or if any regret and compunction were felt, they regarded only such of their catholic brethren as attendance on the king's person, the right of sitting in the house, or curiosity, might mingle with the devoted multitude. These scruples however were easily removed by the casuistry of Garnet, superior of the order of Jesuits in England, who demonstrated what all were disposed to admit, that in the present case, the interests of religion demanded the sacrifice of a few innocent, or even meritorious characters, in order the more effectually to reach the guilty.

The arrangements were made during the summer months of 1604, and, toward the fall, a house was hired in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which parliament was to assemble. Here the conspirators put the infernal machine in motion; and such is human resolution and perseverance in a bad cause, they quickly penetrated through the wall which obstructed their passage to the subterranean of the house of lords, though three yards in thickness. But as the mine had almost reached the farther side, they were alarmed at hearing voices which they could not account for. Upon inquiry they were found to issue from a vault, directly under the parliament house, which had been employed as a magazine for coals; and these being nearly sold off, the vault and its appurtenances were to be let. They were hired accordingly, without any air of mystery, as an additional accommodation for Piercy's family. At convenient opportunities, thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were introduced and lodged there, and carelessly covered over with faggots, wood for fuel, and other necessaries for a gentleman's kitchen and cellar. To prevent the suspicion of any thing dangerous, the doors were boldly thrown open, and all wore the appearance of an ordinary domestic transaction.

Every preparation was now adjusted, and success was deemed indubitably secure. The long-expected day drew nigh, and the great national council was ready to assemble. Though the conspiracy had been on foot more than eighteen months, and the important secret confided to more than twenty persons, no indiscreet hint or expression, no hope or fear, no feeling of pity or remorse, had cooled the ardour

\* State Trials, vol. i. p. 190 & seq.



of any one of the associates, much less prompted to make a discovery. At last, an emotion which casuistry could not suppress, and which bigotry itself inflamed, or rather, the invisible, inexplicable Power, which directs all the movements of the human heart, and all the affairs of worlds upon worlds, brought the dark counsels of wicked men to light, made the devilish engine to recoil upon its fabricators, and rescued the nation from impending destruction.

Ten days before that fixed for the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic, son to lord Morley, received a letter,\* without date or signature, which had been put into the hand of his servant by a person unknown. On the first reading, that nobleman considered the letter as one of those squibs which wits of a certain order are accustomed to fire off, to amuse, surprise, or alarm, and was on the point of throwing it into the fire, the way in which most anonymous letters ought to be treated; but the singularity and pointedness of some of the expressions, made an impression on his mind, and, be under it what might, he felt it his duty to lay it before lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Neither did the secretary consider the matter as deserving much serious attention; nevertheless, when the king came to town a few days after, he thought proper to submit the letter to his majesty's inspection. To James it appeared no trivial matter. The general strain, the earnestness of the writer, the very darkness and ambiguity of the insinuations, excited a suspicion of something dangerous and important. He was alarmed at the idea of a *terrible blow*, and the *author concealed*; of a calamity at once *sudden* and *formidable*; of a catastrophe *instantaneous* as the *burning of a slip of paper*: these circumstances suggested, to a spirit cautious and timid like the king's, some operation to be effected by gunpowder; and an order was issued to inspect all the premises under both chambers of parliament. The lord chamberlain, whose office it was to

\* The letter was as follows:

“ MY LORD,

“ Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore  
 “ I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this  
 “ parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think  
 “ not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the  
 “ event in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a  
 “ terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be  
 “ contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past, as soon as  
 “ you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to  
 “ whose holy protection I commend you.”

see

see this order executed, designedly put off the search till the very day previous to the meeting of parliament. The pile of wood and faggots in the vault under the house of lords struck his eye; as did likewise the look, figure, and deportment of Fawkes, who stood in an obscure corner, and passed for a domestic of Piercy's.\* So great a quantity of fuel laid up for one who was known to reside very little in town, appeared extraordinary, and every thing being reconsidered, a more minute inspection was resolved on. Fawkes, imagining that suspicion had been now lulled to rest, proceeded to finish his preparations, exulting in the thought of sacrificing his own life, while he destroyed a multitude who were the sworn enemies of his religion. His meditations were interrupted about midnight, by the sudden appearance of Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of the peace, with proper attendants, who found the arch incendiary on his post before the door of the vault, and having seized and searched him, the matches and every thing necessary for firing the train were discovered about his person. These being secured, the vault itself was again examined, and, on removing the faggots, the whole mystery of iniquity was disclosed. Fawkes now perceiving his criminality manifested, sought refuge in despair; he expressed no regret but that the enterprize had failed, and that he had not instantly kindled the train, and signalized his own death by that of his enemies.† When examined before the privy council, he displayed the same daring intrepidity, and obstinately refused to betray his associates. But solitary confinement in the Tower for three days, and the sight of the rack, at last subdued his spirit, and he made a full discovery of the conspiracy.‡

Catesby, Piercy, and the other accomplices who were in London, though apprised of the alarm excited by the anonymous letter, and of the search which it had occasioned, had the firmness to remain, determined to wait the issue, be what it might. But hearing that Fawkes was arrested, they hurried down to Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, secure of success, was already in arms to follow up the blow. The country was instantly raised by the sheriffs, to reduce the conspirators, whose number, attendants included, had never exceeded fourscore. Being surrounded on every side, all hope either of prevailing or escaping utterly failed. Having therefore confessed themselves and received absolution, they resolutely waited the attack, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. But even this wretched satisfaction was denied them. Their powder by some accident pre-

\* King James's Works, p. 229.

† Id. p. 230.

‡ Id. p. 231.



maturely caught fire, and left them defenceless.\* The people rushed in upon them, and the two contrivers of the plot fell by one and the same shot. The rest were taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and suffered death by the hands of the executioner. The memory of this great national deliverance was by statute ordered to be kept up by an anniversary religious service,† to which the populace have ever since added a festive and dramatic commemoration.

Even the life and government of a king exhibit not uniformly great and interesting objects. Elizabeth possessed the art of popularity, James affected it. He wished to ingratiate himself with the city, but he did every thing awkwardly. Though former charters clearly defined the corporation's rights, franchises and immunities, he would make a display of his prerogative by granting a new charter of confirmation. It served however to terminate a dispute of some standing between the city and the lieutenant of the Tower, respecting the right of metage of coals, grain, salt, and sundry sorts of fruit, which was adjudged to belong to the former.

The court and capital of England were, in 1606, honoured with a royal visit. Christian of Denmark, the queen's brother, came by water from Greenwich to the Tower of London, July 31st, accompanied by his majesty and prince Henry, and a splendid retinue of Danish and British nobility. The lord mayor received the princes with much ceremony on Tower-hill, and preceded them uncovered, bearing a golden sceptre, through the city to Temple-bar. A magnificent pageant was erected in Cheapside, where the cavalcade was joined by the city magistrates in their scarlet robes, and the recorder, according to the taste of the times, pronounced a congratulatory address in Latin, and presented Christian, as a mark of respect from the corporation, with a curious cup of massy gold.‡ James's vanity was no doubt highly gratified by this kingly compliment, but it helped to empty his pocket; for we find him presently after reduced to the necessity of negotiating a new loan in the city to a very considerable amount. About the same time, in the view of keeping up his interest among the citizens, he was graciously pleased to accept of an entertainment at Clothworkers' hall; and, on motion of the lord mayor, condescended farther to be admitted to the freedom of that company. The ceremony of admission exhibited a ridiculous interchange of silly adulation; for none are so much disposed to flatter as those who are in the habit of swallowing flattery; and

\* State Trials, vol. i. p. 109.

† Stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 1.

‡ Stow, Surv. Lond.

there are numberless situations in life which equalize the monarch and the tradesman. The king called for Sir John Stone, the master, who being conducted round to the royal chair, his majesty took him by the hand, and said, *Now we are brother Clothworkers*; and in order to cement the fraternal union, promised the company an annual present of two brace of bucks, to promote the conviviality of the election of master and wardens. A similar farce was soon after presented at Merchant-Taylors' hall, where the king, prince Henry, and a great number of the nobility were sumptuously entertained. After dinner, the master and wardens, assisted by the recorder and aldermen present, in name of the company returned his majesty cordial thanks for the honour done them, and begged his acceptance of a purse of gold. The clerk then exhibited the rolls of the freedom of the company, which proudly displayed the names of seven kings and one queen, seventeen princes and dukes, two dutchesses, one archbishop, thirty earls, five countesses, one viscount, fourteen bishops, sixty-six barons, two ladies, seven abbots, seven priors and one sub-prior, besides knights and esquires without number. It grieved James to the heart that propriety forbade his swelling this list by his own dignified name; he could not be a merchant-taylor because he was already a clothworker, but he declared his son prince Henry should receive the freedom of their company, and that he would himself grace the ceremony of admission with his presence. It was accordingly performed on the spot, and the master, among other formalities, presented his royal highness with a purse of gold. In compliment to the prince, all the nobility present, who were not already free of the city, had a tender made them of the freedom of the Merchant-Taylors' company, which they readily accepted.\* Are such details deemed to sink beneath the dignity of history? Alas, of what does the history of man consist! a meagre enumeration of magnificent trifles; a display of the vain-glorious, avaricious, or malignant passions which occupy the human breast, and of the miserable fruit which they produce.

As the metropolis continued to increase, in defiance of prohibitory proclamations, certain delinquents were prosecuted, and mulcted by the court of Star-chamber, but still without effect. From the rapid decay of wooden structures, and the consequent consumption of timber, it was now likewise ordered, that in future the fronts at least of all edifices should be of brick or stone, which would promote the farther view of decoration and embellishment, as well as of additional

\* Camd. An. James I. Stow, An. Engl.



security against fire. Indeed London still was a very ugly, and a very unhealthy city; but the progress had commenced which was to issue in its present beauty, magnitude and wholesomeness.

The king's punctuality in discharging not only his own former debt, but likewise a considerable sum due by the late queen, enabled him, in 1607, to negotiate a new loan in the city, to the amount of sixty-three thousand pounds; and the year after he granted to the corporation an additional charter of confirmation, whereby their jurisdiction was farther extended over Duke's-place, St. Bartholomew the Greater and Less, Black and White Friars, and Cold Harbour. In 1609 the city acquired a still more splendid addition of power and property, but which was not productive eventually of the advantages it at first promised.—Though the reign of this prince is not rendered memorable by either brilliant successes, or disastrous events, being a period of profound and uninterrupted peace, it proved a period of solid and substantial good to the kingdom. The settlement of Ireland was not the least of these benefits. Almost the whole province of Ulster in that kingdom having become forfeited to the crown, James entertained the judicious and benevolent idea of peopling it with a colony of English protestants, and for the purpose of carrying it into execution, made a tender of the escheated lands there to the city of London. This princely offer being taken into consideration, and serious national as well as individual advantages promising to be the result, it was resolved by a court of common council to send over four persons properly qualified to survey the province and make report. These were accompanied and assisted by Sir Thomas Philips, his majesty's surveyor, and, on their joint report, the grant was thankfully accepted, and twenty thousand pounds voted toward accomplishing the design. For the management of the business, a committee of six aldermen and eighteen commoners were to be annually chosen, of whom two should act as governor and deputy.\* What this produced will appear in its proper place.

With James a conceit, a maxim, a pun, had all the force of reason and argument. His own imagination had supplied him with a similitude to the supposed enormous size of London, and he acted upon it as if it had been a proof from Holy Writ. The growth of the capital, he said, resembled that of the head of a ricketty child, in which an excessive influx of humour drained and impoverished the extremities, and at the same time generated distemper in the overloaded parts.†

\* Stow, Surv. Lond.

† Will. Life K. James.

He was haunted with the apprehension of the plague's spreading from the city to Whitehall and Greenwich, his two favourite residences, and the image of the overgrown head was sufficient to produce a new string of proclamations and prosecutions, on the subject of building in London and two miles round, which were as little regarded as those which had gone before. New edifices rose, the surveyors connived at the delinquency, or were bought off, and the penalty was inflicted in very rare instances. Spital-fields now began to be covered with houses, and peopled with weavers. Wapping, formerly a detached village, from the increase of trade gradually travelled up by the brink of the river till it reached the Tower. A large pond in the vicinity of West Smithfield was filled up, and transformed into streets, by the name of Cow, Chick, Hosier, and other lanes. The extensive fields and gardens of the grand priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and of a convent to the north of Clerkenwell-green, were built upon; and Holborn stretched away imperceptibly westward, till it came into contact with the village of St. Giles's in the Fields.\* Aldgate, the eastern inlet of the city, being in a ruinous state, was at the same time rebuilt.

In the year 1610, James granted a commission to sundry persons of high rank, in behalf of the company of London archers, the object of which was to fill up all the ditches, and to level all enclosures within two miles of the suburbs of the city, and thus to restore all the adjacent fields to the state they were in at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., that there might be nothing to obstruct the indulgence of this elegant exercise. Thus were the supplies of a growing metropolis curtailed in favour of an useless amusement. The court of common council discovered more judgment and humanity by establishing, that same year, twelve additional granaries in Bridewell, capable of containing six thousand quarters of corn, to be sold out to the poor, in times of scarcity, at an under price: an example well worthy of the imitation of rulers in every age.

To the disgrace of a protestant country, and a period of increasing illumination, in 1611, fire was rekindled in London to extirpate heresy. One Legate was accused of Socinianism, and of denying the orthodoxy of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, as a summary of the Christian faith. James, taking a pattern from his predecessor Henry VIII., of pious memory, undertook to convince him of his error; but not succeeding, he followed up the example to its extreme height, by directing

\* Anderson, vol. i. p. 444.



the writ *de hæretico comburendo* to the sheriffs of London; and Legate, for a religious opinion, was consumed to ashes in Smithfield. Edward Wightman, that same year, suffered in like manner for heresy, in the city of Lichfield.\*

The monastery of the Carthusian friars, by corruption called the *Charter-house*, on the suppression of the order, had been granted to the earl of Suffolk. Mr. Thomas Sutton, an old and wealthy bachelor, now purchased it of that noble family for the sum of thirteen thousand pounds, and laid out seven thousand pounds more in repairs and improvements; intending to make it at once a seminary of literature, and a receptacle for decayed gentility. He obtained first letters patent, and afterwards an act of parliament, for establishing this benevolent foundation, and endowed it with lands which even then produced four thousand four hundred and ninety pounds a year, which at a very moderate computation may be now valued at double that sum. The original establishment consisted of a master, a preacher, a head schoolmaster, an under master, with forty-four boys; and eighty decayed gentlemen, who had been merchants or soldiers, besides a physician, surgeons, register, and other officers and servants. The allowance to each gentleman pensioner is fourteen pounds a year, a gown, meat, fire, and an apartment: one of them may, if he pleases, accompany the purveyor to market, and satisfy himself that the provisions purchased for the house are of the best sort.† This foundation ranks Sutton with the great ones of the earth, and is indeed one of the noblest ever raised by the munificence of an individual. The school has, from the beginning to this day, been esteemed among the most respectable of any country.

In the tenth year of James, Sir Baptist Hicks, one of the justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, afterward created lord viscount Camden, at his own expense built a sessions-house for the accommodation of the county magistracy, at the bottom of St. John Street; it went by the name of the founder. Having fallen into decay, it was a few years ago entirely removed, and is now replaced by the elegant and commodious structure on Clerkenwell-green..

Frederic the elector Palatine, who afterwards assumed the title of king of Bohemia, arrived in London, October 16th, 1612, to espouse the princess Elizabeth, James's only daughter. Of this marriage, the family now in possession of the throne of Great Britain are the issue. On the 29th of the same month, being lord mayor's day, that prince, attended by a splendid retinue, honoured the new chief ma-

\* Harris, Life of K. James.

† Stow, Surv. Lond.

gistrate with his company to dinner at Guildhall. The citizens in return presented his electoral highness with a magnificent basin and ewer, and two large flagons of silver, of curious workmanship and richly gilt, inscribed with the words *Civitas Londinensis* under the city arms; and on the day that the nuptials were solemnized, the lord mayor, in name of the corporation, made a present to the royal bride of a necklace of orient pearl, valued at more than two thousand pounds.\*

The city had neglected to avail itself of the valuable Irish acquisition. Four years from the date of the grant were elapsed, and no progress toward colonization had been made. On the contrary, the money voted for that purpose had been scandalously misapplied. James was both mortified and offended at this neglect and abuse. He ordered the governor and committee of direction to attend him at Greenwich, and severely reprimanded them for their misconduct. This produced a meeting of the court of common council, at which Mr. Serjeant Henry Montague appeared, and strongly enforced the king's censure, urging the immediate adoption of measures for carrying his majesty's paternal design into execution. Under the impulse of this stimulus, the necessary arrangements were made, the machine was put in motion, and within three years Londonderry and Colerain reared their heads; the former of which James raised to the rank of a city, and the latter to that of a corporate town, under the government of a mayor and bailiffs. At this period, Sir Peter Proby, alderman of London, and governor of the province of Ulster, was sent over to Ireland with a special commission from the king, and another from the city, to settle the affairs of the colony. He was accompanied by a body of citizens of the first distinction, and carried as a present from the parent city two swords of state to be borne before the chief magistrates of the newly-erected corporations.†

Meanwhile a work of public utility was going forward, which was to prove one of the principal sources of health, cleanliness, and comfort to the metropolis of the British empire—the formation of a canal to convey a copious stream of fresh water from distant sources to the capital. An act of parliament had passed in the preceding reign, empowering the corporation of London to cut a canal through the counties of Middlesex and Hertford, for bringing water from the rivers Chadwell and Amwell, near Ware, to the city, under a limitation of ten years for the execution of the work. Though the rapid increase of the metropolis rendered this an object of growing importance, nothing was attempted under that act. It was renewed

\* Stow, An. Engl.

† Id. Surv. Lond.



therefore under the present administration, without any limitation as to time. Doubts respecting the practicability of the scheme still occasioned delay. At length Mr. Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith, whom the king knighted on the occasion, undertook the work, and happily accomplished it, in the space of five years, through incredible difficulty and expense, from the variety of soil to be scooped out, as well as the heights to be surmounted, and the cavities to be raised to a level, through a track of near forty miles of very unequal ground. Middleton's intrepid spirit however overcame every obstacle; it penetrated rocks and hills, and filled up valleys. At Bush-hill, by Enfield, the conduit is raised to the height of thirty feet, a length of six hundred and sixty, and near Highbury to the height of seventeen, for four hundred and sixty-two feet together. A reservoir was provided to receive the stream on the heights of Clerkenwell, near Islington, to be thence dispersed in ramifications of various sizes to every quarter of the metropolis. This elevation was, in process of time, discovered to be insufficient for a dispersion adequate to the demands of a daily increasing city; it was found necessary therefore to form another reservoir on higher ground, somewhat to the north of the first, and to force up the water thither by means of a steam-engine. The experience of almost two hundred years has demonstrated the extensive utility of the plan, and the profound skill and judgment with which it has been executed. On Michaelmas day 1613, when Sir Thomas Middleton, brother to the projector, was elected into the office of chief magistrate, Sir John Swinnerton, the then lord mayor, at the head of the corporation, repaired in splendid cavalcade to the spot now known by the name of the New River Head, which the labourers employed in the work, arrayed in their best attire, and bearing the implements of their industry, encompassed three times, preceded by drums and trumpets, and having addressed the lord mayor in a copy of verses composed for the occasion, the sluices were opened, and the reservoir filled under a discharge of artillery, and amidst the joyful acclamations of an innumerable multitude of spectators. It is to be regretted that a scheme so highly beneficial to the public should have proved ruinous to the undertaker. So little did the citizens of London comprehend, prize, and improve the gift conferred on them, that for thirty years the proprietors divided not much above half interest for their money. The whole property was divided into seventy-two shares of one hundred pounds each.\* A single share has lately been sold for fourteen thousand

\* Stow, Surv. Lond.

pounds, and the value is on the increase, proportionably to the increasing population of the capital. The accommodation to the inhabitants is unspeakably great, a family of from twelve to twenty persons being amply supplied with this all-important fluid, conveyed to various parts of their habitation, at the trifling expence of from twenty to thirty shillings a year. The proprietors are now erected into a chartered incorporation.

West Smithfield, the great public market for horses, cattle great and small, hay and straw, was still little better than a morass, and in rainy weather became absolutely unpassable. To remedy this, the king addressed a letter to the lord mayor in 1614, enjoining the corporation, for their own credit, and the comfort of the multitudes who were under the necessity of resorting thither, to have it drained and paved. The improvement was obvious at first sight, was immediately undertaken, and completed within six months, at the expence of sixteen hundred pounds.\* About the same period commenced the useful practice of paving the borders of the streets with broad and smooth flag-stones for the conveniency of foot-passengers. An order having been issued for making a general muster of the militia in the kingdom, London produced six thousand men completely armed, clothed, and disciplined. The year after James granted the city a third charter, confirming, together with all former rights, that of metage and weighing of coals from the bridge of Staines down to Yenleet, where the Thames and Medway fall together into the North sea.

The king, on returning from a visit to his northern kingdom in the summer of 1617, was met in Hyde-park by the lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, and sheriffs, in their appropriate habits, accompanied by four hundred of the principal citizens richly dressed, and decorated with gold chains about their necks; after a congratulatory address to his majesty on his prosperous journey, the lord mayor presented him with a purse of five hundred broad pieces of gold, and the recorder received in return the honour of knighthood.†

Henry prince of Wales, to the unspeakable regret of the whole nation, having been taken off in the prime of life, November 6th, 1612, the king had appointed October 31st, 1617, for the ceremony of raising his only surviving son, Charles, to that dignity. On this occasion, the magistrates in the city barge, attended by the several companies in their respective barges, magnificently adorned, went to receive

\* Stow, Surv. Lond.

† Id. Chron.



the prince at Chelsea, and escorted him to Whitehall amidst all the festivity and pomp of aquatic pageantry.\*

In his journey to and from Scotland, James had opportunities of observing the character and manners of both countries. Brought up in the bosom of rigid presbytery, asserting its rights, and indeed extorting them from prostrate popery, he imbibed an early disgust for the austere deportment, and uncomplaining spirit of the clergy of his native country, and was mortified to find similar preciseness and scrupulosity gaining ground in England also. The affected use of the term *Lord's day* or *Sabbath*, instead of the more fashionable word *Sunday*, gave him peculiar offence. But there was more in it than a word: the day was observed with a strictness and solemnity which accorded but indifferently with the progress of refinement, and the growing licentiousness of both court and country. The puritans had acquired a considerable ascendant even in the house of commons, and the recollection of the fetters which he had worn in Scotland, soured the king's temper against every thing that wore the appearance of sanctity. In Roman catholic countries, it was well known, the afternoon and evening of the first day of the week were without scruple devoted to pastime of every kind; and James was weak enough to imagine that a simple declaration of his will and pleasure was sufficient to stem a torrent of religious principle or prejudice. He attempted accordingly, by another of his absurd proclamations, to sanction the violation of what the majority of a great nation held sacred. Certain amusements were declared to be lawful on Sundays, and the regulations respecting them were digested into a code, and orders given to publish them under the title of the *Book of Sports*. The serious part of mankind were filled with alternate astonishment, sorrow, and indignation; and even the more dissipated and profane considered it as a bold and dangerous innovation. To fill up the measure of this courtly folly, the parochial clergy were enjoined to announce and recommend the Book of Sports from their respective pulpits; and on their refusal, which was to be expected from the spirit of the times, many of them were prosecuted for disobedience, before that inquisitorial tribunal called the court of High Commission. Persecution ever strengthens the cause which it means to crush. The civil magistracy itself proved refractory, and the lord mayor of London issued orders to stop the king's carriages from travelling through the city during the time of public worship. James took fire at this, and swearing that he knew of no king in England except himself, dispatched

\* Stow, Chron.

a peremptory mandate that they should be permitted to proceed. The lord mayor thought proper to comply, and flattered the king's vanity while he obliquely reproved his impiety, by alleging, that while it was in his power he had endeavoured to discharge his duty; but that power being superseded by a higher authority, nothing was left him but to submit.\*

In 1618 a special commission was issued to sundry persons of distinction, in conjunction with the celebrated architect Inigo Jones, then surveyor-general of his majesty's works, for the purpose of enabling that gentleman to lay out, and properly to decorate and improve, the extensive grounds called Lincoln's-inn Fields. He borrowed the measurements of this spacious square from those of the area of the base of the great pyramid near Grand Cairo, in Egypt; which assists the untravelled reader in forming some idea of that stupendous pile. Several of the houses on the south and west sides of the Fields, and on the south of Great Queen-street adjoining, still subsist, a monument of the genius of that extraordinary man.†

This year is rendered farther memorable by the execution of the renowned Sir Walter Raleigh, under a sentence passed upon him, for high treason, so far back as the first year of the present reign. The grounds of his conviction had ever been slender; and James himself, against whom the supposed treason had been committed, was satisfied with permitting him to remain prisoner in the Tower. Henry prince of Wales used every influence he could command to procure his pardon. "What king but my father," said he, "would confine such a bird in a cage?" That king however thought proper to keep him in durance, with the axe suspended over his head. The public compassion was at length excited in behalf of a man of the most active and enterprising spirit, languishing out life in the gloom of a prison. Admiration blended with pity, while it contemplated a genius, engaged from infancy in naval and military pursuits, excelling in the walks of literature those who had devoted their whole life to study, and at an advanced period, and under the depression of a tedious and rigorous confinement, undertaking and executing a work of such magnitude and excellence as his *History of the World*. At length these favourable impressions made on the general mind, aided by a report artfully circulated by Raleigh and his friends, in the hope of procuring his liberty, of a golden mine which he had discovered in Guiana, and which promised not only ample returns to the adventurers, but inconceivable national benefit, induced James to release

\* Wilson, Life of K. James.

† Anderson, vol. i. p. 499.



him from the Tower, and grant him permission to pursue his discovery, with a commission investing him with authority over his associates in the expedition. Though this was not a formal, it was universally considered as a virtual pardon, and Sir Walter embarked for the new world. The enterprise did not succeed; but the attempt served to irritate the Spanish court, with which the king then wished to stand on good terms, and which loudly complained of a hostile attack made on one of its foreign settlements, under a commission from the king of England. James had the pusillanimity to deny his having given countenance to the measure, and the cruelty and injustice to sacrifice the greatest man in his kingdom to the clamour of a haughty and vindictive foreign cabinet. Raleigh on his return was again immured, and the warrant for execution signed, under a sentence of fourteen years standing. He met his fate with undaunted intrepidity. "It is a sharp remedy," said he, "but a sure one, for all ills." Having felt with his nail the keen edge of the instrument by which he was to die, with the utmost composure he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal stroke, October 29, 1618, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. No act of the king's administration excited so just and such general dissatisfaction as the punishment of this great man; and it must remain an indelible stigma on his memory. \*

The cathedral church of St. Paul's had sustained frequent damage by lightning, by accidental fire, and by the lapse of time; and frequent attempts had been made to put it into a state of thorough repair. James, earnestly disposed to support the hierarchy and church of England, was scandalized at the want of zeal discovered in the conduct of this good work, and resolved to give it a stimulus by his personal interference. For this purpose he rode in state into the city, on Sunday, May 26th, 1621, attended by the prince of Wales, and a numerous retinue of nobility. He was met as usual by the city magistracy at Temple-bar, and presented with the sword; which, being returned, the lord mayor, uncovered, carried it before his majesty to the west door of the cathedral, where he alighted. He then advanced to

\* The great lord Cobham, ancestor of the marquis of Buckingham, has passed a severe and well-grounded censure on this pitiful and cruel act of James. In his beautiful and magnificent gardens at Stow, he has assigned a niche to the bust of Raleigh, in the Temple of British Worthies, with the following appropriate inscription:

"SIR WALTER RALEIGH, a valiant soldier, and an able statesman; who, endeavouring to rouse the spirit of his master, for the honour of his country, against the ambition of Spain, fell a sacrifice to the influence of that court, whose arms he had vanquished, and whose designs he opposed."

a brazen pillar within the church, and kneeling down, implored a blessing on the purpose of his present visit; thence he proceeded to the choir and heard the anthem, and then to Paul's-cross, where a sermon was preached suitable to the occasion. These devotional exercises being ended, his majesty retired to the bishop of London's palace, to concert the means of effecting his pious design.\* The work nevertheless still languished; the repairs were performed by patches, and the whole fabric was destined to perish by the tremendous conflagration which consumed the city forty-five years afterward, to rise a more magnificent phoenix out of her maternal ashes.

The zeal of this monarch in favour of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the southern kingdom must be imputed, in part, to the austere discipline of presbyterianism which his early life had undergone in the north. It is generally found that relaxation in religious principle leads to dissoluteness in morals. James, with all his ardour to support the church, scrupled not to undermine the fabric of piety and virtue. Besides the publication of the Book of Sports, which struck at the root of sabbatical observance, the king gave sanction to a spirit which needs a check, not encouragement, and which directly tends to destroy every principle of morality, namely, the spirit of gambling. As if there were not in the human mind a native propensity to this vice, he, at the very time of such an affected parade to St. Paul's, authorized Clement Cotrel, Esq., groom-porter of his household, to license gaming-houses for cards, dice, bowling, and tennis. London, Westminster, and their suburbs, were indulged with twenty-four of these places of harmless recreation; Southwark with four; Lambeth with two; St. Catharine's and Shoreditch with one each; and every town or village within two miles of the metropolis was allowed the benefit of one. Within these limits there were likewise protected under royal license, fourteen tennis-courts, and forty taverns or ordinaries for the express purpose of licentious pastime. The terms of the grant are memorable:—"For the honest and  
 " reasonable recreation of good and civil people, who for their quality and ability  
 " may lawfully use the games of bowling, tennis, dice, cards, tables, nineholes,  
 " or any other game hereafter to be invented."† It is hardly possible to conceive a more flagrant violation of the laws of decency, good sense, and wise government.

James's son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, was now engaged in a contest with the

\* Stow, Surv. Lond.

† Anderson, vol. ii. p. 5.



emperor Ferdinand II., which threatened the loss not only of his elective crown of Bohemia, but of his hereditary electorate. His cause, however, was considered as the cause of the protestant religion; and the English nation, from motives of pious zeal, rather than the prince from the calls of consanguinity, shewed a disposition to support him. Preceding parliaments had discovered too much of a refractory spirit to encourage the king to have unnecessary recourse to that assembly. But the occasion called for money, and he was so ill advised as to resort to the unpopular mode of raising it by *benevolence*, rather than by a regular application to the great national council. The sum demanded of the city of London was 20,000*l*. This was deemed exorbitant, and the moiety only was realized by the several companies. A citizen of the name of Barnes positively refused to contribute, and, as a punishment for his contumacy, received orders from the lord treasurer to prepare to carry an express to Ireland. So strictly was prerogative exercised even under the feeble James, and so little were the principles of liberty still understood, that Barnes was content to buy off his trip across St. George's channel, by the payment of 100*l*. This arbitrary method of supply, however, proving totally insufficient, it was found necessary after all to assemble parliament. The house of commons, under the general impulse which pervaded the kingdom, cheerfully voted the money requisite to maintain the protestant interest in Germany, but they followed this up closely with pointed and severe remonstrances on the subject of certain unjust and oppressive patents of monopoly, lately granted, and cruelly exercised. These were considered by the court as so many encroachments on the royal prerogative; and after much altercation, and with mutual dissatisfaction, parliament was at length dissolved. It has been remarked by historians, that in this parliament was first formed a regular *country* party in opposition to the *court*; and it has been considered accordingly as the morning of British liberty, and the basis of a well-ordered, harmonious, and solid constitution.\*

One subject of remonstrance furnished to the house of commons is rendered memorable by the exalted character, the illustrious rank, and the unrivalled genius of the individual whom it concerns. Sir Francis Bacon had been, through successive stages of well-merited elevation, raised to the dignity of lord high chancellor, and created viscount St. Albans. With talents capable of adorning the highest station, virtues that endeared him to the age in which he lived, and scientific powers which have rendered him the admiration of posterity, easiness of temper

\* Hume, Hist. Eng.

and inconsiderate profusion betrayed him into an expenditure which the emoluments of office could not support, and he had the weakness to repair the ruins of prodigality by accepting bribes, in the most open and indiscreet manner, from suitors in chancery. The commons took fire, and lodged an impeachment against him before the house of lords. The chancellor shrunk from inquiry, and acknowledged his guilt. One article related to the wine-merchants and vintners of London. These last entered into a combination to reduce the price of wines. The merchants complained to the privy council, who referred the matter to the chancellor. He ordered the vintners to pay the price demanded, and committed some of them to prison who had presumed to refuse. For this arbitrary and unworthy service he received from the merchants a present of 1000*l*. \* On confession of this and other offences, to the number of twenty-eight, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 40,000*l*., and to be imprisoned in the Tower during his majesty's pleasure; was declared for ever incapable of public place, office, or employment, or of again sitting in parliament, and prohibited in future to come within the verge of the court. He survived this disgrace five years. James not only shortened the period of his imprisonment and remitted his fine, but settled on him a liberal pension, by which he was enabled to prosecute in retirement those literary researches which have served to obliterate in a great measure his meanness and corruption as a judge.

Negotiations had been for some time on foot, toward an alliance with Spain, which was to be cemented by a marriage between Charles prince of Wales and the Infanta. The proposal was highly disrelished by the whole nation, and Gondomar the Spanish ambassador, who was suspected of an undue influence over the king, received an open insult from the populace in the streets of London. James was so highly incensed at this outrage, that he repaired in great wrath to Guildhall, and severely reprimanded the lord mayor and other magistrates for neglecting to repress the insolence of the commonalty. He at the same time commanded the recorder to make diligent inquiry after the authors of this heinous offence; which issued in the detection of a low fellow, who was accused of having uttered certain indecent and disrespectful expressions concerning the foreign minister, for which he was next day, by an arbitrary mandate of the king's, cruelly whipped from Aldgate to Temple-bar. †

\* State Trials, vol. v. p. 44.

† Camd. Ann. K. James.



In 1622 James issued a commission for registering, licensing, and taxing all foreigners residing in the kingdom, and exercising their various crafts and professions within the same;\* a narrow policy, which directly tended to prevent the admission of useful industry and invention, and to raise the price of various articles of necessary consumption. Nevertheless the commerce both foreign and domestic of the kingdom, particularly of the capital, made a real though not very perceptible progress during the whole period of this reign. We are by no means, however, to ascribe this to the wisdom of administration, but simply to the pacific character of the monarch, which procured peace to the country for twenty-three years together. James therefore arrogated what did not belong to him, in affecting to be thought and called the second Solomon; it was indolence and irresolution, not wisdom, that rendered him averse to dissension at home and abroad; for on many occasions he discovered it was not want of inclination but of spirit which prevented his being unjust and oppressive.

The king from first to last expressed a marked aversion to all puritans and presbyterians, but extended countenance and favour to catholics, though he had nearly fallen a victim to their resentment. He laboured with all his might to unite the heir apparent of his crown to a daughter of the king of Spain, the most bigotted of papists, though he knew it was odious in the extreme to the great body of his subjects; and he entered coldly, reluctantly, inefficiently into the interests of his son-in-law, the king of Bohemia, though to support him was considered by the nation as supporting the protestant religion. Roused at length to interpose in behalf of that prince, with a force of 10,000 troops, of which a fifth part was furnished by the city of London, the expedition proceeded with so much languor and improvidence, that it came to nothing. So contagious is the influence exerted by the known disposition of the sovereign over all those who act under his authority. History presents, perhaps, no instance more demonstrative of this, than the contrast between the spirited, vigorous, and decisive administration of Elizabeth, and the spiritless, feeble, fluctuating councils of James. A melancholy accident which took place about this time (October 24, 1623), the people looked upon as a judgment from heaven, for the toleration, or at least connivance, granted by the court to popery. A congregation of 300 catholics had assembled at the French ambassador's house in Blackfriars, to hear one Drury, a noted jesuit. The floor of the apartment used as

\* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 10.

a chapel sunk under the pressure in the middle of the service; the preacher and above a hundred of his auditors were crushed to death on the spot, and the greater part of the rest were miserably bruised and mangled.\*

This pacific reign was now drawing to a conclusion, and giving place to scenes of horror, pestilence, civil discord, and blood. The king was seized in the spring of 1625 with a tertian ague. Finding his strength gradually reduced by every returning fit, he prepared to meet death with a fortitude which he had not greatly displayed through life. He called the prince, by this time married by proxy to a daughter of the royal family of France, and exhorted him, while he maintained inviolable affection to his wife, and supported her in the free and full exercise of her religion, to be constant in the preservation of his own; to protect the church of England, and succour to the utmost the unhappy family of his brother-in-law, the elector. He calmly expired March 27th, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after having filled the English throne twenty-two years and a few days.

The accession of Charles to the throne yielded a fair prospect of personal and domestic comfort, as well as of national prosperity. He was in the bloom of youth, the twenty-fifth year of his age, of an elegant form and beautiful countenance; and though of a stately and dignified deportment, his good sense and princely manners presented an advantageous contrast with the pedantry, affectation, and awkwardness of his father. Lengthened peace had increased the wealth and extended the commerce of the country; while the cultivation of letters was gradually unfolding the powerful energies of the human mind: a Bacon, a Shakespear, a Jonson, and other prodigies of genius and learning had appeared. The reformation of religion was established, and the terror of popery had subsided; but the barriers of prerogative and privilege were not yet settled; the prince was indisposed to relinquish the exercise of rights transmitted to him from his ancestors; the people had acquired a passion for liberty which despotism could no longer suppress, and the nation was doomed to wade through another ocean of blood to the possession of a free, equal, and fairly-poised constitution.

The lord mayor and aldermen, on summons issued by the privy council, repaired in state to Ludgate, where they met the great officers of the crown, and proceeded to proclaim Charles king at the usual places in the city; the ceremony was performed with all possible pomp and solemnity, and welcomed by the people with

\* Stow, Chron.



every demonstration of joy. But a dark cloud obscured the dawn, a fatal prognostic of the dreadful calamities which distinguish this inauspicious reign. Immense preparations had been made for the public entry of Charles and his new-married consort into the metropolis; but this scene of festivity was prevented by a raging pestilence which desolated the city and suburbs during the remainder of the year, interrupted the course of public and private business, and overspread the whole nation with the garb of wo. The numbers carried off by this destructive plague are estimated at 35,417 within the year, which, with the additional mortality from other causes, amount to a full third of the population of London.\* The parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on the 7th of May, was, by repeated prorogations, prevented from assembling in the usual place, from the violence of the plague, and it was found necessary at length to convoke that assembly at Oxford, on the 1st of August. For the same reason the solemnity of the coronation was postponed to February 2, of the year following. On this occasion, Sir Allan Cotton the lord mayor officiated, according to ancient usage, as chief butler to his majesty, and returned into the city with the accustomed fee of a golden cup and ewer.

The 12th of June ensuing is rendered memorable by a tremendous hurricane, accompanied with violent thunder, lightning, and hail. Among other effects of this tempest the churchyard walls of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, were blown down, whereby many bodies of persons who had died of the plague were exposed, and the city threatened with a return of that sore evil; but by diligent exertion in re-interring the corpses and repairing the ruins, the contagion was happily prevented.†

Symptoms of mutual dissatisfaction between the court and parliament had appeared from the beginning. Charles possessed a taste for the fine arts, particularly painting and architecture, but the narrowness of his revenue forbade indulgences of this kind. The house of commons, now awakened to a sense of their own importance, were meditating more than a retrenchment of the sovereign's expensive pleasures; they had formed the design of restraining the exercise of certain hitherto allowed particulars of the royal prerogative. The supplies voted were scanty in the extreme, and neither cajoling on the one hand, nor menaces on the other, could bend a puritanical assembly to greater liberality of conduct. The lofty pretensions, and the divine right of kings, had been examined and disallowed in the preceding reign.

\* Rush. Col. vol. i.

† Id. *ibid.*

The spirit of liberty was waxing stronger and stronger. Set free from ecclesiastical tyranny, men began to look into their civil rights, and to assert them. In vain did the king urge the debts incurred by the crown, and unliquidated at the time of his father's death, and those contracted by himself while prince of Wales; the support which he was engaged in honour, and by treaty, to give to his brother-in-law the elector palatine; the maintenance of the fleet and the protection of Ireland, and other topics of national and well-known importance. In vain did he resort to promises and entreaty: the commons remained inflexible; though they found no fault with the king himself, the ascendant maintained over him by Buckingham, the odious and unworthy favourite of the late monarch, eclipsed the virtues of the young prince, alienated the affections of his people, and accelerated his ruin. Finding that parliament was resolved to grant him no further aid, except empty protestations of duty, and these accompanied with importunate complaints of grievances, Charles availed himself of the appearance of the plague at Oxford, to finish the session by a dissolution, instead of a prorogation, as a testimony of his displeasure\*.

Disappointed in his expectations of relief from this quarter, and pressed by the exigency of his affairs, Charles had recourse to the expedient of raising money by loan. The sum demanded, rather than asked, of the city was 100,000*l*. Not disposed to lend so large a sum, as the case then stood, the citizens excused themselves to the privy council; but their allegations being deemed frivolous and unsatisfactory, a peremptory command was addressed to the lord mayor and aldermen, to the same effect, at their peril. This produced not compliance, and the example of the capital was followed by the great majority of the kingdom.

The first year of this reign is noted by annalists as the era of the introduction and use of hackney coaches in London. The ancient village of that name had become the country residence of the more opulent citizens; and though at the distance of less than three miles from Bishopsgate, that distance had to indolence and luxury lengthened into a great journey, and this much increased by the miserable state of the roads for three fourths of the year. No merchant or tradesman, however, as yet presumed to think of riding in a carriage of his own, when to travel to Hackney in a stage was deemed extravagance, and a matter of as serious moment as a journey to York, or even to Edinburgh, is in these days. From the original destination of this species of conveyance, the term *hackney* became generalized, and was applied

\* Hume, ch. 1.



to all carriages and horses of a similar description. The number of coaches for the whole city, in 1625, amounted only to twenty,\* and these plied not for hire in the streets, but were kept in readiness at certain hours in the yards of the more noted inns. The love of ease and growth of affluence speedily multiplied this species of accommodation, for in less than ten years it was deemed expedient to restrain the increase by an order of council.† What would be the astonishment of a privy counsellor of those days, could he lift up his head and survey the streets of modern London, crowded with 1200 hackney coaches, besides stages innumerable arriving and departing every hour of the day and night, and private as well as public carriages of various description, likewise without number, from the lord mayor's ponderous state coach, and sheriff's gaudy chariot, down to the apprentice's gig or curricule!

But subjects of more serious moment now demand our attention. The rash counsels of the inconsiderate Buckingham had involved his already deeply-embarrassed master in a war with France. This rendered money more than ever necessary, while it increased the difficulty of obtaining a supply. Having failed in the attempt to fill his coffers by a forced loan, Charles, in order to equip a fleet, had an assessment laid on all the maritime towns in the kingdom, to furnish ships for the public service, proportionably to their supposed ability. The city of London was rated at twenty ships, completely manned, with provisions and ammunition for three months. The lord mayor and common council pleaded inability, and petitioned for an abatement of one half; but the demand was enforced with a high hand,‡ and kindled a flame which it required an ocean of blood, and that of the ill-fated monarch himself, to extinguish. This very unpopular measure was accompanied by another equally odious to a great majority of the nation. A commission was granted to settle a composition with the catholics, by which they were enabled to purchase an exemption from the penal statutes in force against them.§ A suspicion had long been entertained that the king secretly favoured the popish religion; it was now confirmed, and operated most dreadfully against him in the melancholy scenes which followed.

The rejection of the loan irritated the cabinet extremely, and hurried them into very precipitate and unwarrantable conduct. Many persons of consequence, and among these twenty considerable citizens of London, were cast into prison for their

\* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 20.

† Id. p. 26.

‡ Stow, Chron.

§ Whitlocke, p. 7.

non-compliance. Those of lower rank were punished by being pressed into the land and sea service. But violence ever defeats its own purpose. Persecution for conscience-sake multiplies heretics, and civil oppression generates liberty. Five of the country gentlemen under confinement boldly demanded their discharge, not as a matter of favour, but as their legal and undoubted right. This important question was brought to trial before the court of king's bench, and to the joy of the whole nation and the king's utter astonishment, it was found on trial, that a power exercised by former princes without interruption or control was a direct violation of the clearest laws, and supported by hardly any precedent in a court of judicature. The grievance had been permitted to continue, merely because the aggrieved wanted spirit to resist. A decision so mortifying to the court, immediately produced an order of council addressed to the lord mayor, to proceed gently in exacting the loan within the limits of his jurisdiction.\* Unhappily, however, the odious, unworthy, but all-powerful favourite was soon furnished with a pretence to assess the city, to glut his own resentment, and to increase the king's unpopularity. One Lamb, a creature of Buckingham's, and, as such, an object of popular resentment, had likewise incurred the imputation of being a wizard and conjurer. His person being known to some idle boys as he walked along the streets, they pursued him with hard names and pelted him with dirt. The multitude accumulated, their violence increased, and proceeded from outrage to outrage, till the victim of their fury actually expired under repeated and merciless blows. The city magistrates were accused of neglect of duty in not suppressing the riot and preventing the murder. They were ordered to find out the principal delinquents, and deliver them up to the hands of justice, under pain of forfeiting the corporation's charter. The criminals were not to be found, and a fine of 6000*l.* was imposed on the city as an atonement for the carelessness of her rulers. On making proper submissions, however, that sum was reduced to 1500 marks.† It is far from being improbable that this atrocious offence was really connived at, and justice wilfully defeated. The populace must have had a very powerful stimulus to carry resentment to such a fearful height.

Charles was so disgusted with the temper and conduct of his first two parliaments, that he had resolved never to convoke another, trusting he could raise supplies, and keep in motion the complex machinery of government by simple exertions of regal authority. New duties had been imposed on merchandise by acts of the privy

\* Rush. Col. vol. i.

† Kennet, Life of Char. I.



council merely, but payments were made slowly and reluctantly, or, under a thousand pretexts, were altogether evaded, till the revenue was reduced to almost nothing. He had disgusted the nation and missed his object at the same time. He was under the necessity therefore of recurring to the constitutional mode of filling the treasury. To redeem Buckingham in the public opinion, it was resolved that he should first make the motion in council for calling a new parliament, as if one popular act dictated by policy, or extorted by necessity, were to obliterate the traces of a whole life of violence, tyranny, and oppression. Parliament assembled March 17th, 1628, and soon did the house of commons discover the same spirit of liberty and independence which actuated their predecessors. A vote passed unanimously against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans.\* A moderate and very inadequate supply was likewise voted; but before it was passed into a law, the commons employed themselves in devising a bulwark against the future encroachments of the royal prerogative on the liberties of the subject. The instrument framed on this memorable occasion was denominated a PETITION OF RIGHT, a name that implied a confirmation or exposition of the ancient constitution of England, but no invasion of the rights of the crown, or undue extension of the privileges of the people. After much evasion and delay on the part of the king, this *petition* passed into a statute through every form of law, and distinguished the year 1628 as one of the grand epochs of English history.†

Liberty

\* Franklyn, p. 251.

† It would be criminal, in writing a history of London, to suppress a record so momentous as the original *Petition of Right*; we therefore present it at full length.

“ Humbly shew unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, That whereas it is declared and enacted, by a statute made in the time of the reign of king Edward I., commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III., it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth, no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the land; and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge; by the which statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament:

“ II. Yet nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their  
“ refusal

Liberty is the parent of industry and exertion, and these lead to splendour and opulence. The metropolis, at this period, exhibited an illustrious example of it.

The

“ refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of  
 “ this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before  
 “ your privy council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined,  
 “ and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied  
 “ upon your people, in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for  
 “ musters, justices of the peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy  
 “ council, against the laws and free customs of this realm :

“ III. And whereas also, by the statute called *The great Charter of the Liberties of England*, it is  
 “ declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold  
 “ or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the  
 “ lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land :

“ IV. And, in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and  
 “ enacted, by authority of parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition he be, should  
 “ be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death,  
 “ without being brought to answer by due process of law :

“ V. Nevertheless, against the tenour of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your  
 “ realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause  
 “ shewed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before justice, by your majesty's writ of  
 “ *Habeas Corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded  
 “ to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your  
 “ majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to  
 “ several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to  
 “ law :

“ VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers  
 “ counties of this realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them  
 “ into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and  
 “ to the great grievance and vexation of the people :

“ VII. And whereas also, by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of  
 “ king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that no man should be fore-judged of life or limb against  
 “ the form of the *Great Charter* and law of the land; and by the said *Great Charter*, and other the  
 “ laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death, but by the laws established  
 “ in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas  
 “ no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be  
 “ inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless of late divers commissions, under  
 “ your majesty's great seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed  
 “ commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of  
 “ martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should  
 “ commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by  
 “ such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war,  
 “ to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put  
 “ to death according to the law martial :

“ VIII. By pretext whereof some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commis-  
 “ sioners, put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death,



The street called Cheapside, from the Old Change to Bucklersbury, four shops excepted, was occupied by goldsmiths and jewellers, and ostentatiously displayed every species of gaudy and expensive luxury. These wealthy tradesmen had become the bankers of the capital, and were hastening to more and more consequence from the extension of commerce, and the convulsions which were beginning to derange the political fabric. The pride of lordly riches considered the four shops of meaner traffic as a nuisance, and had influence enough to procure an order of council to purge Cheapside and Lombard-street of their contamination. To such contemptible objects is the attention of governments diverted, and so impertinently are they disposed to interfere in matters that belong not to them. Sir Richard Deane, the lord mayor of this year, employed his authority to much better purpose, in enforcing the laws against the profanation of the sabbath, an object in which the public morals are so deeply implicated.

It was Charles's great misfortune that he suffered himself to be directed, both in matters of religion and government, by men of much less understanding than

“ by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed :

“ IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them, by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborne to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid ; which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm :

“ X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent, by act of parliament ; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherways molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof : and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained : and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come : and that the aforesaid commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled : and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, left, by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

“ XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm : and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example : and that your majesty would also be graciously pleased, for the further safety and comfort of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.”

—Stat. 17 Car. cap. 14.

himself.

himself. The impetuous Buckingham dictated his political counsels, and the priestly, bigotted Laud, bishop of London, and afterwards promoted to the see of Canterbury, was his oracle in religion. These men possessed the unhappy art of involving their master in manifold distresses, without capacity sufficient to guide him out of the labyrinth in which they had entangled him. At the very moment when the public mind was in a state of extreme irritation, from the attacks made on civil liberty and property, Laud had the folly to exasperate the malady by superstitious mummary and innovation. The consecration of the new church of St. Catharine Cree, in Leadenhall-street, furnished him with an opportunity of displaying his prelatical importance, and presented scenes of monkish trick and grimace worthy of the darkest period of papal usurpation; incurvation, prostration, genuflexion, benedictions, maledictions, imprecations, deprecations, gesticulations, as if contrived on purpose to excite derision, or to provoke resentment. Whatever the designs of the hierarchy might be in making this retrograde movement toward the church of Rome, the effect was serious and lasting.\* The people of London felt themselves insulted at once by the invasion of their franchises, and by encroachment on their religious faith, sentiments, and practice; and the violent efforts made to prop up and exalt episcopacy, served only to shake it to the foundation.

The more important grounds of discontent were much aggravated by imprudent intermeddling on the part of the court in concerns of inferior moment. The ridiculous terror of the increasing magnitude and population of the metropolis revived. Fresh proclamations were issued, prohibiting the erection of new buildings within three miles of the gates of London, and of the palace of Westminster; and restricting the entertainment of lodgers and other inmates; the reason assigned for which was, that the inhabitants were multiplying so excessively, it would become impossible either to *govern* or *feed* them. This was speedily followed by another proclamation, enjoining the nobility and gentry to refrain from a constant residence in London with their families, because, in the words of the proclamation, “ it drew “ great numbers of loose and idle people to London and Westminster, which “ thereby were not so easily governed as formerly.”† For disobedience of this edict many persons were fined by the arbitrary court of Star-chamber. A people ill governed never can be easily governed. Modern London, of a size and popu-

\* Hume, ch. lii.

† Anderson, vol. ii. p. 45.



lation that sets its state under Charles at an inconceivable distance, is both easily governed and fed, because the rights of the prince and people are clearly defined, and because the multiplication of mouths implies the multiplication of hands, and the increase of hands produces the increase of bread.

Though many wholesome regulations already existed respecting the good order, decency, and cleanliness to be maintained in the streets of the capital, the lord mayor and court of common council found it necessary (A. D. 1631) to revive and enforce these, by issuing a prohibition, under severe penalties, to erect stalls, or vend goods of whatever kind, in the streets or lanes of the city. The impositions practised on the public by bakers, vintners, chandlers, and other dealers in articles that go to the support of life, had likewise provoked complaint and called for censure. The Star-chamber thought proper to take up the matter, and published an ordinance consisting of seven branches, for regulating the quantity and price of bread, butcher's meat, wine, and other necessities. But though grievances of this kind were really felt, and called loudly for redress, the interference of this imperious court gave general offence, as it encroached on the jurisdiction of the regular courts of justice, and imposed fines and inflicted punishments not warranted by the law of the land.

In 1633 Charles thought proper to visit his paternal kingdom of Scotland, to pass through the ceremonial of coronation, and to meet the estates of the kingdom in parliament. On his return from this progress, the court was entertained by the gentlemen of the four inns of court with a magnificent procession in masquerade, which is said to have cost the enormous sum of 21,000*l*. Mr. Whitlocke, one of the committee appointed to superintend the conducting of this entertainment, has taken the pains to transmit in his Memoirs the particulars of it at full length. Those who have a taste for descriptions of this kind are referred to that work. To the generality of readers it will afford little amusement to know how the lawyers, 170 years ago, squandered away a princely fortune on a pageant. The queen was so delighted with it, that she expressed a wish to be favoured with a repetition. To gratify her, Ralph Freeman, the lord mayor for the time being, invited their majesties to dinner at Merchant Taylors' hall, and engaged the masquers to exhibit themselves in the city for the amusement of his royal guests. This festivity, however, was not unmixed with satire, for several of the characters were contrived

to convey oblique censure of certain unpopular patents of monopoly, and of the encouragement given to well-known pretenders and projectors.

The mutual good humour of court and city was, notwithstanding, rather apparent than real. It was a moment of delusive calm pregnant with a tempest. The necessities of government were becoming every day more urgent, but no relief was to be expected from the compliance of parliament. Charles had recourse a second time to the odious and unproductive expedient of levying ship-money, with this offensive aggravation, that whereas the former writs to this effect were directed only to the sea-ports of the kingdom, those now issued were addressed to the nation at large, and excited an universal ferment. An attempt equally ridiculous and impotent was made to sooth the people into good temper, and to divert their attention from the conduct of administration. An edict had been published in the preceding reign, under the designation of the *Book of Sports*, allowing, or rather enjoining, a variety of recreations and amusements on Sundays. Though this had extremely disgusted the serious part of mankind, and conferred no new license on the gay and dissipated, the king was imprudent enough to revive it, with an additional injunction to the clergy to publish the royal proclamation in their respective churches, at the conclusion of public worship. The puritans took fire, and inveighed vehemently against the measure as a barefaced effort to destroy the form as well as the essence of religion, and eventually to undermine the principles of morals. Nothing can be conceived more ridiculously absurd than the idea of forcing men into mirth and cheerfulness by a law. In vain did the king, in vain did the bishops, give countenance and encouragement to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other vulgar and rustic festivities; the people were to be pleased only in their own way, and liberty to profane the sabbath was found but a sorry compensation for an oppressive and illegal tax. When the ship-money writ was presented to the corporation of London, a court of common-council was called, and a spirited remonstrance framed against it, as a violent infringement of their liberties. It was not the quantity of the sum levied that gave the alarm, but the mode of assessment. It was entirely arbitrary; any other tax might be imposed by the same right; and though a powerful fleet was a highly desirable object, both for the credit and security of the kingdom, the liberty of the nation was deemed a price too high to be paid in purchase of it.\*

\* Hume, ch. lii.



Many other causes concurred to irritate the public mind. Charles set on foot a subscription for repairing and beautifying St. Paul's church, and by order of council the church of St. Gregory was removed to make way for the extension and embellishment of the cathedral. In other times this would have been deemed a work of pious zeal, but was now represented as favouring of popish superstition. Monopolies were revived, though they had been abolished by the last parliament of the preceding reign. The manufacture of soap was vested in a company, who paid a considerable sum for their patent.\* Leather, salt, and many other necessary commodities, down to linen rags, were subjected to arbitrary restrictions. The violent and severe decisions of the unconstitutional court of Star-chamber, in favour of the vindictive spirit of administration, excited general abhorrence. Sir David Foulis was fined 5000*l.* for dissuading a friend to compound with the commissioners of knighthood. One Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had written a ponderous quarto, entitled *Histrio-Mastix*, the object of which was to decry theatrical representations of every kind, with pointed invective against hunting, public festivals, Christmas keeping, bonfires, may-poles, and other popular diversions. For this offence he was indicted in the Star-chamber as a libeller, and his declamation against stage-plays was interpreted as a satire upon the king and queen, who indulged themselves rather too freely in this species of amusement, particularly the queen, who descended so far below the dignity of her rank as to act a part in the interludes exhibited at court. His punishment was beyond example severe, the offence considered. He was sentenced to be put from the bar; to stand in the pillory in Westminster and Cheapside, and lose an ear at each of these stations; to pay a fine of 5000*l.* to the king, and to be imprisoned for life.

Not long after, Burton a divine, and Bastwick a physician, were indicted in the same arbitrary court, for seditious and schismatical libels, and adjudged to the same punishment with Prynne; and Prynne himself was tried for some new offence of the same kind, was found guilty, and condemned to lose the remnants of his ears, and to pay another fine of 5000*l.* These severities inflicted on men of the three liberal professions of law, theology, and medicine, and for offences which in the eyes of the majority of the nation were meritorious not criminal, excited general disgust, and confirmed that spirit of disaffection which they were intended to suppress. Excess of punishment ever did and ever will awaken a lively interest in

\* Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 136.

favour of the sufferer, with a proportional abhorrence of the power which inflicts it. The firmness with which those men met their doom communicated additional lustre on their persons, and on the cause of which they were the victims.

A proclamation of this year (1635) is preserved, prohibiting hackney coaches to ply in the streets of London.\* At that period twenty of those machines exceeded the demand for this kind of accommodation; now the number is increased to twelve hundred, and that number is found inadequate to the public necessities. The plague again broke out this year, and carried off 10,400 of the inhabitants of London, and the fairs of Bartholomew and Southwark were prohibited, to prevent the spreading of the infection.

Besides the more serious causes of discontent, originating in the exaction of ship-money, and other arbitrary and illegal imposts, the corporation was from time to time teased with the interference of the court in trifling matters of jurisdiction within the precincts of the city. The privy council weakly resumed the ridiculous idea of purging Goldsmith's-row, Cheapside, of every other species of dealers, that craft excepted; and peremptory orders were addressed, in the king's name, to the lord mayor and aldermen, immediately to shut up all shops of a different description. This injunction not having been complied with, it was followed up by a thundering denunciation from the Star-chamber, declaring, that if the proscribed shops were not forthwith suppressed, the alderman of the ward, or his deputy, should be committed to prison by warrant from the board. Charles and his imprudent counsellors persisted in imagining that there was still a magic in the name of KING,† which subdued all things into obedience to its will. But the ages of igno-

\* The real intention of this paltry proclamation, was to favour a patent of monopoly granted to Sir Sanders Duncomb, and conveying to him the sole privilege to use, let, or hire sedan chairs for the space of fourteen years.‡ The terms employed in the proclamation will amuse the modern inhabitant of the metropolis. It sets forth that hackney coaches "were not only a great disturbance to his majesty, his dearest consort the queen, the nobility, and others of place and degree, in their passage through the streets; but the streets themselves were so pestered, and the pavements so broken up, that the common passage is thereby hindered and made dangerous; and the prices of hay, provender, &c. made exceeding dear. Wherefore we expressly command and forbid, that no hackney coaches, or hired coaches, be used or suffered in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, except they be to travel at least three miles out of the same. And also that no person shall go in a coach in the said streets, except the owner of the coach shall constantly keep up four able horses for our service when required."§

‡ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 49.

§ Id. p. 55.

† Harris, Life of Charles I. p. 310.



rance and slavish subjection were come to an end, and the magic was melting away *into air, thin air.*

In order to sooth the minds of the citizens, and at the same time to display the plenitude of kingly power, Charles, in 1638, granted a new and ample charter to the corporation of London, containing a confirmation of all ancient liberties, franchises, rights, and privileges; but these were not long respected, for an occasion of complaint was presently sought for and found against the city, and a prosecution instituted in the court of Star-chamber, for non-performance of the conditions on which Londonderry in Ireland, and its dependencies, had been vested in the corporation. Under this pretence, a fine of 70,000*l.* was imposed on the city, and they were declared to have forfeited all interest in the plantation. These flagrant acts of violence and oppression so irritated the public mind, that not a man would contribute a shilling to a loan solicited by the king, to enable him to make head against the Scottish covenanters, who had taken up arms to resist the arbitrary imposition, on the nation, of episcopal government and the liturgy of the church of England.\* The house of commons, too, at their next meeting, took under review the proceedings of the Star-chamber, in the matter of Londonderry, and voted the deprivation of the city's right to that colony illegal and unjust.

Thus was this unhappy prince, by an impolitic extension of his authority, undermining it altogether, and irritating his subjects of both kingdoms, by a bold violation of acknowledged rights, and by a still more provoking pertinacity in punctilio and trifles. All the money extorted from the people of England, had been fruitlessly expended on an attempt to cram the surplice, and the episcopal liturgy, down the throat of the Scottish nation. Involved in all the miseries of debt, disappointment, and anxious solicitude, Charles was reduced to the hopeless expedient of seeking relief in the tender mercy of a parliament. Eleven years had elapsed since that assembly had been dissolved with every mark of royal displeasure; and the long interval had produced only growing irritation and discontent. Parliament met in this humour, April 3, 1640. Instead of granting the immediate supply of 600,000*l.*, which the necessity of his affairs urged the king to demand, the house of commons proceeded immediately to institute an inquiry into existing national grievances, which they classed under three distinct general heads—encroachment on the privileges of

\* Harris, Life of Charles I. p. 269.

parliament, the invasion of property, and innovation in religion. Though a majority of the house was disposed to curb the royal authority, Charles had numerous friends in that assembly, many of them men of very superior ability, and, had he been governed by moderate counsels, their numbers would probably have increased, and by mutual concession the prerogative of the crown might have been maintained, consistently with the privileges of parliament and people, and the public tranquillity thereby preserved. But, irritated at what he deemed the obstinacy of parliament, in uniformly withholding supply, and harping on the ingrateful string of *redress of grievances*, he resolved to rest entirely on the basis of prerogative, and hastily dissolved that assembly: a measure of which he had full leisure to repent.

The history of the scenes of tumult and bloodshed which ensued, is to be prosecuted only so far as London is concerned in them. But that city, from its first foundation to the present hour, has been, is, and must be a *pars magna* in all the events which affect the British empire. Its importance was rapidly on the increase, and, of consequence, its prominence on the scale of public affairs.

The sudden dissolution of parliament, in itself suspicious and unpopular, was peculiarly so at this crisis, especially as it was followed up by violent stretches of the prerogative, in order to reach certain individuals of both houses, whose public conduct had given singular offence to the court. Though this parliament too was dismissed, with every mark of the royal displeasure, the convocation was permitted to continue their sittings; an irregularity of which there was hardly an example since the reformation. That body, more compliant and submissive, requited this token of distinction by granting his majesty a supply from the spirituality. In the present ferment of sentiment, a grant of money from the clergy was pronounced illegal, because not sanctioned by parliament, in whom the supreme authority was supposed to reside; and ecclesiastical courts became an object of general abhorrence. The populace could with difficulty be restrained from insulting the convocation, and the king was under the necessity of ordering out an armed force to protect them.\* Laud, the archbishop, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the puritans, and indeed to the people at large. Their resentment against that violently high churchman rose to such a pitch, that a placard was stuck up on the Royal Exchange, May 9th, summoning the city apprentices, and other volunteers in the work of chastisement and reformation, to assemble at Lambeth on the 11th, to plunder and

\* Whitlocke, p. 33.



destroy the archiepiscopal palace. They actually did assemble for this pious purpose, to the number of more than 500 persons; but they had defeated their own design by prematurely divulging it; Laud had leisure to put himself on his defence, and the assailants were repulsed with disgrace. A more formidable body, consisting of above 2000 enthusiasts, forced their way into St. Paul's cathedral, where the court of High Commission was sitting, with loud exclamations of *No bishops, No High Commission*;\* they tore down all the benches, and terminated the sessions by an act of popular despotism far more tremendous than the edict of a king. The court at length took the alarm, and an order of council was addressed to the lord mayor, enjoining him to set a double watch in the city, and declaring masters of families responsible for the behaviour of their children, servants, and dependants. But the mischief was irretrievably committed; from the scullion up to the peer, the nation was disgusted, discontented; as law was no longer a restraint on government, the mobility likewise assumed a dispensing power, and pasquinades were affixed to various conspicuous parts of the city, arraigning the conduct of administration, and stimulating the people to a general insurrection. In a word, every symptom threatened an approaching and violent revolution.

In defiance of all these unequivocal indications of general dissatisfaction, Charles was so infatuated as to persist in the impracticable attempt to subdue the spirit of the people by the strong hand of power. The refractory Scots were first to be humbled, by way of example. A levy was set on foot for this purpose; and the quota demanded of the city was 1200 effective men. They were raised accordingly, and embarked at Blackwall, amidst the murmurs and execration of the lower orders; who, strange to tell, now considered the Scottish nation as their best friends, and with whom they cordially sympathized, in the prospect of an attack on their religion and liberties. In further prosecution of this equally foolish and wicked scheme, the lord mayor and aldermen were summoned to attend the privy council, in order to procure information to government, of the persons within the several wards supposed capable of advancing sums of money for his majesty's service. The sum in requisition was 200,000*l*. This they were commanded to raise immediately, by assessing the individuals of each ward conformably to their apparent ability. Four of the aldermen peremptorily refused compliance with this arbitrary injunction, for which they were committed to several prisons. An order was issued to forbid the chief

\* Dugdale, p. 65.

magistrate to have the sword of state borne before him:\* a most ridiculous prohibition, and declaratory of extreme ignorance of the human mind, which is disposed, in many cases, more deeply to resent the invasion of a bauble, than to avenge a serious injury. A further demand was made on the city of 4000 men, to reinforce the army destined to act against Scotland, besides clothing and conduct-money for a certain time prescribed. The city magistrates discovering no inclination to submit to this imposition, his majesty's attorney-general was directed to proceed by information against the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, before the court of Star-chamber. The money lying in the mint, the property of private individuals, was forcibly detained, till the proprietors consented to grant the crown a loan of 40,000/. The stores of pepper laid up by the merchants under the Old Exchange, was bought up by government, on long credit, and immediately sold off, to an enormous loss, for ready money.† Such were the miserable expedients employed to obtain a momentary supply, at the expense of justice, prudence, honour, and every other principle which binds and supports society!

Such was, at this time, the coincidence of sentiment, both in politics and religion, subsisting between the two nations of the British island, that the Scots, on their victory at Newburn, over the king's disaffected troops, having obtained possession of the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, carefully protected the coal trade between that port and London, and, by a letter addressed to the lord mayor, assured the city of their determined resolution to co-operate with them in support of the common cause. The citizens, on their part, considered this declaration as a powerful accession of strength, and probably confirmed an intention, already formed, to petition the king, then at York, to call another parliament.‡

Charles

\* Ludlow's Memoirs.

† Anderson, vol. ii. p. 6.

‡ The just irritation of the public mind, especially in the metropolis, being taken into consideration, this petition, even in our time, and after such a total change of temper, must appear wonderfully moderate and conciliatory, and reflects much honour on the spirit which dictated the contents. It was conceived in the following mild, respectful, and affectionate terms:

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ Being moved with the duty and obedience, which by the laws your petitioners owe unto your sacred majesty, they humbly present unto your princely and pious wisdom, the several pressing grievances following, viz.

“ 1. The pressing and unusual impositions upon merchandize, importing and exporting, and the urging and levying of ship-money, notwithstanding both which, merchants ships and goods have been taken and destroyed both by Turkish and other pirates.

“ 2. The



Charles was by this time made sensible that his Scottish subjects were not to be subdued by force of arms ; and he consented to terminate the dispute by treaty. He was beset with difficulties on every side, and one act of submission to the necessity of his condition led to another. The city's petition was listened to,\* and a parliament, the nation's favourite object, though the king's terror and aversion, was reluctantly promised, provided the citizens would, in their turn, advance his majesty a loan of 200,000*l.* to enable him to pay his troops, and to conduct the negotiation with the Scots to an honourable issue. The council of peers who attended him on his northern expedition, gave their joint security for the repayment of the sum wanted, and the money was produced accordingly.

The negotiation was opened at Rippon, by sixteen English noblemen, named by the king, and eleven commissioners of similar rank from Scotland. The views and claims of the contending parties could not easily be adjusted, and a proposal was made to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London ; to which the Scots willingly assented, in the confidence of treating with advantage in the metropolis, where they

“ 2. The multitude of monopolies, patents, and warrants, whereby trade in the city, and other parts of the kingdom, is much decayed.

“ 3. The sundry innovations in matters of religion.

“ 4. The oaths and canons lately enjoined by the late convocation, whereby your petitioners are in danger to be deprived of their ministers.

“ 5. The great concourse of papists, and their inhabitations in London, and the suburbs, whereby they have more means and opportunities of plotting and executing their designs against the religion established.

“ 6. The seldom calling, and sudden dissolutions of parliament, without the redress of your subjects' grievances.

“ 7. The imprisonment of divers citizens for non-payment of ship-money, and impositions ; and the prosecution of many others in the Star-chamber, for not conforming themselves to committees in patents of monopolies, whereby trade is restrained.

“ 8. The great danger your sacred person is exposed unto in the present war, and the various fears that seized upon your petitioners and their families by reason thereof ; which grievances and fears have occasioned so great a stop and distraction in trade, that your petitioners can neither buy, sell, receive, or pay as formerly, and tends to the utter ruin of the inhabitants of this city, the decay of navigation and clothing, and the manufactures of this kingdom.

“ Your humble petitioners, conceiving that the said grievances are contrary to the laws of this kingdom, and finding by experience, that they are not redressed by the ordinary course of justice, do therefore most humbly beseech your most sacred majesty to cause a parliament to be summoned with all convenient speed, whereby they may be relieved in the premises.

“ And your petitioners and loyal subjects shall ever pray, &c.”

\* Rush. vol. iii. p. 1263.

forefaw that the king would find himfelf compelled to make every conceffion which the popular torrent might impofe.

Reduced by the laft extremity to fummon a new parliament, Charles expected exorbitant demands, and had prepared his mind to fubmit to them. On the two fubjects which moft excite the paffions of mankind, religious and political regulations, he had violently oppofed the inclinations of the moft active, and apparently the moft numerous part of the people : his neceffities made him dependant upon the gifts of thofe who regarded him as the unjuft and impious promoter both of defpotifm and irreligion. The paffions of the nation were now, by continuance of contention, inflamed to the utmoft height ; and the king knew that lenity or liberality he had not to look for. Never before were the eyes of the inhabitants of the capital fo eagerly turned toward a parliament as to that which met at Weftminfter on the 3d of November 1640, and which, under the title of Long Parliament, which it afterwards obtained, effectuated fuch important alterations in the kingdom. The firft of its meafures flunned the king, in fpite of all the pains he had taken to prepare his mind for fevere treatment. Inftead of paying any regard to his neceffities, they voted the impeachment of his favourite and ableft minifter, the earl of Strafford, and committed him to prifon. The fame treatment was extended to archbifhop Laud ; and they began the moft rigorous scrutiny of grievances. They took upon them to annul every late act which they thought illegal of the government, and declared all the officers criminal who had been engaged in the execution of them. Among other acts on which they paffed the fentence of illegality, was that by which the city had been deprived of Londonderry in Ireland. And feveral other perfons who had been hardly treated for alledged libels on the government, and committed to diftant prifons, were brought back to town amid the concourfe and acclamations of the people. Among others brought back was the celebrated Prynne, who, becaufe he had written a book againft ftage-plays, and other public diverfions, was adjudged to have difperfed fatires on the king and queen ; condemned to ftand in the pillory in two places, Weftminfter and Cheapfide ; to lofe both his ears, one in each place ; to pay 5000*l.* fine to the king ; and to be imprifoned during life. So much were the minds of men agitated and engroffed by thefe tranfactions, that we are informed the citizens of London and Weftminfter univerfally neglected their private bufinefs, unable to attend to any thing but thofe public interefts, which had ftimulated their paffions to fo inordinate a degree.

Still,



Still, however, were they afraid of the power of parliament to preserve its own existence against the pleasure of the king. And when that assembly, which found itself necessitated to maintain and pay both the English and the Scottish armies, applied to the city for a loan of 100,000*l.*, they demurred; and the magistrates replied, that they could only persuade but not compel the citizens to lend their money to any purpose foreign to the corporation.

It would be difficult exactly to determine, whether they were considerations of religion or of government, which most heated and inflamed the passions of the metropolis at this period. The puritans must have been pretty powerful, or pretty presumptuous, when they durst present a petition for the abolition of the established religion. This petition, signed by 15,000 citizens, was presented by alderman Pennington to parliament, upon whose favourable reception they had some reason to count, when they considered that this assembly were edified weekly by sermons seven hours long from Marshal and Burges, two puritanical clergymen, whom they had appointed their chaplains. The religion of the people of this country seems at this time to have been composed, one half, of attachment to each man's own principles and observances, and the other half, of hatred to the principles and observances of all those who differed from him. If the citizens were become very generally hostile to episcopacy, they were nearly frantic in their rage against popery; and they were unable to suppress the fury which agitated them, when the chapel of the Spanish ambassador was opened for the reception of English catholics, and when they saw multitudes of their fellow-citizens resorting thither. A crowd of apprentices and other populace beset the house of his excellency in Bishopsgate-street, threatening to destroy both it and him. The lord mayor repaired thither in great expedition, and with some difficulty prevailed upon the mob to disperse. When, after this, he entered the house, he was received by the ambassador with great stateliness; he was desired to drop the point of the city sword in a place where the king of Spain bore jurisdiction: he complied. He was then informed, that so barbarous a scene was hardly ever before exhibited, and questioned whether it could be called a civilized nation in which the laws of nations and of hospitality could be thus disgracefully violated. The lord mayor replied, that they were the very refuse of the people by whom the insult had been committed, and that it could not by any means be imputed to the community. The ambassador rejoined, that they deserved not to be regarded as human creatures, who were subject neither to the laws of

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humanity

humanity nor government. The mayor told him it was their abhorrence at seeing the rites of popery celebrated which had occasioned their excesses. To which the ambassador replied, that the English minister at Madrid enjoyed the free exercise of his religion, and that they had given him very little reason to think more highly of the liberal spirit of the protestant religion than of his own. The lord mayor replied, that they had been chiefly exasperated by seeing some of their fellow-citizens repairing to these rites, contrary to law. To this the ambassador answered, that if the mayor would prevent these citizens from coming, he should use no means to bring them; but if they came, he could neither with fidelity to his religion, nor his master's honour, send them away, or refuse them protection while with him. A guard accordingly was afterwards placed at his house, and prevented both insults to him, and the approach of catholic citizens. The parliament partook largely in these religious passions; they sent orders to the lord mayor to disarm all papists within his jurisdiction, and to all justices of the peace within the bills of mortality to use their utmost endeavours to prevent his majesty's subjects from frequenting the chapels of foreign ambassadors.

The passions too of the people kept pace with those of the parliament, and powerfully seconded their views in political matters. Twenty thousand of the citizens signed a petition demanding justice against the earl of Strafford; and all of them being thrown into combustion by some reports of the army in the north being on its march to London, to awe the parliament, and to receive the plunder of the city as their reward, about 6000, armed with swords and staves, ran next day to Westminster, and surrounded all the avenues of the parliament house, calling out for justice against Strafford, and threatening such as had voted against his attainder. The fate of this devoted nobleman was now decided. It ought never to have been contested, that he was a minister whose advice led to arbitrary measures, and that it was fit to remove him from the counsels of his sovereign. But that he conducted himself, in his high office, with the greatest ability, within the bounds of law, and with much advantage both to the nation, and to his master, is certain; and his death has certainly covered his enemies with disgrace, and stamped a brighter character of glory upon his memory, than would probably have attended it, had he filled up his natural course. For his trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, where both houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges. Beside the chair of state a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen,



queen, who attended during the whole trial. An incident very descriptive of the simplicity of the times is handed down to us. The commons, at a certain hour, during the continuance of the trial, pulled out of their pockets bread and cheese, and bottles of ale; and after they had eaten and drunk, turned their backs upon the king and made water, to the great annoyance of those who stood below. The trial lasted for eighteen days, and the several articles of accusation were divided among the managers of the impeachment. Yet did Strafford, alone and unprotected, without the assistance of counsel, against the authority of three kingdoms united to destroy him, without the advantage of knowing the charges preferred till the moment when he was obliged to answer them, produce a defence, requesting only a few moments upon each charge to recollect himself, which leaves no doubt upon the minds of posterity of his innocence, and the highest admiration of his magnanimity, presence of mind, and genius. As he was carried past the window of the apartment where Laud was confined, on his way to Tower-hill to be executed, he requested permission to stop to receive the last prayers of his friend. The aged prelate, dissolved in tears, pronounced his blessing with a faltering voice, and sunk into the arms of his attendants. Strafford found resources in his own elevated mind against the severity of his fate, and, what is more difficult, even against the hardened sentiments of those who surrounded him, and who expressed their exultation at this last scene of his sufferings. His gestures, his looks, his words, every thing about him was worthy of a hero. By one stroke of the executioner was an end put to his existence, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

They were not merely the prerogatives of the king which the people, now that they were engaged in questioning authorities, thought proper to dispute. The lord mayor had, for 300 years, enjoyed the privilege of recommending one of the sheriffs by drinking to his health at a stated annual festival, and this ceremony was held equivalent to a nomination. The city-commoners now refused to admit this as a valid election, without their approbation and confirmation. The lord mayor and aldermen appealed to the king by petition; but he prudently declined interfering in the dispute, and referred them to the house of lords, who recommended an accommodation among themselves. But when that failed, and the time of election was elapsed, the peers ordered the commonalty to elect both sheriffs, recommending, however, for one, the person nominated by the lord mayor, and declaring at the same time that the rights of the lord mayor should in no way be prejudiced by this precedent in time to come.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the height to which animosities were now carried between the king and people, he met with a very magnificent admission into the city upon his return from the settlement of Scotland in the year 1641. The roads and streets were new paved, and decorated for his reception. He was met at Kingsland by the lord mayor and other citizens. An address of congratulation upon his return was pronounced by the recorder. He was conducted in splendid procession to Guildhall, where a magnificent repast was served up. With the same state he was after dinner conveyed to his palace at Whitehall, the lord mayor carrying the sword before him, the conduits running with wine to testify the joy of the city, and the people pressing round in multitudes with every demonstration of loyalty and affection. The king was lavish in his expressions of thankfulness. When he parted with the lord mayor at Whitehall, his heart overflowed, he embraced him tenderly, thanked him a second time, and gave orders that the whole city likewise should again be thanked in his name. From these demonstrations of affection the king, however, drew a wrong, and to him a very fatal conclusion, that the meanest of the people alone disapproved of his measures; ignorant how necessarily the sentiments of the lowest and the highest people in a state are dependant upon one another, and how certainly at last they must nearly coincide on every great national concern.

Men get fond of any course of action in which they are engaged. The parliament having made so many successful inroads upon the prerogative of the king, thought it was impossible for them to proceed in this patriotic depredation too far. Now came forth the celebrated remonstrance, containing so many severe complaints against his majesty's government, and charging him with the most traitorous designs against the religion and liberties of the people. This, as must have been intended, was followed by a vast increase of the fermentation among the people. Upwards of 20,000 citizens signed a petition, which was presented to the house of commons by Mr. Tookes, a merchant, attended by 200 persons more, in coaches. It complained of the toleration and insolence of papists, and prayed that the bishops and popish lords might be removed from the house of peers. The favourable reception afforded to this petition, encouraged the presenting of another, which complained, " That Sir William Balfour, a person of honour and trust, was displaced from the office of lieutenant of the Tower; and the same place bestowed upon colonel Lunsford, a man outlawed, and most notorious for outrages, and therefore fit for any dangerous attempt." On the same day the city apprentices petitioned



petitioned against popery, and desired that prelacy might be rooted out. The commons requested a conference with the lords to address the king on Lunsford's appointment; but this the lords refused, as an infringement on his majesty's prerogative. On a representation, however, by the lord mayor, of the disturbances to be apprehended from the apprentices on account of this promotion, the king consented to his removal. After the appointment first of Sir John Biron, and afterwards of Sir John Conyers to be lieutenant, the Tower was at last entrusted to the lord mayor. The pulpits meanwhile refounded with the dangers which threatened religion from papists and malignants. Tumults of the people continued around Westminster and Whitehall, calling out against bishops and rotten-hearted lords: and such commotions prevailed, that the lord mayor was obliged to raise the trainbands to preserve the peace.

The passiveness and submission of the king were at last worn out; and he resolved to put a stop to the confusions among the people, and to his own mortifications, by measures as bold and violent as those which had succeeded so well in the hands of his enemies. The attorney general received orders to prosecute for high treason in the house of peers the five leaders of the commons, lord Kimbolton, Hollis, Hambden, Pym, Hazelrig, and Strode. All men were filled with astonishment at this proceeding; from which state of mind they had not time to recover, when their wonder was excited anew by other attempts not less extraordinary. A serjeant at arms came to the house to demand in the king's name the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. Messengers were employed to search for them, and to arrest them; and their trunks, chambers, and studies were sealed and locked. All these violences the house voted to be a breach of privilege. Still disappointed in his object, the king came to a resolution very unusual for a first magistrate. He proceeded to the house in person, with design to seize the members himself. Intelligence of this happened to reach the countess of Carlisle, who contrived to convey it to the members, and they had time to withdraw one moment before the king entered. He came to the house, attended with his ordinary retinue to the number of about 200, armed, some with halberts, some with walking staves. Leaving these at the door, he walked into the house, the members all standing up to receive him. He advanced toward the chair, the speaker quitting it at his approach, and when he had taken possession of it, he addressed the house with an account of the purpose for which he came there, the pain which it gave him to be  
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reduced to such a measure, and his determination to have the accused members delivered up to him. He demanded of the speaker if none of them was in the house, upon which the speaker dropped on his knee, and replied, " I have, Sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am. And I humbly ask pardon that I cannot give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me." The house was in the utmost disorder; and as the king retired, the cry of *Privilege, privilege!* assailed his ears from several quarters. The accused members took refuge in the city. The citizens were in the utmost commotion, and remained under arms all night. Next morning Charles sent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common council immediately; to which he himself repaired, accompanied only by three or four lords, and told the meeting, he hoped that those men whom he had accused of high treason, and was to proceed against in a legal way, would receive no shelter in the city. He added many gracious expressions, and told one of the sheriffs, who of the two was thought least inclined to his interests, that he meant to dine with him. He departed without receiving that applause which he expected; and as he returned, the streets every where resounded with *Privilege of parliament, Privilege of parliament!* One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, advanced close to his coach, and called out with a loud voice, in the words of the Jews, when they abandoned Rehoboam, *To your tents, O Israel!* The commons affected the utmost dismay and terror, and adjourned themselves; having appointed a committee to sit in the mean time in Merchant-taylors hall in the city, for their perfect security. On the day when the parliament was again to meet, a mighty parade of preparation was made for their safe conduct back to the house. They resolved that the sheriffs should raise the *posse comitatus* to guard the king and parliament on that day. The mariners, to the number of a thousand, offered their assistance to conduct them by water, and this offer was accepted. On the day appointed they embarked at the Three Cranes, in great naval state, together with lord Kimbolton and the other accused members. Forty long-boats armed with ordnance attended them, and the Thames was covered with boats and barges. At the same time the London trained-bands marched by land to Westminster, followed by vast multitudes: two companies of them were ordered to attend the house daily for their protection; and a guard was placed round the Tower by land and water, to prevent the removal thence of all military stores.

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By all these events and exhibitions the inflamed minds of the people were blown up to the most violent combustion, and men seemed not to be safe from the most desperate measures. The king finding, in bitterness of heart, that the only effect of his late rash proceedings had been to increase his difficulties and dangers, retired to Hampton-court, at a greater distance from the attempts of the infuriated populace. They restrained themselves to an occupation of a comparatively innocent nature, the sending of petitions to parliament, of which some of a pretty singular kind were presented to the house. One appeared from the porters, who stated themselves to be 15,000 in number; and it concluded with declaring, "That if those remedies (which it sought) were any longer suspended, they would be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the saying, that *Necessity has no law.*" Several poor people, that is, beggars, presented another in the name of themselves and many thousands more, which proposed, "That those noble worthies of the house of peers, who concur with the happy votes of the commons, may separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body." These were all thankfully received, and were followed by one which yet deserves to be mentioned. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her own sex, brought a petition to the house, in which they expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and their dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages, with those which had been exercised upon their sex in Ireland; and they claimed an equal right with the men, of declaring their sense of the public cause, "because Christ had purchased them at as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Christ consists equally the happiness of both sexes." Pym came to the door of the house, told them that their petition was thankfully received, that it had been presented in a seasonable time, and begged the assistance of their prayers in the common cause.

The step upon which the commons next ventured, brought the dissensions between the king and people to a crisis. This was the ordinance making the commanders of the militia dependant upon the parliament, and not upon the king. His majesty, justly aware that this was to strip him at once of his whole power, and to invest parliament with the sovereignty of the kingdom, resolutely refused his consent. The parliament employed endeavours of several kinds to reduce him to compliance; but when these did not succeed, they were conscious of their strength, and assumed the command of the militia by their own authority. To this the king opposed his commissions of array; and men obeyed the one authority or the

other, according as they stood affected. This, however, was a commencement of military operations between the parties. The king was surrounded by a great part of the nobility, and by a guard of about 600 men provided for him by the county of York. The parliament retained and augmented the troops intended for Ireland. In London no less than 4000 men enlisted in one day; and when parliament issued orders to bring in loans of plate and money, the city in particular shewed such zeal, that hardly were there men enough to receive, or room enough in the treasury to lay the quantities of plate which were carried thither. The women parted even with their silver thimbles and bodkins for the support of the *good cause*. After some fruitless communications between the king and parliament, the king erected his standard at Nottingham, and the nation plunged into all the horrors of the civil war.

While the country experienced the commotions of a civil war, the capital, where every national movement is naturally most violent, could not escape a large share of the general agitations and distractions. Two objects at the same time immediately engaged the minds of the citizens. The first was the impeachment of their lord mayor, Sir Richard Gourney, by the parliament, for causing his majesty's commission of array to be proclaimed in the city: he was degraded from the magistracy, rendered incapable of any office or honour, and ordered to continue in prison during the pleasure of the lords. The second object was the approach of the king's army toward the city. Every one was thrown into the greatest alarm: the parliament ordered the trained bands to be in readiness, and the passages and avenues of the city to be properly secured with posts, chains, and courts of guard. The citizens of all ranks, ages, and sexes, were seen digging, carrying earth, and exerting themselves with the greatest ardour and perseverance to put the city in a posture of defence. The grotesque appearance, which they sometimes exhibited while engaged in this occupation, gave occasion to the royalists or cavaliers to ridicule the operations in a ballad entitled, "Round-headed cuckolds come dig."

To both parties the concurrence of the capital was an object of the greatest importance. Accordingly, after the drawn battle of Edge-hill, the first rencounter between the hostile armies, both sides hastened to make their representations to the city, eager to preoccupy this important part of the nation with favourable sentiments of their views and success, and to secure its cordial approbation and support. The earls of Pembroke and Holland, the lords Wharton and Say, with Mr. Strode, came from the parliamentary army, and harangued the corporation in Guildhall in  
speeches



speeches which are yet extant; and a proclamation by the king was published, promising a redress of grievances, indemnity for past offences, a few persons only excepted by name, but threatening punishment against all who should afford any future assistance to the parliament by money or personal service. The king's cause was not the most popular in the city; and the parliament knew they might, without any danger, venture to recruit their army by publishing an ordinance, which they did immediately, to encourage apprentices to enlist. They were secured from forfeiture of indentures, bonds, enfranchisements, and their masters obliged to receive them without punishment or prejudice, when the public service was ended. Besides recruiting the army, the most turbulent part of the capital was thus removed out of the way; and the masters were appeased by promises of satisfaction from the public for any losses which they might sustain. The trained bands too, when the king, having deceived the parliamentary leaders by a sham treaty, advanced to Reading, and seemed on the point of obtaining possession of the city, were called out by Essex, and joining him at Turnham-green under Major Skippon, were one great cause of stopping the progress of the monarch, and turning him back to Oxford.

It has not escaped the notice of any historian, and it would be to commit an act of treachery against the honour of the national character to omit to record it, that notwithstanding the nation was inflamed during the present hostilities, with two of the most violent and malignant sentiments which distract the human breast, political and religious resentments, no people ever conducted an intestine war with so few sacrifices of the laws of humanity, and abstained to such a degree not only from cruelty and treachery, but even severity, in the height of their mutual animosities. The king, still in hopes that his interest was not altogether sunk in the city, or averse to impose sufferings even on his rebellious subjects, issued a proclamation from Oxford, forbidding his officers and soldiers to give any interruption to the carrying of merchandise to the city of London, on pain of severe and exemplary punishment. The city, on their part, deputed two aldermen and four commoners to wait upon the king, with a written address, lamenting the divisions between him and the parliament, assuring him of their steadfast affections, and requesting him to return to the parliament to settle the differences between him and them, but to come without martial attendance. However absurd the latter part of this request was, considering the present posture of the parliament, the king thought he saw in the address

addresses such symptoms of good-will towards him, as, if properly cultivated, might lead to something of importance for his service ; and to prevent the suppression of his answer, which he had good reason to dread, he sent it by one of his own servants. The parliament were alarmed at these mutual advances ; they issued an order to the lord mayor, not to presume to call a common council till he heard further from them. It was some time before the royal messenger, in spite of his most earnest remonstrances, obtained an assembly of the citizens ; and when it was obtained, a committee of lords and commons attended the proceedings. The king's message expressed a singular regard and esteem for the citizens ; considered them as lying, like the king himself, under the oppression of a few desperate men ; stated the impossibility of his entrusting himself to the city till these men were subdued ; and promised, if they were delivered up to him, to return with royal, and not martial attendance ; but renewed his threatenings if any assistance should be given to any party, or body of men, who were in rebellion against him. The earl of Manchester and Mr. Pym spoke in the name of the parliament ; they derided the king's fears and jealousies ; charged him with attempts to sow dissension between the city and parliament ; magnified the insult of his pretending to interfere with the government of the city by demanding their magistrates to be delivered up to him ; and so artfully excited the ancient hatreds, jealousies, and fears of their auditors, that in the end they declared, with loud acclamations, their determination to live and die with the parliament. The king, too, lost no time in seconding these efforts of his enemies ; for finding all his endeavours at conciliation frustrated, he once more lost his temper, and sent a peevish, ineffectual letter to the sheriffs of London, commanding them, what it was not in their power to do, to apprehend the lord mayor, Fulke, Venn, and Manwaring, and threatening with punishment all those who should disobey him ; who should find it, he said, as difficult to escape his vengeance abroad, as they should at home. The sheriffs laid this letter before the parliament. The city took now a decisive part. By order of the common council the city wall was cleared of all sheds and buildings without, its bulwarks were repaired and mounted with artillery, and new works added at the parts most exposed. Parliament confirmed this act of the council, and joined in the plan of fortification of Westminster and Southwark. To defray the expense, eight fifteenths were levied on all the wards in the city, and so much ardour was displayed, that the works were quickly completed. It was not, however, by means of more gentle exactions than those of  
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the king, that the parliament proposed to retain the affections of the city. They were assessed, exclusively of Westminster and the suburbs, to pay a sum not less than 10,000*l.* weekly for the expense of government.

They discovered at this time a machination within their walls which they regarded in the light of a traitorous conspiracy. Sir Nicolas Crispe, and other royalists in the city, conceived a project of rescuing the king's children out of the hands of the parliament, of seizing upon some of the members, and upon the lord mayor of London, of introducing his majesty's troops into the city, of securing the Tower, and thus of managing affairs at pleasure for their master's service. That they might not want authority to sanction their proceedings, they were, by royal commission, appointed a council of war for the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and county of Middlesex; but a servant of one of them gave information of the project; they were apprehended: two of them were executed upon gibbets before their own houses in Holborn and Cornhill; some of them died in prison; and the goods of the rest were confiscated. This abortive design had one effect however; it exasperated still further against one another the king and capital. The next proceeding of the common council was too natural an effect of the general principles which governed their minds to require any new provocation to suggest it. This was an order to their representatives in parliament to apply for leave to destroy the crosses in Cheapside, with all its superstitious ornaments. And that was followed by an order to the sheriffs, which met with no reluctant obedience, to cause the Book of Sports to be burned by the hands of the common hangman in Cheapside. By these multiplied acts of opposition and disrespect, however, the king was at last tired out of his temperate conduct toward the city; and he issued a proclamation which prohibited all trade or intercourse with that or any other place in rebellion against him. This only increased the alacrity of the city. The common council passed an act for raising a loan of 50,000*l.* to be employed in the service of the city, and agreed to move parliament for an ordinance to compel all monied men within the bills of mortality to contribute on this occasion according to their respective abilities.

The successes of the royal army during the summer of 1643, produced very different sentiments in different sets of people in the metropolis. When parliament appeared inclined to propose terms of accommodation, the clergy on the Sunday following exclaimed against all proposals of peace. Bills were fixed up in all parts,  
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calling upon the well-affected to repair as one man to the house of commons next morning, where the malignant party had outvoted the good. A petition to the same purpose was presented by the lord mayor, accompanied by a vast concourse of the citizens. The parliament were awed into hostile resolutions, from which they were probably not very averse; but they recommended to the lord mayor to prevent such riotous applications for the future. The softer sex, however, had already changed their minds, and no sooner was the adherence of parliament to measures of warfare made known than their resentments broke out. They drew up a paper, which they entitled, “The humble petition of many civilly-disposed women, inhabiting “in the cities of London and Westminster, the suburbs and parts adjacent,” praying for the settlement of the nation, and the restoration of trade. They carried it up to the house in a crowd of several thousands of their own sex, where receiving a civil, but as they thought a vague answer, they continued to besiege the doors; their numbers continually augmented; and at last their passion found vent in words. “Peace,” they cried; “Peace! Give us those traitors that are against peace, “that we may tear them to pieces! Give us that dog Pym!” It was not long before, that this same Pym had, at the doors of the house, solicited and obtained the promise of their prayers for assistance to the good cause. It was found necessary to disperse them by force. The trained bands were sent for. They were received with a volley of brick-bats and stones. The trained bands paid but little regard to the sex of their opponents; they fired upon them, killed some, and the rest fled. Women ought to know, that if they renounce the character of their sex, they forfeit the title to the delicate treatment which belongs to it. Vigorous efforts for the assistance of parliament were the consequence of the new resolutions for war. An additional 50,000*l.* was raised from the city companies; and the trained bands are said to have greatly contributed to the favourable turn which the popular cause received toward the end of this campaign. The lord mayor and aldermen in their formalities received Essex upon his return, congratulated him on his success, and thanked him as the protector of their lives and fortunes.

The circumstances are of a very unconnected kind, of which the history of the capital, for a small interval, now consists. We find an armed watch of the city appointed by the common council; this establishment, amounting to the number of 1079, must have been rendered necessary by that turbulence of mind which a period of discord engenders, much more than by any external danger which was to be apprehended.



apprehended. In consequence of an order of the house of commons, that all who acted under their authority should receive the solemn league and covenant, which they had themselves subscribed; no one was admitted to the common council but those who chose to submit to this test of religious principles. A tax on beer, ale, tobacco, and other commodities, which they called an excise, was at this time imposed by parliament; and this was the first introduction of this species of impost into Great Britain. All the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood were commanded to retrench one meal in the week from their usual consumption, and to contribute the value of it for the support of the public cause. The capital was again assailed by a proclamation of the king, forbidding all communication with it. But this did not hinder him from attending to a negotiation concerted by Sir Basil Brooke, colonel Read, and others, to recommence a treaty between his majesty and the city. The business was discovered by the parliament, after a letter had been delivered from Charles, addressed to the well-affected in the city, and directed to be read in the common hall. The managers were taken into custody, and a committee of lords and commons were appointed to lay the clandestine transaction before the common hall. They had by these means the advantage of representing it in colours of their own choosing. The earl of Northumberland, who was the orator, easily persuaded the assembly that it was a popish scheme to disunite the city and the parliament; and they parted such mutual good friends, that both houses of parliament were invited to dine with the corporation at Merchant-taylors hall.

The events of the war occasioned the next incidents which belong to this history. A public thanksgiving was ordered to be observed within the bills of mortality, for the victory gained over the royalists at Cheriton. Parliament omitted not this favourable occasion to press the city for still more animated support. On the very evening of the thanksgiving-day, a common hall was ordered to be summoned, when a committee of lords and commons attended; and all the rhetoric of the earls of Warwick, Essex, and Pembroke, of Sir Henry Vane, Denzil Hollis, and Glyn the recorder, was exhausted to persuade the citizens how much it depended upon their vigorous exertions to bring this distressful war to a happy termination. An address from the city followed some time after, exhorting the parliament to perseverance, in which, though they presented thanks for certain parts of the behaviour of that favourite assembly, they now, for the first time, intimated disapprobation of some other parts. The city was now exposed to rather a greater share of the

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the evils of war than it had hitherto experienced. The navigation of the Thames westward was obstructed by garrisons, and the supply of coals was cut off by the marquis of Newcastle, who had taken possession of the town of that name. To open the commerce of the Thames, two brigades were sent out under colonel Brown: and as a temporary supply of fuel, the parliament, by an ordinance, empowered the corporation to dig turf and peat upon any sequestered lands, and upon all ground, gardens and orchards excepted, belonging to the king, the queen, or any bishop, dean, or chapter. After the unsuccessful negotiations between the king and parliament at Uxbridge, the latter ordered a common council to be summoned, to lay before them the whole particulars of that transaction; and having employed this as a suitable preamble, they made a new application for a loan of 80,000*l.* to defray the expenses of the war. The different contributions of the city of London during the present contests, are computed to have risen in all to more than forty millions sterling; an enormous sum in that age, and without doubt the great cause of the final triumph of the popular party. The poverty and helplessness exhibited by the king, and the whole body of nobility and gentry who were with him, present a striking contrast, and demonstrate but too visibly, how much the reduction of war in modern times to a contest of purses, must, in all cases of disturbance, leave the ancient aristocracy at the mercy of the newly rich.

The business of religion, as soon as the appearance of success to their party gave a momentary respite to their political passions, again engaged the attention of the city. The clergy presented a petition to parliament, complaining of the confused state of religion. The liturgy had been abolished, new articles of belief had been framed, and a directory for worship appointed; but no restriction having been laid upon the liberty of preaching and praying, a multitude of persons, without any previous authority, or suitable education, daily harangued, and carried away the people; and a variety of new opinions and sectaries had sprung up. The clergy received the thanks of the house; a committee of twenty-three ministers was appointed *pro tempore*, any seven of which were empowered to ordain ministers; and any person presuming to exercise the ministerial functions in the city without their ordination was subjected to punishment.

These subjects awakened the remembrance of poor Laud, who had lain neglected in the Tower since the beginning of the national disturbances. He was now advanced to the last stage of life, and nothing but the pleasure of revenge could



have dictated the cutting off a few miserable days from the end of his existence. That he was a zealot, and weak enough to be a zealot for superstitious ceremonies, and that he was a man of an arbitrary temper of mind, is not to be disputed; but that he was a man of sincerity, piety, and virtue, is equally certain, and neither a papist, nor guilty of any crime deserving death. He had several times shewn himself apprehensive of a violent death. But he behaved with perfect dignity and self-command through every stage of his present trying situation. *No one*, said he, *can be more willing to send me out of life, than I am desirous to go.* When upon the scaffold, his dying reflections were interrupted by Sir John Clotworthy, who harassed him with interrogations respecting his religious belief, and thought he had obtained great cause of triumph against him, when he extorted from him a confession, that he expected to go to heaven because his life had been virtuous and good, and did not say that he trusted for his salvation entirely to the merits of the Redeemer. A living memorial of this ill-fated prelate remained so long behind him as to deserve to find a place in this history. A tortoise introduced by him into the garden of the metropolitan palace at Lambeth, lived till the year 1753, the time of archbishop Herring, and might have lived much longer if it had not been killed by the negligence of the gardener. It is said that he left another at Fulham when he quitted the see of London, which died a natural death some time between the years 1760 and 1770.

An important object next occupied the attention of the city; it was no less an event than the victory at Naseby, which entirely ruined the king's affairs, and put an end to the civil war. On the 19th of June 1645, both houses of parliament attended a thanksgiving sermon at Christ-church, in Newgate-street, in commemoration of this great event. After sermon, they dined with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council at Grocers' hall; and they terminated the festivity in a manner which would probably appear somewhat strange at present to the two houses of parliament—after dinner they sung together the 49th psalm, and then separated. The parliament, however, quickly gave the city something else to do beside rejoicing. Alarmed at the number of royalists who flocked to London after the dispersion of the king's army, and afraid lest the king himself should repair thither, they issued ordinances addressed to the citizens for the punishment of delinquents, and for securing the person of the king if he should take the resolution of repairing to the capital. He wrote, however, a letter to the city after he had joined the Scottish army, in

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which he promised compliance with the parliaments of both kingdoms in every thing for the settlement of truth and peace. The parliament had still need of the city in the usual important point. They solicited a fresh loan of 30,000*l.* to enable them to pay arrears due to the Scottish army ; and the corporation received the thanks of both houses for their ready compliance with this request.

Religious dissensions, not less violent than the political which had so severely harassed the kingdom, began to shew their effects, and in a short time seemed to engross all the faculties of the citizens of London. Symptoms of this disorder had appeared at various times previous to the period of which we are now speaking ; and applications had more than once been made to parliament to apply a remedy. The persons who had effected the late changes in the constitution of the country, and those who bore all authority in the city, were presbyterians, as indeed the great body of the people also were at the time when the national commotions began. But during the late disturbances, while the liturgy and forms of the church of England were abolished, and no other articles and forms had been established with such solemnity and care as to command general veneration, every man appeared to be left to procure religious instruction and consolation to himself, or afford it to his neighbours, in whatever way he best could. Among the meanest of the people there are not wanting persons endowed with a vanity and presumption which makes them look upon themselves as almost arrived at the summit of human perfection. There is no way by which a man who has neither knowledge nor any eminent quality, can so easily persuade himself into this agreeable belief, as by adopting a zeal for religion, which is easily done ; and in the way of thinking usual with such persons, religion is so supereminent an object, that, where it is present, its lustre obscures every other virtue, and supersedes its necessity. During the unsettled state of religion, when the people were not summoned by any imposing authority or appearances to attend the instructions of a regular clergy, the men of the description stated above, found an irresistible temptation to exhibit their gifts and accomplishments to their fellow-citizens. They were listened to. The presumption which actuates men to one foolish effort generally carries them on to another. The same persons quickly began to conceive, that if they could teach religion better than others, they might improve it too. Abundance of innovations were the speedy effect of this imagination. After this manner, independentism, quakerism, and a multitude of other systems and sects had sprung up in the nation. Seeds of them had  
indeed



indeed been sown earlier, but they grew up to maturity during the present age ; and from no other purveyors would almost all the lower orders of the people, and some even of better situation, now receive their spiritual food. The prevalence of this disposition gave great uneasiness to the presbyterian leaders, and no sooner were they freed from the terrors of the king's arms, than a petition was presented from the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, to the house of lords, for a speedy settlement of church government according to the covenant. Parliament readily embraced the resolution, and by ordinance established the presbyterian model. Under the influence of the same sentiments the corporation of London, soon afterwards, presented a long remonstrance to the parliament, containing, indeed, some allegations of political grievances, but chiefly complaining of the swarm of sectaries who filled every place, and who, if they should get into situations of honour and trust, might disturb the public peace both in the church and the commonwealth. The lords returned thanks for this testimony of good affection. But in the house of commons the independents, though certainly far from being as yet the most numerous party, had influence enough to prevent a very gracious reception of the application. They had influence further, to procure a vote of thanks to several thousand independents, who signed in the city a counter-petition, praying parliament to manage the affairs of the nation according to their own wisdom, and never to suffer any one to dictate to them in this honourable occupation. Two additional loans of 200,000*l.* each were raised in the city.

The proceedings of their own victorious army began now to be no less formidable to the parliament and the city than the operations of their enemies had ever been. The intention of the parliament upon the entire reduction of the king's forces, had been, to disband part of the army, and to send part of it to Ireland. Almost the whole of the army, both officers and soldiers, being drawn from the lowest conditions in life, viewed with some reluctance the necessity of quitting their present situation, and of returning to their former obscure and mean occupations ; and to depart to so barbarous and unsettled a country as Ireland, appeared equally disagreeable. The arrears due to them by the parliament afforded them a pretext for keeping together ; and they made demands for such rewards and securities as they thought they had merited. The parliament proceeded with heat to chastise this contempt, as they construed it, of their authority. This gave occasion to the army to murmur and complain. Parliament pressed their measures. This created a systematic conse-

deracy in the army to oppose them ; and they advanced toward the city to urge with greater effect their pretensions. The city and parliament were thrown into the most violent alarm. One petition, and then another, was presented from the citizens to the parliament, professing their unalterable attachment to that assembly, and requesting that the army might be speedily disbanded, and the kingdom settled. A committee of both houses of parliament was appointed to deliberate with the committee of the London militia on the arming of all the citizens for the safety of the parliament and of the city. The army had advanced to Royston, and hearing of these proceedings of the city, a letter, signed by Fairfax, Cromwell, and others, was sent to the lord mayor, &c. of London, complaining of the hardship of being deprived, because they were soldiers, of the right of claiming an interest in the privileges for which they had taken up arms ; insisting upon seeing a settlement of the kingdom before they were disbanded ; and concluding with a menace, if the city should think of opposing them by force. While the city and parliament were deliberating on this letter, and had sent orders to the army not to advance within twenty-five miles of the city, they were informed that it was approaching, and that the horse would be in town before noon the next day. The highest consternation was excited ; the shops were ordered to be shut, and the trained bands to be armed. Immediately, however, they repented of these vigorous measures ; the orders were revoked, and only a sneaking letter was sent, with eight commissioners, who were empowered to treat about a right understanding between the city and army. The army required that no forces should be raised in the city. The city agreed ; and undertook to move the parliament for the better payment of the army. Thoroughly afraid of the army, the citizens turned their resentments against parliament for the humiliating situation in which the city was placed ; accused them of arbitrary proceedings, of embezzling the public money, and prayed that such a settlement of affairs might be made as would secure the people from all unlawful and arbitrary power in future, and restore his majesty to his just rights and authority according to the covenant.

The governors of the city, the house of lords, and a great majority of the house of commons concurred in the same views ; which were the establishment of presbytery in the church, and the restoration of the king to a limited authority in the state. The army, however, who were almost entirely independents, and a great proportion of the lower order of the citizens, wanted the rejection of all forms in religion,



religions, and the establishment of a republic as the mode of government. As a mean to prevent the loss of the former ends, the parliament issued an ordinance for choosing a new committee of militia for the city, and the magistrates took care that presbyterians only should be elected. On this, general Fairfax sent a letter to the city, commanding the militia to be restored into the hands out of which it was taken. The corporation shewed no disposition to comply; but the parliament was intimidated, and procured a reversal of the appointments. The presbyterians were enraged; all the officers and soldiers of the trained bands and auxiliaries, sea-commanders, seamen and watermen, young men and apprentices, entered into a solemn engagement to endeavour that his majesty should come up to the parliament with honour, safety, and freedom, to defend his person and authority, the privileges of parliament, and the liberty of the subject. The general wrote to the parliament to put a stop to such combinations. They were again awed into submission, and even proceeded so far as to declare all who should subscribe the offensive engagement guilty of high treason. Its partisans became only the more outrageous. Two petitions were presented to the lord mayor and common council, to procure the re-establishment of the militia. They applied in consequence to the parliament; the young men petitioned along with them; proceeded to the house; and holding the doors open, stood with their hats on, crying, *Vote, vote, agree, dispatch, we'll wait no longer*. Some of them getting up to the windows of the house of lords, even threw in stones upon them, with many threats. It was now time for the leaders of the army to strike their blow. A severe letter was dispatched by Fairfax to the city, and the army were just ready to follow it, when the only thing which was wanting, a fair pretext, most opportunely presented itself. The speakers of both houses of parliament, with several of the members, as if afraid any longer to attend their duty in the city, repaired to the army for protection; and the army marched with infinite alacrity to restore liberty to the parliament, and to punish delinquents. Though the parliament chose new speakers, and passed several spirited resolutions; and though several measures were taken by the city for defence, when the army approached, no resource seemed to be left but submission. When intelligence arrived that the army had halted or was retreating, the cry of *All to arms!* resounded from street to street; but when it was reported that they were advancing, *Treat and capitulate* were the only words which were heard. The borough of Southwark made a separate application to the general, and received a brigade into the town. The lord mayor and

aldermen

aldermen met him at Hyde-park, and the common council at Charing-cross; and 20,000 troops marched in triumph through the city.

The army did not proceed immediately to any acts of violence. When the demand indeed of a loan of 50,000*l.* was not complied with, some severities were employed; the city fortifications were demolished; the lord mayor and four aldermen were impeached on pretext of the late riots, and committed to the Tower; and a thousand men were threatened to be quartered in the city, to enforce the levying of that pecuniary aid. This measure was, however, deferred. In the mean time the contests between the different parties in the city ran higher than ever. The army leaders improved every occasion to throw power into the hands of their friends, and to depress and weaken their adversaries; and they lay patiently in wait to seize the important moment, when they could with least disturbance set themselves at the head of affairs. The city repeatedly petitioned for a personal treaty between the king and both houses, consistent with his majesty's honour and the safety of parliament. Perfect care was taken to keep difficulties in the way, which no proposal of the city, and they made many, was able to remove. Several loans in the mean time were demanded; and at last, for fear of military execution, which they no longer saw any means of avoiding, they complied. In spite of all obstacles, a treaty was, however, at last opened between the king and the parliament. But the council of general affairs had already attained boldness to declare their sentiments; they sent a remonstrance to parliament, and demanded that the king should be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all the blood which had been spilt. To reinforce this declaration, they seized king's person, and conveyed him first to Hurst, and thence to the army at Windsor. The parliament, notwithstanding, proceeded in the consideration of the treaty; and after a debate of three days, the house of commons resolved, by a majority of 129 against 83, that the concessions of the king were a foundation upon which to proceed to a settlement of the kingdom. A memorable occurrence interrupted their deliberations. Next morning, when the members returned to the house, they found it surrounded by two regiments, and colonel Pride at the door, who arrested all of them as they approached, except the determined independents; and these, to the number of fifty or sixty, were alone permitted to enter the house. This clearing the house of all who were not of the party which the army approved, was called Pride's purge; and it was an effectual way of procuring resolutions suitable to their desires.



To negotiate a treaty with the king was no part of the design of this new-modelled assembly. A committee of the house was immediately appointed to frame a charge against him; and on their report a vote was passed, declaring it high treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. The city trained bands were not considered as the fittest protectors of these proceedings; they were accordingly dismissed from their attendance; and a regiment of horse and another of foot appointed to guard the house of commons. The money too, demanded from the city by the army not being yet paid, two regiments of foot with some troops of horse were sent to quarter in the city, and by the general's orders marched to seize the treasure in weavers', haberdashers', and goldsmiths' halls, from the first of which they carried off 20,000*l.*; and an additional troop of horse was next day quartered in the city to awe them from any resentment of these transactions.

It was necessary for the new masters of affairs to have a convenient magistracy of the city, as well as a convenient house of commons. Accordingly that house passed an ordinance to incapacitate all those citizens who had subscribed the petition for a treaty with the king and for bringing him to London, from being elected lord mayor, aldermen, or common councilmen of the city. The army leaders now proceeded with confidence and security to finish their operations. The king's trial was announced by proclamation in Cheapside, and all persons invited to bring accusations against him. All papists, delinquents, and disaffected persons were commanded to depart from London and within ten miles of it, within twenty-four hours, and not to return for the space of one month. The new-formed common council answered the intention for which it was created, and petitioned the house of commons to bring the monarch to justice. For this they received the thanks of the house, and were desired to enter this petition on the books among the other acts of the common council. It is to be observed, however, that Sir Abraham Reynardson the lord mayor, several of the aldermen, the common serjeant, and the town clerk, left the court rather than have any share in such extraordinary proceedings.

It is sufficient for this history to say, that the unfortunate Charles was condemned and executed. The street before his own palace of Whitehall was the place chosen for the unusual scene; and in a small bedchamber, to which he was conducted early on the morning of execution, were the monarch's ears every moment solicited by the sounds of the workmen erecting the scaffold on which he was to resign his existence. His serenity and composure were complete from the beginning of these trials

to the termination of that signal one which closes the mortal scene. From the roof of Wallingford-house, where the admiralty now stands, the celebrated Usher archbishop of Armagh was prevailed upon to take a last look of his departing sovereign. He swooned away at the sight, and was carried to his apartment in the arms of his attendants. No single event in the history of any nation ever produced a more profound and durable impression on the minds of the people, than the execution of this monarch did upon the people of England. The tide of their affections turned instantly both toward the high office and the religion of their injured sovereign, and that melancholy tragedy was perhaps the only event which could have restored episcopacy in England.

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#### SECTION IX.

*The History of London, from the Dissolution of Monarchy, A. D. 1649, to the Great Fire, A. D. 1666.*

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#### THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE inhabitants of the capital, as well as of the country, were left in a strange state of consternation, discordance, and irresolution, upon the death of their monarch, and the subversion of their constitution. The growth of the sect of the independents received an effectual check from the horror which all men conceived at the unprincipled ambition of their leaders. The number of royalists and episcopalians was greatly increased by the tender interest which the fate of the late king had universally diffused; and the presbyterians were still more confirmed in their antipathy to the principles of the other sectaries, as well respecting government as religion. The most important differences subsisted even among these sectaries themselves; and while some only desired to observe no rules in the forms of their devotions, and to obey none but their equals in a republican government, others proposed to reject all rules of morality, and to submit to no species of government; which they said, were mean, sublunary restraints, entirely unworthy of that glorious liberty, to which the saints, by the grace of God, had the honour to be exalted. An army of 50,000 men kept all these discordant sentiments in subjection. But this did not prevent a  
strong



strong and unremitted fermentation in secret. Nay, the army itself, which had been worked up to such excesses of enthusiasm, was in imminent danger of these extravagant principles; and a mutiny even broke out, which occasioned some difficulty to quell.

The opposition of the lord mayor, who had withheld his sanction from the petition of the common council for the prosecution of the king, and who now refused his obedience to the order of the house of commons for proclaiming the abolition of monarchy, and the erection of a commonwealth, occasioned but little obstruction or uneasiness. He was degraded from his office, fined 2000*l.*, and committed to the Tower for two months. The disturbances, however, which prevailed in Ireland and Scotland required vigorous measures for their suppression. The lieutenancy of Ireland was bestowed upon Cromwell; a loan of 120,000*l.* was raised in the city for the expense of the expedition; and it was only necessary to settle the disturbances among the troops, arising from the new licentious doctrines, before he embarked on this commission. The accommodation of this alarming affair was accounted of so much importance as to require a solemn thanksgiving; and the house of commons accepted an invitation to dine with the corporation of London at Grocers' hall on the day of that solemnity. After hearing two sermons at Christ-church, in Newgate-street, they walked in procession, accompanied by the general officers, and council of state, with their proper attendants, to the hall, without any music except drums and trumpets; and they furnished a strong proof of their consciousness of the general disaffection which attended them, by requiring all the cooks to be sworn that they would offer them nothing but wholesome food. Various civilities passed between the city and the political leaders at this time. On the day after the festival the house of commons returned thanks to the mayor and common council for their generous entertainment. On the other side, a deputation of the common council waited on Fairfax, and presented him with a basin and ewer of massy gold. This was the second present of this sort which that general had received from the city since his troops were in possession of it. To lieutenant-general Cromwell also, three hundred pounds worth of plate, and a purse containing 200 pieces of gold, were presented. Again, the parliament made the citizens a present of Richmond-park, with several houses, and 1000*l.* in money for the city poor: and the lord mayor and common council, in an address of thanks, declared their resolution of standing by the parliament with their lives and fortunes on all emergencies.

Two particulars, of a different nature from the usual occurrences of this period, come now to be mentioned. A ship-chandler, opposite Barking-church, in Tower-street, was barrelling up some gunpowder, when it took fire, twenty-seven barrels in all, and by the explosion destroyed about sixty houses with all their inhabitants. Unfortunately a parish feast happened to be celebrating at the Rose-tavern, but two doors distant, at that very time, and greatly increased the extent of the massacre. When the ruins of this house were removed from the sufferers, two were found in an attitude which attracted no little attention. The mistress of the tavern appeared sitting upright in the bar, and a waiter standing without, with a pot in his hand, suffocated, but free from any external injury by reason of the accidental position in which the timber had fallen. Nor was this the only extraordinary circumstance attending this fatal accident; a cradle, with a female infant in it, was blown upon the leads of Barking-church, from which they were taken down next day unhurt; and as it was impossible to discover to whom the child belonged, she was taken charge of by a charitable person. The next unusual occurrence which we have to relate, is a regulation of police introduced by parliament. To remedy the inconveniencies, they said, which arose from the interest of money being higher in England than in places abroad, and to raise the price of land, they reduced the rate of legal interest from 8 to 6 per cent. It is curious to know, that notwithstanding the expense and interruption of industry occasioned by the late disturbances, the wealth of the country was still so great as to render such an alteration practicable.

Cromwell returned from the reduction and settlement of Ireland and Scotland, and found the parliament employed in attempts to reduce the power of the army. The army had still arrears for which to remonstrate; and they required a new parliament to be summoned. The parliament, on the other hand, came to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, and took up the design of supplying the vacancies by new elections. Then Cromwell in a rage hastened to the house with a party of soldiers, loaded the members with abuse, seized upon the mace, turned the members out of the apartment, and locked the door with his own hands. Such was the memorable termination of the long parliament. Astonishment, however, was not the only effect of this transaction upon the city. Many of the aldermen and citizens addressed Cromwell for a restitution of the parliament; but a counter-address was procured from other citizens. Cromwell summoned a new parliament, the members of which were of his own choosing. But even they not pleasing him long, he dissolved them too by a file of musketeers; and by the appointment of a council of officers invested



invested himself with the sovereign power, under the title of Lord Protector, and with great pomp was installed in that high office. Part of this solemnity consisted in swearing to an instrument of government drawn up by his council, or as we, according to the modern term, should entitle it, a constitution, which, even after all the improvements we have made in political views, deserves to be called a free and wise constitution. The lord mayor and other magistrates invited him to dine with the corporation immediately after his installation, and waited upon him with regal honours; and he in an elegant manner entertained the magistrates in return.

Though Cromwell did not enjoy his usurped authority altogether undisturbed, yet so vigorous and wise was his administration, as either to conciliate or overawe the minds of most men both at home and abroad. The history of the capital furnishes one instance of his spirited conduct in regard to foreigners. A Portuguese ambassador was in London to negotiate a treaty with Cromwell. His brother don Pantaleon Sa, who was joined in commission with him, having received from somebody what he conceived to be an insult, came upon Change with his master of horse and other armed attendants, and assassinated a gentleman, who was not the person from whom he had received the offence. The mob assembling threatened to burn the ambassador's house. Cromwell sent a guard and seized the criminals, in spite of the ambassador's plea of privilege. They were brought to trial and condemned, regardless of the chance of interrupting the treaty, and don Pantaleon and his master of horse were executed on the very day on which the ambassador left the kingdom.

A few facts belonging to the history of London, of a more agreeable nature than political or religious dissensions, are found during the protector's domination. One of his parliaments passed an act for the regulation of hackney coaches, limiting the number to 300, committing the government of them to the court of aldermen, and imposing a duty of 20s. a year on each coach toward the expense of regulating them. We have a curious document respecting an important article of the consumption of the capital, a treatise on the coal trade published at this time. In it, we are informed that the usual price of coals was 20s. a chaldron; that there were 320 keels or lighters employed at Newcastle, each of which carried 800 chaldron of Newcastle, or 1276 chaldron of London measure. A duty of one shilling a chaldron was at this time laid on coals in London, but the protector granted a licence to the corporation to import 4000 chaldron yearly, duty free, for the use of the poorer citizens. One measure adopted by the protector implies a more liberal way

of thinking than was to be expected from him. He granted a permission to the Jews to settle again in England, 365 years after their expulsion by Edward I. But he fell into the mistake which the kings both before and after him committed, of endeavouring to restrain the increasing size of the metropolis by penalties. A fine of one year's rent was imposed on all houses and edifices erected on new foundations in the suburbs, or within ten miles of the walls of London since the year 1620, unless they had four acres of freehold land annexed to them. Another penalty, which at any rate was less unjust, because exacted on subsequent offences, was laid on future erections contrary to this condition; they were to pay 100*l*. All houses were further ordered to be built of brick or stone, upright, and without projecting the upper stories into the street. Some exceptions were indeed admitted in favour of new buildings then carrying on, and in favour of all buildings below London bridge within two furlongs of the Thames, belonging to mariners and ship-builders. By the regulations in this act, we find that Clare-market was just then built in the fields called Clement's-inn-fields, and it was declared to be a free market every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

The protector thinking it imprudent to urge the scheme projected for making him king, had declined the offer tendered him by parliament; but he thought that he might now obtain a more respectable authority for his protectorship than the appointment of a council of officers. The instrument of government framed by that council was set aside by an act of parliament; an Humble Petition and Advice was drawn up instead of it, and by the parliament offered to the protector. This deed was a new constitution, solemnly confirming the authority of the protector, enlarging his power in some instances, and confining it in others; and though far from being a perfect model of government, it is a better aim at the just medium between despotism and anarchy than had probably at that time been made in any other part of modern Europe. Cromwell, not contented with the substantial act, wanted the external shew also. He was accordingly inaugurated anew in Westminster-hall, in the most pompous manner. The lord mayor and aldermen of London attended, with the judges; Sir Thomas Widdrington, speaker of the house of commons, administered the oath, and presented him with a sword, a sceptre, and a bible: the earl of Warwick carried the sword of state, and stood at the right side of the chair; and the lord mayor, carrying the sword of the city, stood on the left. All this, however, created not peace in the mind of the protector; discontents prevailed



prevailed in the nation; and fears and suspicions so harassed his thoughts, that they undermined his constitution, and brought on a lingering disease, which terminated his existence. The body lay in funeral state in Somerset-house from the 3d of September until the 1st of November, when it was conveyed to Westminster-abbey with regal pomp, the lord mayor and principal citizens assisting at the obsequies.

The discontents of the nation, and the cabals and opposition of the military officers, soon induced the peaceable Richard to resign the protectorship. The council of officers were then the governors of the kingdom, and, to give some shadow of civil authority to their administration, they agreed to revive the long parliament, under pretence that it had been illegally dissolved. Fear of the attempts of the royalists created motions to secure the attachment of the city, and the magistrates were called before the council of state, and exhorted. Some partisans of the army proposed in parliament to pass an order for continuing Ireton, the lord mayor of the city, a man very much in the same interest, another year in his office. But the city petitioning for leave to elect their mayor, with strong protestations of attachment to the parliament, that motion was set aside, and Sir Thomas Allen was chosen, who entertained with great splendour in Grocers' hall, the parliament, council of state, and officers of the army.

Monk now began to make his appearance. This man had been left with the army in Scotland to finish the settlement of affairs in that country. When the council of officers, thinking they had no further occasion for the rump parliament (so was that remainder of the long parliament, which they had lately assembled called), dismissed it with the same facility with which they had collected it; Monk protested against this violence, and marched toward London. The committee of safety (this was the new name which the council of officers had assumed) sent a deputation to the city, to prejudice them against Monk, and secure their favour to themselves. The magistrates acted with reserve; but the apprentices formed tumultuous assemblies, and called for a free parliament. Colonel Hewetson marching into the city with a regiment of foot to quell these disturbances, was insulted and fired at from the windows and tops of the houses; which treatment he returned, and killed some of the rioters; and the citizens, highly inflamed, exclaimed that the army was now kept only to murder them. Discontents multiplied; military severities were daily committed; the common council voted the city to be in danger: they sent a remonstrance

remonſtrance to the officers, deſired that the peace of the city might be left to them, and demanded a free parliament to be called forthwith. Overtures of accommodation were made by the committee, whoſe ſituation began to be ſomewhat uneaſy. Some of the regiments revolted, declaring likewise for a free parliament; and the want of money preſſed the committee ſeverely. Lenthal the ſpeaker was again invited to take his ſeat, and the members of parliament to aſſemble; but when they applied to the city for a ſupply, they received an abſolute denial, and were told that the city would ſubmit to no impoſition except laid by a free and lawful parliament; and all the citizens were agitated with hopes and ſchemes for a ſpeedy alteration of affairs.

General Monk had now arrived; and the committee reſolved to loſe no time in making experiment of their own authority, and of his obedience. He received orders to march into the city, to ſeize twelve perſons the moſt obnoxious to the parliament, to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets, and to unhinge and break down the portcullifes and gates of the city; and mighty was the conſternation of the citizens when they ſaw him, in ſpite of all remonſtrances, prepare to execute theſe orders. Before he had altogether finiſhed this execution, he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker from Guildhall, complaining of ſome difficulties which lay in his way, ſtating that the mayor and citizens had promiſed obedience to the parliament in time to come, and requeſting a reſpite of the execution of what remained of his orders. The parliament ſent an answer demanding full execution, and containing a reſolution that the preſent election of a common council be diſcontinued, and that a bill be prepared to preſcribe the qualifications for a common councilman which parliament ſhall think fit. Monk yielded ſmall obedience to theſe ſecond orders. He began to diſcover attempts in the parliament to reduce his power. He complained to them of being employed on ſuch odious ſervices; reproached them with their cabals; required them to iſſue writs within a week for filling up the houſe, and to fix a time for their diſſolution, and for aſſembling a new parliament. He again marched into the city with his army; deſired the mayor to call a common council; apologized to the city for his late ſeverities, which the neceſſity, he ſaid, of his ſituation had reluctantly impoſed upon him; communicated to them the remonſtrances he had ſent to parliament; and propoſed a mutual engagement between the city and army for the ſettlement of the commonwealth. The joy of the citizens on the news of this alliance was exceſſive. Ringing of bells, illumina-

tions,



nations, bonfires, universal acclamations were among the testimonies which they employed of this sentiment ; and their contempt of the parliament was expressed by roasting rumps of animals, or pieces of flesh cut into that shape, on gibbets, in every quarter of the city. The parliament sent a committee to treat with the general, and even to offer him the supreme authority ; but he refused so much as to hear their propofals, till the excluded members of their house were restored to their seats. These appearing a great majority, the presbyterian interest prevailed, and the late acts of rigour against the city were reversed. The city returned thanks ; chose Monk major-general of all their forces ; and advanced 60,000*l.* for the support of the fleet and army. Numerous entertainments were given by the city companies at their halls to the general, his officers, and the council of state ; at one of which a person was after dinner introduced, and in a poetic strain addressed the general for the restoration of the king.

The long parliament was at last, by their own act, dissolved. The presbyterians and loyalists united in one view ; and members favourable to the restoration of monarchy were every where returned to the new parliament. Matters being now ripe, letters from Charles were sent to Monk, to the city, and to the parliament. Even yet did not Monk lay aside his native caution and reserve. The city and parliament received the letters addressed to them with every testimony of satisfaction and joy. The city presented the messengers with 300*l.* ; they deputed fourteen of their body to carry to his majesty assurances, of their fidelity and cheerful submission ; they voted a surrender to the king of Richmond-park. The peers returned to the house of parliament and took their seats ; and the whole nation, forgetting every thing for which they had been contending, every despotic prerogative which they had abolished, without stipulation or condition received Charles as their absolute sovereign.

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## CHARLES II.

CHARLES was immediately proclaimed ; and deputies from the city sent to meet him at the Hague, and to present him with 10,000*l.* in the name of the city. They were joyful messengers to the exiled prince, and no man knew better how to offer gracefully compliments and thanks. He told them that he had ever borne a particular affection to London, the place of his birth, and that one of the  
circumstances

circumstances attending his restoration which gratified him the most was the share which the city had assumed in it.

The violent agitations in which men's minds had been kept during several preceding years, prepared them to meet their sovereign on his first return, with wonderful curiosity and eagerness. Not the capital only, but the whole nation, seemed to be gathered out to obtain the gratification of a sight of him. He was met in St. George's-fields, Southwark, by the lord mayor and aldermen; the former of whom delivering to his majesty the city sword, had the same returned to him with the honour of knighthood. In a magnificent tent which the city had erected in those fields, he was invited to partake of a collation: whence he proceeded in pompous array into the city, the streets lined with the city corporation and trained bands, the conduits running with wine, the houses streaming with the richest silks and tapestries, and covered with innumerable spectators. The multitude of gentlemen disposed into troops, accompanied with their footmen in the richest liveries, and magnificently mounted; the city companies, all the officers of the city and of the kingdom with their official ornaments and attendants, followed by the king between his royal brothers, and by several regiments of horse, were acknowledged by all present, both natives and foreigners, to have formed the most splendid procession which they had ever witnessed. In an equal style of magnificence was an entertainment prepared by the city in honour of the solemn occasion; of which his majesty, the princes his brothers, the great officers of state, and both houses of parliament, partook a few days after in Guildhall. The day, however, preceding that of the coronation, on which his majesty, according to ancient custom, rode from the Tower of London through the city to Westminster, was the noblest and most splendid of all. Beside a cavalcade still more magnificent than that which had adorned his entrance into London, every contrivance was adopted by the citizens to embellish both their houses and their persons, and they erected four rich and costly triumphal arches to grace still further the illustrious occasion. The first was erected in Leadenhall-street, of the Doric order, representing his majesty's happy arrival in England. The second, erected in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, was a naval representation. The third was of the Corinthian and composite orders, represented Concord, and was erected in Cheapside, near Wood-street-end; and the fourth, which was erected in Fleet-street, consisted of the Doric and Ionic orders, and represented Plenty. Another particular of the exhibition of the day

must



must by no means be omitted: the ministers of London, who likewise attended his majesty with acclamations, presented to him, by the hands of Mr. Arthur Jackson, a Bible, richly adorned, which the king assured them, as he received it, should be the rule of his actions.

At this time the citizens of London, however, were not left entirely to triumphal shews. They were severely pressed with a dearth of provisions; wheat sold at 3*l*. 10*s*. the quarter. A very unusual phenomenon of nature too, roused their curiosity and astonishment. The waters of the Thames ebbed and flowed three times within the space of seven hours, and were thrown into the most violent agitation. But an insurrection by a band of religionists in the city, occasioned the most tumultuous sensations, and is one of the most extraordinary incidents in the history of our nation. Among the other notions engendered by the religious spirit of the times, one was, that Jesus Christ was about to appear again upon earth, and assume the personal government of the world. As this must be preceded by the overthrow of all other dominions and authorities, the votaries of that persuasion thought themselves called upon to contribute to the desirable event, by endeavours to effect the requisite state of preparation; and for some disorderly proceedings, a few of them in London had been put in confinement. This served only to inflame still higher the enthusiastic transports of the rest. They sallied out in number about sixty, well armed, firmly persuaded, “that no weapons formed against them should prosper, nor a hair of their heads be touched; and that one of them should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.” In their declaration they proclaimed, “That they would never sheath their swords till Babylon (so they denominated monarchy) became an hissing and a curse; and there be left neither remnant, son, nor nephew; that when they had led captivity captive in England, they would go into France, Spain, Germany, &c. and rather die than take the wicked oaths of supremacy and allegiance: that they would not make any league with monarchists, but would rise up against the carnal to possess the gate (that is, the world); to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron.” From Swan-alley in Coleman-street, which was the place of their meeting, they marched, under the direction of their preacher, one Venner, a cooper, into St. Paul’s churchyard. An unhappy man whom they here questioned whom he was for, answering, For God and king Charles, they killed him on the spot. Every one fled before them. They attacked with fury a party of the trained bands whom the

lord mayor brought to suppress the disturbance, and quickly routed them. Then they paraded the streets through the whole extent nearly of the capital; but hearing of a party of horse which had been sent against them, they retreated as far as Birchin-lane, where, meeting with opposition, they killed a headborough. They marched for security during the night to Caen-wood, near Hampstead. From this they were next day dislodged by a party of horse, and some of their number taken and committed to the Gate-house, Westminster. The day after, however, they again rallied, and advancing to the city, and dividing themselves into two parties, the one marched towards Leadenhall, whither they were pursued by the trained bands, and after an obstinate resistance dispersed; while the other, under Venner the preacher, took its direction towards Haberdashers' hall in Maiden-lane, with intention to surprise the lord mayor. They missed him, and passed into Wood-street, where a desperate battle ensued. They attacked with irresistible fury, and successfully repelled the trained bands and horse guards, till Venner was dangerously wounded and taken, and two more of their preachers and fiercest combatants were slain. After this they retreated towards Cripplegate, but in good order, the rear firing upon the troops in pursuit; and ten of them who posted themselves in a house to obstruct the advancement of the enemy, defended it with desperate bravery, till the roof being untiled, and seven of the ten shot from above, men entered and seized the remainder by force. Eleven of these deluded creatures were afterwards put to death by the executioner, and they persisted to the last in affirming, that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord who had deceived them.

Tranquillity being restored to the nation, we are supplied with a few of the deeds of peace to relate in the history of the capital. A statute was passed respecting the reparation of the streets of London. In consideration of the extraordinary wearing of the pavement by the hackney coaches, which it states as now amounting to 400, it imposes on them a duty of 5*l.* a year, one of 6*d.* on every load of hay, and one of 2*d.* on every load of straw. It empowered the city to enlarge the passages into Stock's-market; that from Fleet-conduit into St. Paul's-churchyard; the passage and gateway out of Cheapside into St. Paul's-churchyard; the passage at St. Dunstan's-church, Fleet-street; that from Cheapside into Bucklersbury; the passage at Temple-bar; and several more in the out-parts of the town. And it directed to be paved the following ways, for none of them yet were streets:—the road from Petty-France to St. James's-palace, that which afterwards became St. James's-street, Pall-mall,





*S. Dwyer del.*

*Angell sculp.*

VIEW of ST JAMES'S PALACE.

*Published March 21<sup>st</sup> 1799, by T. Stockdale, Piccadilly.*





Pall-mall, and Hedge-lane. The king gratified the city by restoring to them their right in the Irish estates, of which they had been deprived by a decree of the Star-chamber in the reign of his father. These estates had been originally bestowed upon the city by James I. Great part of the county of Ulster having been depopulated in the time of Elizabeth, by the suppression of repeated insurrections, it was deemed an important measure to repeople it with protestants, and no mean was so effectual for the end proposed, as to bestow the property and jurisdiction of the unoccupied territory upon the city of London. The town of Derry received the name of Londonderry; and a society was incorporated for the management of this new possession. All by-laws made by the corporation of Londonderry must be confirmed by the society; and they have the right of presentation to the churches of Londonderry and Colerain. As another acknowledgment of the services and good affections of London, Charles granted a fresh confirmation of all the charters and privileges of the city.

The admirer of the commerce of the British capital is pleased to discover the reluctance with which the citizens of London have ever been made to intermit that important pursuit, and the eagerness with which they revert to it as soon as every obstacle is removed. Bold schemes of this nature must have been formed by the lord mayor and council, when in the second year of this reign they petitioned parliament for the erection of four new exclusive companies, one for the trade to France, another for that to Italy, one for the trade to Spain, and one for that to Portugal. They petitioned likewise, and were joined by other merchants, that the exclusive companies already incorporated, those for the trade to the Levant, to Eastland, Russia, and the East Indies, might be further privileged and confirmed by parliament. The reason advanced for these requested regulations, was to confine the trade of the kingdom to natives, and exclude aliens. This parliament rejected these selfish and unpatriotic applications, and in this, acted more wisely than some others which have succeeded it, and which seem not to have known, that by excluding foreigners from the trade of the nation, they only compelled the inhabitants to buy dearer than otherwise they would have done, and by confining any part of that trade to a particular body of the inhabitants, they allowed that body an unjust and pernicious monopoly against all the rest of their fellow-citizens. An application too was made by the persons employed in the silk trade for an enlargement of their charter, in consequence of an enlargement of their business. Above

40,000 individuals, men, women, and children, they stated, were engaged in it. A statute was passed for the regulation of the trade; and it was enacted, that no one should set up in it, but such as should have served a seven years apprenticeship, and made themselves free of that company. A statute was passed too for the regulation of another very important branch of commerce, the trade of gold and silver, a deed which would seem to imply a more enlightened acquaintance with the real principles of that great national concern, than guides at all times the decisions of the legislature at this day. The most complete liberty was granted to the exportation of these precious metals; and that principle, the developement of which has conferred so much honour upon some of our late philosophers, is as clearly stated in the statute as a few words can express it. “These metals,” says that act, “are found by experience to be carried in greatest abundance (as to a common market) to such places as give free liberty for exporting the same.” It was the rivalry and jealousy of commerce, however, which occasioned at this time the serious evil of a Dutch war. But as it was a war entirely agreeable to the sentiments of the city, they cheerfully advanced first one loan, and then another, of 100,000*l.* each toward the expense of carrying it on: and so acceptable was this liberal conduct to parliament, that as soon as they met, a vote of thanks was agreed on, and carried to the court of common council by a deputation from both houses.

The city was animated with the most active and sanguine projects for prosperity, when all their operations were suspended by a plague, the most disastrous nearly, which had ever been experienced. Amsterdam and Hamburgh having been known to be suffering from this calamity, all communication had, during some time, been prohibited with those places. But toward the end of the year 1664 it appeared in London. A few persons died in Long-acre; and when men afterwards endeavoured to trace the evil to its source, it was discovered that some Levant goods from Holland had been lodged here; and to this, as its cause, has the plague generally been ascribed. During the winter the minds of the people were calmed with the appearance of a complete extinction. But no sooner did the summer set in, than the rapidity and malignity with which the awful disorder diffused itself, struck all men with terror and dismay. By the beginning of June the number of deaths amounted to 470 a week; and all those whose circumstances could afford it, hastened to leave the devoted city. In every direction the roads leading into the country were covered with men, women, and children, and crowded with carriages and carts filled with human



human creatures, and the necessaries of most indispensable use. For several weeks it was difficult to get at the lord mayor's door on account of the numbers who crowded thither to obtain certificates of their health, without which none were permitted to travel through, or obtain lodgings in any of the towns on the road. In the month of July so terrible was the carnage, that no less than 2010 are said to have been the weekly account of deaths. The horror of men's own situation steeled their hearts. Above 40,000 servants were turned out into the street, against whom every man in the city shut his door, and the villagers near London drove them back into the town with pitchforks and fire-arms. No man durst meet another. The shops were shut up; and the grafts grew in the most frequented streets of the city. The symptoms of this dreadful disorder were the following:—At first the patient was seized with horror, vomiting, delirium, giddiness, headach, and stupefaction; then succeeded fever, inability to sleep, palpitation of the heart, bleeding at the nose, and a great heat about the precordia; the glands behind the ears, in the armpit, and the groin, swelled into hard and painful tumours, which inflamed and suppurated; the skin, chiefly about the neck, breast, and back, was covered with plague-spots, in appearance not very distinguishable from flea-bites; and pustules, to which they gave the inauspicious name of tokens, because they were the certain forerunners of death, arose within the skin, and pushed up in the shape of pyramidal protuberances, sometimes of the size of pin-heads, at other times as large as a silver penny. Toward the beginning of the disease in the city, it was judged that dogs and cats, being domestic animals, apt to run from house to house, might be very dangerous, by conveying the infection in their fur or hair; and it was computed that 40,000 dogs, and five times that number of cats, were killed in consequence of an order from the magistrates. The progress of the disaster suggested a dreadful mean of preventing its extension. This was the shutting up of the infected houses, and allowing no person either healthy or diseased to go out or come in, till forty days after extinction of all disorder. These houses had red crosses to distinguish them painted on the door, and the awfully expressive inscription, *Lord have mercy upon us!* No effort was left unemployed by the miserable wretches within to elude this cruel condemnation. With every thing they possessed they bribed the watchmen appointed to guard their houses, and some of these men were publicly whipped through the streets for yielding to the temptation. Some persons, in fits of desperation, let themselves down from the windows, armed with pistols,

in the sight of the watchmen, and threatened them with instant death if they called out, or stirred. One watchman near Coleman-street was blown up by gun-powder, those within finding no better means of making their escape. Of these unfortunate creatures, many wandered into the fields, oppressed by disease and want, where they perished, and the country people dragged them by hooks into holes, which they dug for them. The hoys, smacks, and fishing-boats were crowded with people, where, however, the infection followed them. Many merchants and ship-owners shut themselves up on ship-board, and removed down the river, nor was it heard that the disorder reached any vessels below Deptford. Numbers of persons proceeded up the river too, and spent the nights on shore in tents made of the sails of their boats. They were supplied with provision by the country people, who carried it till within a certain distance of them, and then left it. The aim of the physicians in the treatment of this disorder, was to expel it from the constitution by the strongest medicines. Mineral bezoar, sulphur auratum, aurum vitæ, after strong purgations, are the remedies, we are told, to which they had recourse. Blisters and cataplasms were applied externally, the tumours opened by incision, and both they and the blisters kept open till the force of the disease was spent. But so much did the malady baffle the power of art, that many died whom the physicians thought in the fairest way of recovery, and many whose cases they pronounced perfectly desperate, suddenly recovered. One dreadful fact is related; the nurses who tended the sick, it is said, hardened by the calamities to which they were witnesses, often strangled the persons committed to their care, charging their deaths to the distemper in their throats; and communicated the infection from the sores of those who were ill to such as were well, that they might have the house to plunder when all those to whom it belonged were destroyed. The minds of the people were enfeebled by calamity; and they flocked to receive the predictions of fortune-tellers, astrologers, and other impostors, who set up their signs in every street, and advanced their fortunes by increasing the apprehensions, and preying upon the weaknesses of their fellow-citizens. When the churchyards were glutted, and could receive no more, large pits were dug, into which the dead bodies were tumbled in promiscuous heaps. It was a dreadful sight to behold a cart moving along a desolate street, collecting dead bodies by the sound of a bell, and the terrible cry of *Bring out your dead*.

The humanity and magnanimity of a few illustrious persons on this tremendous occasion,





VIEW of the PEST-HOUSES at TOTHILL FIELDS.

Published Aug 6 1796 by J. Stoddart, Birmingham.





occasion, is recorded by all historians, and claims to the memory of these friends of humanity, the ardent gratitude of every human being while the human race shall remain. The lord mayor, his honourable name is Sir John Laurence, and a great part of the other magistrates, early published their resolution to remain in the city against all hazards, and to use their endeavour to preserve its order, and assuage its calamities. Every day they held counsels, and whatever wisdom could dictate to benevolence, was put in practice to remedy the pressing evils. The lord mayor himself, or the sheriffs, vigilantly attended the markets on horseback every market-day, to see the orders which they had issued respecting this important concern regularly executed. The lord mayor supplied the wants of the poor out of his own large fortune till it was exhausted, and then solicited subscriptions from all quarters. George Monk too, duke of Albemarle, with a courage much greater than is necessary to head an army, or to mount a breach, remained in the midst of destruction, and omitted no effort to assist the magistrates, or relieve his fellow-citizens. It was entirely according to the disposition of the generous and heroic lord Craven, to hazard his life for the preservation of his fellow-creatures; and every thing which the powers of his body or his fortune could do, was executed by him to remedy or alleviate the miseries of the sad occasion. Nor must the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Seldon, be forgotten, who courageously remained at Lambeth during the whole time of the plague, and as well by his own contributions, as by the sums which he received, in consequence of his letters, from the dioceses under his charge, greatly alleviated the sufferings of the poor. The king contributed a thousand pounds a week to the same benevolent purpose. Large sums were sent up from all parts of the country; and the lord mayor and aldermen, it is said, distributed a hundred thousand pounds a week for several weeks in succession. With the magnanimous behaviour of the magistrates, the conduct of another set of men formed a contrast which excited attention. The parochial clergy universally deserted the city, and left the miserable inhabitants to their dismay and distraction. The nonconformist clergy, who upon the restoration of the king and episcopacy had been laid under penalties, and discharged from officiating in the churches, signalized on the other hand their courage and zeal; they mounted the vacant pulpits; and with such avidity did the people require religious consolation, that the same men were frequently obliged to harangue them twice in one day, and sometimes to make their

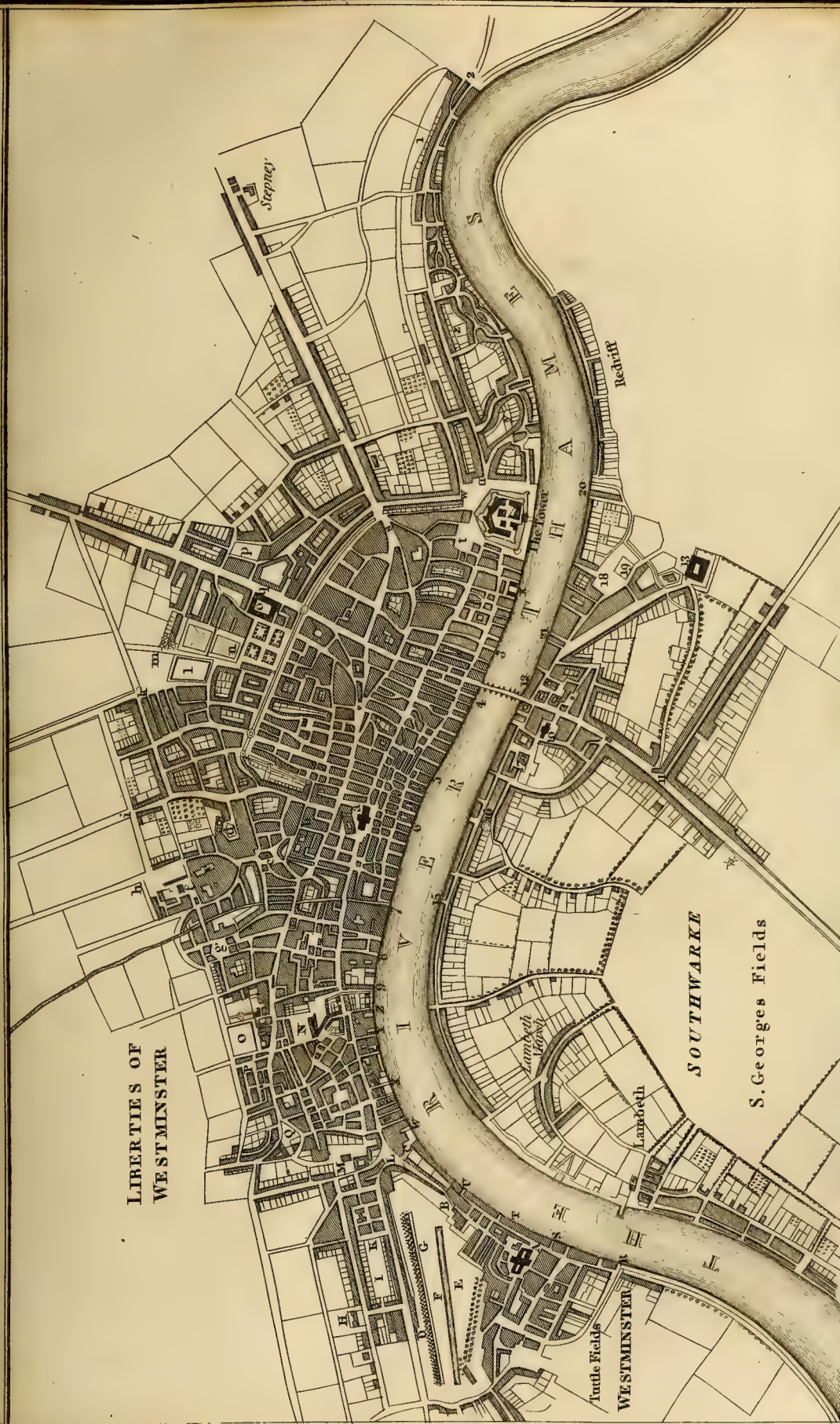
way to the pulpit over the heads of the crowd, every approach to it being choked up by the multitudes of auditors.

As winter approached, the number of the sick diminished, and the violence of the symptoms abated. Towards November the people began to return to the city in great numbers ; and much care being employed to purify the houses, the winter fortunately extinguished the disorder. By a very reasonable computation a hundred thousand died in London in the course of the year, of whom the greater proportion fell by the plague in the space of six months. The parish of St. John the Evangelist, in Watling-street, it is remarkable, remained all the while perfectly free from infection.

The citizens had, during the summer, resumed their occupations, and were hastening to forget their past calamities. The month of September had now arrived, and the face of industry and happiness again adorned the city. On the 2d of that month, at one o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in Pudding-lane, in the house of one Faryner, a baker. As it was the dead of night, some time elapsed before effectual assistance could be procured ; and as it was the night between Saturday and Sunday, when a number of the citizens are out of town, this heightened the difficulty. The house was a wooden one, and pitched on the outside ; and it was full of brush and faggot wood. The fire accordingly was soon in possession of it all, and raged with great fury. The lane in which the house stood was exceedingly narrow, the houses were all of wood, and each story projected beyond another as they rose, till at top they almost met. The fire of course found no difficulty in communicating itself from house to house, and quickly seized upon the whole lane. The Star-inn was in the neighbourhood, full of hay and straw, and added greatly to the violence of the combustion. By it was the fire communicated to Fish-street, over which it extended itself. In another direction it had now taken possession of Thames-street, the repository of all combustibles ; and meeting with oil, spirits, hemp, flax, resin, pitch, tar, brimstone, cordage, wood, and coals, in every shop, it excited the most furious conflagration. The people, thrown into the utmost terror and distraction, gave up their attempts to check the burning, and thought only of saving their goods. The king himself in person, and the duke of York, attended with their guards, and by their encouragements and directions assisted in subduing the calamity. In short, the whole city, whether rich or poor, were present, and each performed what his good sense, his compassion, or his fears dictated.



Printed at the King's LONDON Square the City  
 Anno Domini 1666.



- |   |                    |   |                        |   |                         |   |                    |    |                    |    |                  |
|---|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|--------------------|----|--------------------|----|------------------|
| A | Westminster Abby.  | N | Lincoln Inn Fields     | a | S. Paul                 | u | Moorefields        | 1  | Barthol            | 13 | The Abby         |
| B | Whitehall          | O | Graves Inn Fields      | b | Christ Church Cloysters | v | Bedlam             | 2  | Limehouse          | 14 | Winchester house |
| C | Scotland Yard      | P | Southam. Build         | c | Smithfield              | p | Spittelfield       | 3  | Belbington         | 15 | Barkesside       |
| D | S. James           | Q | S. Giles               | d | Charterhouse Yard       | q | Bishopsgate Str.   | 4  | Old Swan           | 16 | Boar Garden      |
| E | S. James Park      | R | Westmin. Terry         | e | S. Johns                | r | Whitchapell Street | 5  | Queene Hythe       | 17 | Deadmans Place   |
| F | The new River      | S | Parliament Staires     | f | Clerkenwell Green       | s | Allegate           | 6  | Faulkes Wharfe     | 18 | Horsy Downe      |
| G | The Palmail        | T | Westminster Staires    | g | Matton Garden           | t | Towerhill          | 7  | Blackbiers Staires | 19 | Aratery Yard     |
| H | Clarendon house    | U | Pray. Staires          | h | Clerkenwell Bridenwell  | u | East Smithfield    | 8  | Whittiers Staires  | 20 | Savory Dock      |
| I | S. James Fields    | V | Charing crosse Staires | i | Alldersgate Street      | v | The Minories       | 9  | Temple Staires     | 21 | Battle Bridge    |
| J | The new Buildings  | X | Durham Staires         | k | Old Street              | x | Customs house      | 10 | St. Maries Overie  |    |                  |
| K | The new Building's | Y | Charing Crosse         | l | Aratery Yard            | y | S. Catharines      | 11 | S. Georges         |    |                  |
| L | St. Martins Fields | Z | Milford Staires        | m | The Windmills           | z | Wapping            | 12 | S. Olaves          |    |                  |





But all efforts were in vain. A strong east wind prevailed, and blew the flames from one house to another. The summer preceding had been the driest ever remembered, and rendered every thing in the highest degree combustible. The fire reached the houses on London-bridge, and destroying them, together with the water engines below, cut off the supply of water from all the lower part of the town. The flames continued raging all that day and next night, and extended themselves up to Gracechurch-street, and downwards from Cannon-street to the water-side, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintrey. Multitudes of persons, young and old, healthy and sick, whose houses were destroyed, being thrown into the streets, increased by their numbers and by their sufferings the general confusion and horror. Women with helpless infants in their arms, aged men scarcely able to drag their bodies from the surrounding ruin, others raised from the bed of sickness to save themselves from the rage of the flames: these sights were frequent and dejecting. The cries of the labourers, and the crash of the falling houses, the noise of persons removing their goods, the glare of the flames, the streets filled with commodities, the hurry and distraction painted in men's countenances, formed such a scene as for the peace of mankind is seldom exhibited upon the earth. Till Tuesday night the flames raged with unabated fury. On that evening the wind slackening a little, and some brick buildings near the Temple checking the conflagration on that side, men's hopes began to revive, and their efforts to be increased. By Wednesday night the flames were, in a great measure, subdued; after having extended their ravages from Pudding-lane as far west as Temple-church, up to Holborn-bridge and Pie-corner, to Aldersgate, to Cripplegate, in a line by the lower end of Coleman-street, Basinghall-street, the Postern, the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, Leadenhall-street, the standard in Cornhill, the church in Fenchurch-street, Clothworkers' hall in Mincing-lane, and the middle of Mark-lane, down to the Tower-dock. On Thursday night, by the falling, as was supposed, of some sparks on a pile of wooden buildings, the fire broke out afresh; but the duke of York, whose diligence on this occasion is much praised, having ordered the houses around to be blown up by gunpowder, the devastation was finally stopped. Three hundred and seventy-three acres of the city were laid waste; 13,200 houses were consumed; eighty-nine parish-churches were involved in the conflagration; the Royal Exchange, the Custom-house, Guildhall, Blackwell-hall, St. Paul's cathedral, Bridewell, the two Compters, fifty-two halls of the city companies, and three city gates, were

destroyed; and the amount of the loss is moderately estimated at ten millions sterling. It is remarkable that amid such extensive destruction six lives should have been all that were lost.

It is a signal proof of the secret malignity with which the different parties in this country yet regarded one another, that each ascribed the origin of this calamity to the wickedness of its adversary. The republicans were accused by some, and the papists by others. Even the king and the duke of York did not pass without suspicions. The Dutch too, with whom we were at war, were supposed to have been concerned in the mischief. And the French received a share of the suspicion; a Frenchman deranged in mind, who confessed himself an incendiary, was executed; though the ship-master who brought him over, swore that he did not come to London till two days after the fire. It was supposed further, that some one had fired the city, with a view to obtain the advantages arising from a better construction. But the weight of suspicion fell upon the papists; and this persuasion pervaded very generally all ranks of the community.

Multitudes of people, destitute of almost every thing, were forced out into the fields, and exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, till a sufficient number of miserable huts were erected for their accommodation. To supply their immediate necessities, the king ordered the stores of bread provided for the navy to be distributed among the sufferers. But such effectual measures were taken to bring in all sorts of provisions, that they stood not long in need of this substitute.

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#### SECTION X.

*The History of London, from the Great Fire, A. D. 1666, to the Revolution, A. D. 1688.*

THE great metropolis of a great country lying in ashes, demanded wise measures and prompt execution. It is a common observation, that great occasions draw forth great abilities, and, if they find them not, create them. It is no less true that great occasions draw forth great virtues, and, if they find them not, create them. Neither Charles nor his courtiers were persons having their minds much turned to the cultivation of morality; and yet it would be difficult to find men who would have



have acted with more zeal, humanity, courage, and wisdom, than the monarch, and those about him, did on this dreadful occasion. To repair the devastation which had been committed, the first measure to be pursued was to ascertain the territorial property of each of the unfortunate sufferers, where every limit and boundary was obliterated, and nothing presented to the sight but a confused mass of the spoils of the burning walls, half standing, and crusted with smoke, surrounded with the rubbish of bricks, mortar, and half-burnt beams, mingled with the unconfumable effects of thousands of wretches, who now had not a roof to cover their heads, nor a vessel in which to prepare for themselves a morsel of meat. Parliament immediately passed an act for the erection of a court of judicature to settle the claims of the different proprietors. It was composed of the judges of the court of king's bench, common pleas, and the barons of the exchequer; and so well did these men execute their difficult trust, as to merit and receive the gratitude of their fellow-citizens, who had the pictures of them all, amounting by successive changes to twenty-two, hung up in Guildhall, where they are still to be seen.

A very unusual but awful opportunity was on this occasion obtained of gaining a most important end, a reformation in the plan of the streets and houses, which in this, as in most other old cities, was singularly bad. Every individual had hitherto been left at liberty to indulge his convenience or caprice in building his house where and in what form he pleased. The streets were irregular and confused. They were narrow. The houses were mostly built of wood, and by a singular perversity, each story of them was made to project a considerable way beyond that below, till they almost joined at top, and stopt the admission both of air and light. Disease and inconvenience of many kinds were the necessary effect of this absurd practice; and the plague, which seldom left London, has been generally ascribed to the unwholesome and uncleanly construction of the city. An act, drawn up by Sir Matthew Hale, was passed for regulating the new erection. It directed how the houses were to be built; granted powers to the corporation to open and enlarge the streets; appointed an annual fast to be held on the day the fire broke out, directed a column of brass or stone, with a proper inscription, to be erected on the spot where it began, and imposed a duty of 1s. per chaldron on coals for ten years for carrying the same into execution.

It is a coincidence which must attract attention, that on an occasion, like the present, requiring architectural abilities, beyond any occasion, except, perhaps,

the building of Constantinople, which had presented itself since the beginning of the world, one of the most accomplished architects which the world ever produced, the celebrated Christopher Wren, should have existed in England. By appointment of the king, he made a survey of the city, and drew up a plan for rebuilding it, which for its convenience and elegance has received the admiration of every man of taste who has since surveyed it. The streets which formed the great thoroughfares of the city, were, as nearly as possible, to run parallel, and to be crossed by the lanes at right angles. The parochial churches were all to be placed in conspicuous situations, and to stand insular. The most public places were to form large piazzas, and to be the centre where eight streets were to meet. These diverging streets were in several places to be joined, at a convenient distance from the centre, by eight cross streets, which thus surrounded the piazza in the form of an octagon; and in some places a second octagon, at a greater distance from the centre, was to surround the first. The halls of the twelve chief companies were to be formed into a regular square annexed to Guildhall; and a commodious quay and terrace were to be formed along the whole banks of the river from Blackfriars to the Tower. Another very ingenious and beautiful plan was presented by Mr. John Evelyn, which proposed to lessen the more considerable declivities, to employ the rubbish in filling up the shore of the Thames to low-water mark, and thus to keep the basin at all times full, like that at Constantinople. But in this, as in most other works of public concern, the interest of individuals prevailed over the interest of the community. Though security was offered to the inhabitants of receiving ample equivalents on the new plan for what they gave up on the old, they shewed such an obstinate aversion to quit the individual spot which had been their property before, that it was deemed unwise to contend with them, and the opportunity was lost for ever of making London the finest city in the universe.

What could be done was not, however, on this account abandoned. The most vigorous measures were employed to force upon the old plan of the city every improvement of which it was susceptible. Surveyors and commissioners were appointed to superintend and direct the operations. The most peremptory regulations were published, directing how the streets were to be widened and formed, how the houses were to be built, and where and how the sewers were to be constructed. It must give an elevated idea of the resources and energy of this country, even at that time, to learn that the capital, though exhausted by the death of 100,000  
of



of its inhabitants the year before, and impoverished by an expensive Dutch war, which was then depending, was able to repair its devastations in the course of four years; and though the reformation obtained in the new construction was much smaller than could have been wished, two events of singular magnitude are to be remarked, that no fire of any importance, and no pestilence at all, have since been in London.

The city being now rebuilt, a survey of its dimensions, at this memorable period, seems a very interesting part of its history. On the east side, Wapping was a separate village, and Ratcliff another, not yet joined to the city of London, nor to one another. The city wall passed from Tower-stairs, in a sort of waving line, including the Minories, up to Aldgate, and there were but few houses on the outside of it. The whole of the space accordingly about Goodman's-fields, between Ratcliff-highway and Whitechapel-road, was empty ground; and there were only a few scattered houses on each side of the way along Whitechapel-road. Houndsditch was at this time a noisome sink, taking its name from being the place into which dead dogs and all manner of filth was thrown, and there was a single row of straggling houses at some distance beyond it. The space on the outside of this, called Spital-fields, was uninhabited till the revocation of the edict of Nantz; when it was given to the French refugees, who took shelter in this country, and who, by their multiplication, have peopled the numerous streets and lanes which now cover that ground. By this time, however, Bishopsgate-street-without stretched along till it was almost, if not altogether, joined to the village of Shoreditch; a few lanes on the east side of Moorfields run off from Bishopsgate-street; but there was no building at that time to the north of Bethlem-hospital. On the west side of Moorfields a lane run parallel to London-wall, and some houses and gardens lay between that and the Artillery-grounds. Grub-street was at this time built; and the whole of the ground was pretty well filled between that place and Smithfield, and up as far as Charter-house gardens. On the west side of the Charter-house, St. John's-street ascended as high as Clerkenwell; but Clerkenwell still remained a separate village. A lane too run up from Smithfield between Clerkenwell and Fleet-ditch; and the low ground from Smithfield down towards Holborn-bridge was completely filled. On the west side of Fleet-ditch, Holborn was formed into a street, but no town was on the north side of it. Where Hatton-street now is, and the adjacent buildings, was the town-house and gardens of the lords Hatton. Holborn extended  
westward

westward as far as Broad-street, but that was still separated from St. Giles's-church, which literally deserved its original name of St. Giles's-in-the-fields, and had a few houses to the westward of it scarcely meriting the name of a village. Here, therefore, the city on this side terminated.—Let us now descend along the space between Holborn and the river. Between Fleet-ditch and Chancery-lane the space was filled. Lincoln's-inn-fields too were built, but the ground adjoining was chiefly occupied by noblemen's town-houses and gardens. Covent-garden was partly built. Drury-lane, Clare-street, and Long-acre, were likewise standing at this time, and St. Martin's-lane was built on both sides. The lower part of the Strand was chiefly occupied by gentlemen's houses, and the space between them and the river by the gardens belonging to them. The streets, accordingly, which now run down from the Strand to the river were then not in existence. Beyond St. Martin's-lane, and the termination of the Strand, very little remains to be described. Cockspur-street was, indeed, formed at this period, and united Charing-crofs to three or four houses on the east side of the present Pall-mall. The Hay-market and Hedge-lane were literally roads between hedges. A few disjoined houses, with a windmill on the west side of them, stood where Windmill-street is now. A single house called Piccadilly was erected at the upper end of the Hay-market: "A fair house," says lord Clarendon, "for entertainment and gaming, with handsome gravel walks with shade, and where were an upper and lower bowling-green, whither very many of the nobility and gentry of the best quality resorted for exercise and conversation." Pall-mall, leading from St. James's-palace to Cockspur-street, was formed into a walk for playing at the game of mall, having a row of trees on the north side, and the wall of St. James's-park on the south; and the whole space lying to the west and north of this street, and extending east by the end of St. Martin's-lane to the end of Broad-street, Holborn, was mere country.

As Westminster and the towns on the southern shores of the river are now in such a manner united to London, as to form together but one immense city; an account of the extent of London cannot be regarded as complete without a rapid view of the boundaries of these places likewise. Westminster was all comprehended below the present Great St. George and Bridge-street; though it did not cover so much ground in that quarter at the time of which we are speaking as it does now, the difference in the number of inhabitants was probably much less; for the streets were remarkably crowded and narrow. Petty-France was given in the same manner as

Spital-



Spital-fields, to Frenchmen who fled from the persecutions of Lewis XIV., and of course was not built till some time after the present period. Tothill-street was the furthest extent in this direction which Westminster possessed; and it was barely joined to the churchyard of St. John along the river. The great palace of Whitehall, communicating with the river on the one side, and with St. James's-park on the other, occupied the whole of the ground between Charing-cross and Westminster-hall. The stables of the Horse-guards stood where the building of that name is at present; and this was the only erection, not strictly a part of the palace, which existed at that time in this district. In that part of it which is now called Scotland-yard, stood a magnificent palace, intended originally for the reception of the kings of Scotland, when they paid a visit to the metropolis of England. On the south side of the river, Lambeth-palace stood almost alone, at least surrounded by scarcely any houses except those of a few tradesmen, who found their subsistence by supplying the wants of the palace. There was no bridge to unite this side of the river to London, till you descended as far as London-bridge; accordingly there was not a single house between Lambeth-palace and Southwark. On the west, Southwark at this time did not extend beyond Gravel-lane; it was still disunited from Rotherhithe on the east. From the title of Horsey-down given by Stow, to what is now called Horseley-down, it is understood that this was in his time a field on which horses grazed; and the extreme breadth of the Borough towards St. Margaret's-hill, is not reckoned by the continuator of Stow, after the beginning of the last century, to have been more than half a mile. It is remarkable that this town, a few years after this, was burnt down as completely as London had been. Rotherhithe, or Redriff, was a village standing at a considerable distance, chiefly, as at present, inhabited by seafaring people.

To secure the health and convenience of the inhabitants of the city, it was not enough that the architecture, but that the police likewise should be improved. On the 11th of November accordingly, a precept was issued by the lord mayor, containing regulations both for cleanliness and morality. Each housekeeper was to have the street before his house duly paved and swept; the refuse of no house was to be thrown into the street, or into any sink or sewer, but to be kept till called for by the person appointed to carry it away; all inhabitants were to hang out candles duly at the accustomed hour; the constables to keep watch according to former acts of council; all drunkenness, gaming, and profanation of the Lord's day, to be prevented;

prevented ; and rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars suppressed. For the better effecting of these ends, an act was about this time passed for vesting in the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, the sole power of regulating, keeping clean, pitching, and paving the streets of London, and of making and clearing the drains and sewers. And in pursuance of this authority, a full system of regulations to secure order and prevent nuisances in the streets, was drawn up by the court of common council, passed into an act, ordaining penalties for transgression, and published by the commissioners for sewers for general information. A temporary market had been kept since the fire in Aldersgate-street ; but Newgate-market, and Stocks, or Woolchurch-market, were again appointed to be fitted up, and a new market-place to be made at Honey-lane, to receive that formerly kept in Cheap-side ; and as soon as they were ready for use, a system of rules and directions, under certain penalties, was drawn up for the government of them, and passed into an act by the court of common council. Encouragements were given by a remission of certain duties to all buyers and sellers by weight, to use only what was called the king's beam ; and the government of carts, cars, &c. was vested in the governors of Christ's-hospital, and their number limited to 420.

Nor was the embellishment of the city, amid their other important operations, neglected by the men who restored with such spirit their capital ; and two of the noblest ornaments of which it has yet to boast were the production of this period. In consequence of the appointment, in the act for rebuilding the city, to erect a column at the place where the fire began, that superb memorial of this disaster, the Monument, rose at this time under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren, and stands a striking proof of his genius and taste. It is a Doric column, 202 feet high, fluted, and intended by the ingenious designer to be finished by a noble statue of the reigning monarch on the top, instead of which there is only a trifling urn with flames. The pride of our nation too, the cathedral of St. Paul's, the second modern building in Europe in point of magnitude, and, in the opinion of many of the best judges, the foremost in point of design, is the gift to London of the same great artist, and the same spirited directors of its public concerns. The bishops disapproved of the first design for this magnificent structure, presented to them by Sir Christopher, as not being sufficiently in the cathedral style. It was a plan on the Grecian model, and the most highly valued by Sir Christopher himself of all that he ever made. The model of it in wood which he caused to be formed, was deposited in the cathedral,





VIEW of the MONUMENT.

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dral, and is still to be seen ; nor is it much to the honour of those who ought to preserve so curious a monument of taste and national glory, to suffer it to fall to pieces. It is a singular circumstance, that, notwithstanding this great structure was thirty-five years in building, it was begun and finished under one architect, and during the life of one bishop of London ; and there is another singular circumstance, which excites more emotions than that of surprise, that the building was but just finished, when the venerable architect, now eighty-six years of age, who, for the space of fifty years, had discharged his office with so much advantage to the capital, and so much honour to himself, was by George I. and Sir Robert Walpole dismissed from his employment. He survived this shameful insult five years. He was dismissed in favour of one Benson, whose demerits soon became so flagrant, that it was necessary almost immediately to remove him.

Amid the monuments of the genius and virtue of these times, we do not want those too of their follies and vices. Party rage dictated the popular persuasion that the city had been burnt by the papists. The house of commons patronised the same opinion ; and a proclamation was issued for the banishment of all priests and jesuits. An injurious inscription, ascribing the calamity to the same cause, and written by Dr. Thomas Gale, afterwards dean of York, was allowed to disgrace the Monument. At this time too we find the folly repeated, which had been so often displayed before, of attempting by prohibitions to restrain the extension of the city ; and hardly were the devastations repaired, when a proclamation, we are told, was issued, for prosecuting those who should erect houses on any new foundation in the suburbs or vicinity of London.

A passion for commerce has, from the earliest times, been the glory of the capital of England, and the great cause of her superiority among the nations. It is surprising with what expedition, after her disasters, the greatest schemes of this sort were projected in London. It was at this time that the manufacture of glass, with which we now supply so great a part of the world, was first introduced into England by the duke of Buckingham, who sent for the best glass-blowers, glass-grinders, and polishers, from Venice. Ashley Cooper, the celebrated first earl of Shaftesbury, recommended to the king the institution of a council of commerce, consisting of a president, vice-president, and other counsellors, who should apply themselves with diligence to the advancement of the national commerce, colonies, manufactures, and shipping. The scheme was, however, abandoned in a few years, when Charles found he

could not spare money from his pleasures for carrying it on. Another project was of greater durability. A number of persons, who had made a voyage to Hudson's Bay, and conceived hopes of establishing there a beneficial commerce, obtained a charter, constituting them a body corporate, under the title of, The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay. For the encouragement of the exportation of English products and manufactures, a law was enacted, annulling the duty called alien's duty on all commodities, coals only excepted, and putting foreigners on the same level with the natives; and between 1666 and 1671 the produce of the customs had increased 165,752*l.* per annum. The advantage, however, of the principles of good faith and honour in the conduct of commerce seems not to have been so generally understood as now. For we find that about this time an act of the corporation was thought necessary to restrain frauds in the sale of woollen goods, one great branch of the commerce of England at that period: and a curious order was issued in the year 1676 by the lord mayor and aldermen, directing that the precepts for holding wardmotes should require that no person who had been convicted of defrauding in weights and measures, or of such-like crimes, should be elected a common councilman.

While these efforts, to repair the disasters which the capital had sustained, were going on, she received an alarm and an affront, of a kind new to her, since the descent of William the Conqueror. While the negotiations were conducting at Breda for the termination between England and Holland of the war, which had been so unfavourable to the latter, Charles, having from the commencement acted upon the assurance of peace, and imprudently remitted his military preparations, the Dutch minister de Wit thought he saw an opportunity of regaining by a single blow all the honour which his country had lost by the conduct of the war. On the 10th of June 1667, news were suddenly brought to London, that a Dutch fleet, under the command of de Ruyter, was in the river, had seized Sheerneys, sailed up the Medway as far as Upnor-castle, and burnt all the shipping. It is said, that there was not a gun mounted at Tilbury fort, that the Dutch might have sailed directly to London, have destroyed the eastern part of the city, which the fire had spared, and carried off all the merchant vessels in the river. The citizens hastened to sink nine ships at Woolwich and four at Blackwall. Platforms were raised in many places furnished with artillery, and the trained bands were called out. De Ruyter, however, proceeded to Portsmouth and Plymouth, where his efforts were unsuccessful.



unsuccessful. He returned to the Thames, which was now prepared for his reception; and having insulted Harwich, he proceeded to Tilbury, where he was repulsed.

The Dutch were not long afterwards the occasion of another misfortune to the city. They were, on many accounts, disliked by our monarch, and he readily entered into the views of Lewis XIV. to reduce them, and share their spoils. Pretences were easily found for recommencing the war; but the difficulty with Charles, who had so many drains for money, was to find the means of carrying it on. It was customary then for widows, orphans, and merchants who had money unemployed, to deposit it with the goldsmiths and bankers, partly as running cash, and partly at an interest per annum of 4 per cent. It was the practice likewise of these bankers, to carry this money to the exchequer, and advance it to the king upon the security of the funds at 8 per cent. with the advantage of receiving it weekly as it came into the exchequer. A king seldom wants men ingenious to help him out of his difficulties. Sir Thomas Clifford stole a hint from lord Shaftesbury, and advised the king to take possession of the exchequer. The money accordingly, belonging to so many individuals, was seized, under solemn assurances of repayment, with 6 per cent. interest till it should be made; but that time never arrived. A general confusion ensued in the city, and many families were ruined. The bankers stopped payment; merchants could answer no bills; a stagnation of commerce, and universal distrust prevailed.

An occupation, however, of a laudable kind employed the monarch about this period. It is to him that we are indebted for the embellishment of St. James's park. He enclosed it, planted the avenues according to a plan of his French gardener, made the canal, and the aviary adjacent to the Birdcage-walk, which took its name from the cages which were hung in the trees. He is said to have been particularly fond of this place, and to have been often seen here, amidst crowds of spectators, feeding his ducks, playing with his dogs, and talking familiarly with the meanest of his subjects.

In the year 1674 an event happened in London, not interesting in the history of the capital of England only, but in the history of the human race. In this year the venerable Milton died, and was buried under the clerk's desk, in the church of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. The pursuits of literature have hitherto attracted but little of our notice in this history. They begin, however, now to occupy a greater

share in the employments of the capital, and can no longer be neglected. The Royal Society was a little before this incorporated by the king's charter. The origin of this venerable institution was from the meetings of a few eminent men, Dr. Seth Ward, Mr. Boyle, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir William Petty, and a few others, which were held at the lodgings of Dr. Wilkins, the ingenious author of the philosophical language. They assembled at this time in Gresham college, by permission of the professors of the foundation of Sir Thomas Gresham; and the labours of Boyle, of Grew, and of others, not only drew upon them the eyes of their cotemporaries, but deserve the gratitude and admiration of all ages. At this time too existed three of the greatest poets who ever did honour to any nation; our immortal Dryden, Butler, the celebrated author of Hudibras, and poor Otway, the first of whom lived in penury, and the two last actually died in want of bread. Neither must Hobbes be forgotten in this place, the unfortunate tendency of whose writings does not hinder him from being a model of philosophical acuteness, as well as of precision and perspicuity of style.

In the course of three years the resentments of the city for the fraud practised against them by the king must have had time to cool. For at this period we find the two parties busily employed in paying civilities to one another. The king dined with the corporation at Guildhall the day that Sir Robert Viner entered upon his mayoralty. This is that very occasion, and this is the very man of whom the celebrated story is told—that when the king, after remaining what he thought the proper time, was preparing to retire, my lord mayor laid hold of the monarch, and heated with wine, and charmed with the conversation of his sovereign, swore, “Sir, you shall take t’other bottle.” The monarch, it is said, looking kindly at him over his shoulder, repeated with a smile the line of the old song, “He that is drunk is as great as a king,” and immediately sat down, and complied with his jolly landlord. To shew their sense of this instance of condescension, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commonalty, waited upon his majesty, according to a resolution of the court of common council, and presented him with a copy of the freedom of the city in a box of gold, with the seal enclosed in another of the same metal, beautifully enriched with diamonds. We have another transaction to relate of the same lord mayor and aldermen, of a nature somewhat more venerable than paying compliments even to a king. As yet there was no proper place for the reception of lunatics in London; but this year the magistrates founded the present hospital



pital in Moorfields, and next year completed it, notwithstanding the magnitude of the work, which, in front and wings, extends 540 feet. It was built on the plan of the palace of the Thuilleries at Paris: and this is said to have so incensed Lewis XIV. that he ordered a plan of the palace of our monarch at St. James's to be taken for offices of the vilest nature.

The enthusiasm experienced at the restoration of the monarch, and the calamities which succeeded, had suspended, during the present reign, the religious passions which had convulsed the nation during the preceding age. The enforcing of the Act of Conformity, indeed, soon after the restoration, occasioned some disturbances. The ministers who refused to subscribe were not only ejected, but prohibited from coming within five miles of any corporation town. Whoever attended a conventicle was to be fined 5*s.* for the first offence, and 10*s.* for the second; the preacher and person in whose house the conventicle was held, 20*l.* for the first offence, and 40*l.* for the second: and by a curious clause, wherever the interpretation of the act was doubtful, the judges were appointed to decide in the sense least favourable to the defendant. It required a military force to execute this act in London, where the dissenting meeting-houses were converted into chapels or tabernacles, until the parish-churches were rebuilt.

A more laudable measure was rectifying the livings of the parochial clergy. Before the fire, the tithes had been levied with great inequality. Subsequent operations had embarrassed the business still more; till at last it was judged advisable to give them up, and an act of parliament was procured, establishing certain stipends in lieu of them, and specifying what parishes were to be united.

In consequence of changes which had taken place in the mind of Charles, or at least which he thought had taken place in the circumstances in which he stood, a proclamation was issued on the 15th of March 1672, which suspended all penal laws against nonconformists or recusants, and permitted them the private exercise of their religion. This proclamation did not cause all the satisfaction which at first sight it would seem fitted to produce. That it afforded a grateful relief to the protestant dissenters is certain; but they had begun to entertain violent suspicions against the religion of the court; and readily joined with the church in thinking that this indulgence was not granted out of tenderness to them, but out of favour to the catholics. The commons too conceived alarm at this assumption of a dispensing power in the crown, and, to annul its effects, prepared a bill for the ease

of his majesty's subjects in matters of religion. To prevent the passing of this, Charles revoked his proclamation. The bill, however, after various delays, was at last brought forward, and lost by a curious species of opposition. It was stolen from the table when presented to receive the royal assent.

The monarch had now nearly expended that stock of favour which was stored up for him at his arrival. The citizens of London, it seems, indulged themselves at this time in observations very much to the dissatisfaction of the king and his ministers; and they applied a remedy not very likely to cure the evil. They issued a proclamation, commanding the shutting up and suppressing of all coffee-houses, "because in such houses, and by the occasion of the meeting of disaffected persons in them, divers false, malicious, and scandalous reports were devised and spread abroad, to the defamation of his majesty's government, and to the disturbance of the quiet and peace of the realm." Assuredly the rulers of mankind are the most incorrigible of all human beings. The experience of all ages has not yet taught them, that the stopping of people's tongues does any thing but lessen the danger arising from the sentiments of their hearts. The opinions of the judges were taken on the legality of this arbitrary suppression of a fair and honest employment, and they delivered a judgment which does equal honour to their understanding and virtue; "That the retailing of coffee might be an innocent trade, but as it was used to nourish sedition, spread lies, and scandalize great men, it might also be a common nuisance." On a petition, however, of the merchants and retailers of coffee and tea, permission was granted to keep open the coffee-houses until the 24th of June next, but under the limitation that the masters of them should prevent all scandalous papers, books, and libels from being read in them; and hinder every person from declaring, uttering, or divulging, all manner of false and scandalous reports against government or the ministers thereof." Thus was the vender of a dish of coffee rendered the spy of government over every company which he entertained, constituted licenser of books, and judge of what is innocent or dangerous in conversation.

The suspicions of the capital against the court, their hatred and distrust, were worked up to some height, when a singular event happened, which suspended their minds in consternation and amazement. It is the popish plot to which we allude; a passage of our history which will probably never be cleared up, but which affords a melancholy proof, with which the rulers of mankind have shewn but too often  
that



that they were acquainted, of the facility with which, when men's minds are in a ferment, the belief of any thing, however absurd, which falls in with the current of their passions, may be imposed upon them, and of the mad violence with which by such means they may be led to abet measures of the worst of men, visibly pregnant with the worst of consequences. We shall touch upon no more of the circumstances of this event, than what is absolutely necessary to the history of the capital.

On the 12th of August 1678, as the king was walking in the park, a person accosted him in the following words: " Sir, keep within the company ; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk." Being questioned in consequence of this information, he gave up a number of names, and reported that a conspiracy had been formed to murder the king, to burn London again with all the chief cities in England, to massacre the protestants by means of a general rising of the catholics, to place the duke of York upon the throne, provided he would grant a general pardon, and give his consent to the utter extirpation of the protestant religion ; if not, to destroy him likewise. However wretchedly this information was supported, it made a violent impression upon the people ; and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a favourite justice of the peace, before whom the depositions had been made, having been found murdered in his house at Primrose-hill, they broke forth into a flame. The dead body was brought to town attended by vast multitudes, and publicly exposed in the streets. Seventy-two clergymen marched before the funeral, and it was followed by upwards of a thousand persons of distinction behind : a funeral oration was pronounced, and two able-bodied divines guarded, one on each side, the preacher, as if he were in danger to be murdered by papists while performing this solemn office to the departed magistrate. The city prepared for defence as if it were besieged ; the posts and chains were put up ; and an expression of Sir Thomas Player the chamberlain was remarked, That were it not for these precautions, all the citizens might rise next morning with their throats cut. The parliament caught the contagion. They addressed the king to appoint a solemn fast, to remove all popish recusants out of the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of them ; they besought him to take care of his royal person, and recommended to him the strongest measures to secure the peace and safety of the capital and of the nation. Oates the informer, the meanest and most infamous of mankind, was lodged in the palace of Whitehall, protected by guards, and supported by a pension of 1200*l.* a year, a treatment which

which soon increased the number of informers. Three persons were put to death for the murder of Godfrey, who all died protesting their innocence. The house of one Bird in Fetter-lane happened to be destroyed by fire. His servant, Elizabeth Oxley, was apprehended on suspicion of firing it wilfully. She confessed, and said she had been advised to do it, on a promise of 5*l*. by one Stubbs a papist. Stubbs confessed too; and said that he had been advised by father Gilford his confessor, who persuaded him that to destroy the houses of heretics was to do great service to the church. The maid and Stubbs reported, that an insurrection was to be made by the papists in London, and that they were to be supported by an army from France. Five jesuits were tried on the evidence of Oates and his companions. And when sixteen students of St. Omer's swore, that if they could believe their senses, Oates was in that seminary at the time when he swore he was in London, the answer of lord chief justice Scrogges to them was, " You papists are taught not to believe your senses." They were condemned; and when the jury brought in their verdict, the same chief justice addressed them in these humane words: " You have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good christians, that is to say, like very good protestants; and now much good may their 30,000 masses do them."—The unfortunate men died with resolution, and persisted with their last breath to deny the crime for which they were condemned.

The success of this plot quickly suggested another. A man of the name of Dangerfield, who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported for felony and coining, in concert with one Cellier a midwife, a Roman catholic of abandoned character, communicated intelligence to the king and the duke of York, that there was a design on foot to set up a new form of government, and remove the king and royal family. The custom-house officers were carried, under pretence of searching for smuggled goods, to the house of colonel Mansel, where the treasonable papers were said to be lodged. They appeared to the council to be forged. In the house of Cellier, an account of the whole contrivance was found upon a paper hid in a meal-tub, from which the incident got its name; and Dangerfield was committed to Newgate. He made ample confession; and charged the forgery upon the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. The design he said was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates, to assassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, and to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax, and others, of having been concerned



concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brothers. Upon this information the earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were committed to the Tower. They were tried and acquitted; but the old earl of Stafford, after a trial not less extraordinary than any which the annals of jacobinism have to record, was condemned by his peers, and only exclaimed, "God's holy name be praised," when the sentence of being hanged, drawn, and quartered, was pronounced.

From this period till the revolution, the history of the capital is little else than the history of its contests with the court. The present parliament had sat without interruption for seventeen years; but by some of its late proceedings, such as the part which it had taken in the prosecution of the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion against the duke of York, it had become so little agreeable to the king, that he had no desire to see it assembled, and issued a new prorogation. Petitions were framed in London and Westminster, praying that parliament might be assembled. An order of council was addressed to the lord mayor and aldermen to punish and prevent such measures; and a menacing proclamation was issued by the king against all who should be concerned in them. Notwithstanding these discouragements, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, accompanied by several eminent citizens, presented a petition from thousands of his majesty's subjects in London and the parts adjacent, that the parliament might sit to try the offenders for the popish plot, and to redress grievances. Seventeen peers imitated the same example, and were followed by many of the corporations. The king, embarrassed by these applications, resolved to balance them by others of an opposite tendency; and wherever the court party prevailed, addresses were procured, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, the most entire acquiescence in his wisdom and goodness, and the utmost abhorrence of those who endeavoured to encroach on his prerogative, by prescribing the time for assembling his parliament. Obligated, however, to give way to the general importunity, the king, rather than assemble the old parliament, dissolved it, and issued writs for a new election.

In the mean time the citizens took measures for securing their favourite objects. The election of sheriffs is a point of great importance, because it determines the character of the juries, which are chosen by these officers. On Midsummer-day, accordingly, when Box and Nicholson were put up by the court party, Bethel and Cornish, two independents, were brought forward on the other side, and elected by a majority of almost two to one. A poll was demanded on the part of the

former, and something of a tumult ensued. This, Sir James Edwards, the lord mayor, and the two acting sheriffs, faithful adherents of the court, thought proper to represent in such terms to the king, that he issued a commission that same evening to try the rioters.

The new parliament had no sooner met, than they began to pursue measures the most offensive to the king. They voted that it was the undoubted right of the subject to petition the king for the calling and sitting of parliament, and fell with the utmost violence upon those who had presented the opposite addresses, who were called abhorrrers. Sir George Jefferies, then recorder of London, afterward chief justice, of durable fame, was frightened into a resignation of his office. They passed the bill of exclusion by a great majority. They received the informers of the popish plot with the greatest favour, printed their narratives with the sanction of the house, applied to the king for pensions and pardons, and crowned their proceedings with the impeachment of the popish lords in the Tower. The king resolved to prorogue them. They got intelligence of this a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to the door. They employed this short interval in hastily passing some popular resolutions; one of which was, “ That thanks be given to the city  
“ of London for their manifest loyalty, and for their care and vigilance in the  
“ preservation of the king and the protestant religion.” On the other hand, the lord mayor and common council immediately presented a petition to his majesty to permit the parliament to sit, enumerating the fears of his protestant subjects, the dangers of the popish plot, the hazard to which his sacred person, the peace of the kingdom, and the protestant religion were exposed; and expressing “ their extreme  
“ surprise at the late prorogation, whereby the *prosecution of the public justice of*  
“ *the kingdom*, and the making the provisions necessary for the preservation of his  
“ majesty, *had received an interruption*.” The last expression gave peculiar offence. The king soon found himself again obliged to assemble a parliament; but, afraid of the power of the city, he summoned them to meet at Oxford. The citizens of London rechose their former representatives, and presented to them a paper in the name of the citizens in common hall assembled, containing a return of their most hearty thanks for the services of these members in the favourite measures of the former parliament; and concluding with this memorable expression, “ that being  
“ confidently assured that they the said members for the city will never consent to  
“ the granting any money supply, until they have effectually secured them against  
“ popery



“ popery and arbitrary power, they resolved, by God’s assistance, to stand by their  
“ said members with their lives and fortunes.” The duke of Monmouth, the king’s  
natural son, with fifteen other peers, presented a petition against assembling the  
parliament at Oxford, where they said the two houses would be exposed to the  
swords of the papists, too many of whom had crept into the king’s guards. When  
parliament met, it appeared as if the king really meant to intimidate the members.  
The guards were regularly mustered. The popular leaders on the other side, beside  
their ordinary servants, were attended with numerous bands of partisans ; and the  
four members for London in particular were followed by great multitudes wearing  
ribands, on which were seen, *No popery, No slavery*. In this state of things,  
harmony was not to be expected. So violently did the parliament prosecute the  
measures offensive to the king, that they were abruptly dissolved, and both parties  
hurried from Oxford, filled with resentments and fears against each other. This  
parliament sat but seven days, and was the last which met in this reign.

The king and his ministers having by a bold step got rid of parliaments, and  
with them of every control, the whole gang of informers, who had directed the  
proceedings of the patriots, turned short upon their old employers, and, whether  
invited or only received by the court, were gladly put by them into the same  
employment. There was this difference of criminality in the two cases, that the  
popular leaders were the dupes of their own enthusiasm, and actually believed in  
their hearts the men to be true ; the court employed them, knowing them to be  
rascals, and equally ready to utter falsehood as truth. A victim was selected.  
There was one College, a joiner in London, whose zeal against popery was so  
active as to have obtained for him the title of Protestant Joiner. He had attended  
the parliament at Oxford, armed with a sword and pistol. This was thought a  
proper foundation for accusing him of a conspiracy against the king’s person. The  
sheriffs however, Bethel and Cornish, were of the whig party, and returned a grand  
jury, who rejected the bill against him. But the court were resolved to gain their  
purpose. The man was sent to Oxford, under pretence that this was the place where  
the offence was committed. He was here easily found guilty by the evidence of the  
same witnesses who had deposed against lord Stafford ; and, like that nobleman, he  
died with manly fortitude and protestations of innocence.

The character of the sheriffs was a point too interesting at this time to the con-  
tending parties, for their election ever to pass without a struggle. The city, how-

ever, again prevailed ; and Pilkington and Shute, two whigs, were chosen ; but the court party succeeded in procuring the election of Sir J. Moor, an addresser, to be lord mayor. The intercourse between the court and the city was, for some time subsequent to this transaction, confined to a few occurrences of the lighter sort. When the invitation was presented to his majesty, desiring the honour of his company at Guildhall at dinner on the approaching lord mayor's day, he did not think it unbecoming him to return the following answer : “ Mr. Recorder, an invitation from my lord mayor and the city is very acceptable to me ; and to shew  
 “ that it is so, notwithstanding that it is brought by messengers so unwelcome to  
 “ me as those two sheriffs are, yet I accept it.” The king treated the city apprentices, who seem to have enjoyed the distinction of an annual feast, with a brace of bucks for their dinner at Sadlers' hall, where several of his courtiers gave their company, and his natural son, the duke of Grafton, officiated as one of the stewards. Some of the populace cut and mangled the picture of the duke of York, which was hung up in Guildhall. The lord mayor and court of aldermen offered a reward of 500*l.* for the discovery of the offender ; and, to appease the duke, they waited upon him on his arrival from Scotland, congratulated him on his safe return, and conducted him to St. James's. He was shortly after invited, as captain-general of the artillery company, to their annual feast at Merchant-taylors' hall, where he attended with many persons of distinction. These civilities were not agreeable to every one, and a dinner of a different kind was projected accordingly. We shall transcribe the note of invitation, as a very curious monument of the times :  
 “ It having pleased Almighty God, by his wonderful providence, to deliver and protect his majesty's person, the protestant religion, and English liberties hitherto,  
 “ from the hellish and frequent attempts of their enemies the papists ; in testimony  
 “ of thankfulness herein, and for preserving and improving mutual love and charity  
 “ among such as are sensible thereof, you are desired to meet many of the loyal  
 “ protestant nobility, gentry, clergy, and citizens, on Friday the 21st of this  
 “ instant April 1682, at ten of the clock, at St. Michael's-church in Cornhill ;  
 “ there to hear a sermon, and from thence to go to Haberdashers' hall to dinner,  
 “ and to bring this ticket with you.” It quickly appeared how offensive this measure was to the court, by an order of council, which, declaring the right of appointing public fasts to belong only to his majesty, pronounced the invitation by the above ticket to be an insolent attempt in derogation of his right, and of  
 dangerous



dangerous consequence, as tending to sedition ; and commanded the lord mayor and aldermen, as they should answer at their peril, to take effectual care to prevent the said meeting, as an unlawful assembly.

It was about this period, that the useful institution for conveying letters and small parcels, by a penny-post, was first established in London by a private projector, one Murray, an upholsterer. It was, after some time, laid hold of by the government, and annexed to the general post-office, as promising, like that source of revenue, to be serviceable in the great concern of money ; and Dockwra, to whom it had been assigned over by Murray the institutor, was gratified by a pension of 200*l.* a year. Mention of it, however, is not found in the statute-book until the year 1711. At this time too it was, that the proceedings of the court of common council, which had taken place during the usurpation, were repealed as irregular. A committee had been appointed upon the restoration, to inspect the records of these proceedings upon the journals, and it was not till now that their report was given in. The famous act for regulating the election of sheriffs was passed at the same time, in which it was enacted, “ That every person chosen  
“ sheriff of London and the county of Middlesex, and refusing to serve the said  
“ office, shall pay 400*l.* to the mayor and commonalty of the said city, unless he  
“ can purge himself upon oath on account of his want or defect of ability in wealth :  
“ if an alderman, he shall pay 600*l.*”

The events which remain to be described during this reign, are two of the most memorable which occur in the history of the capital. The contests for the election of sheriffs, on the two late occasions, had violently heated men's minds ; and both parties prepared for that which was approaching, with the utmost industry and zeal. At the Bridge-house feast, the lord mayor, on the side of the court, drank to Dudley North. This is the ceremony by which a person was understood to be put in nomination for the office. In consequence of this, North, some days previous to the election, presented himself before the court of aldermen, and entered into a bond to serve the office. Moor issued his precept to the several companies to attend the election ; but, instead of the usual form of words, adopted one, which intimated that the only thing which the companies had a right to do with regard to the choice that he had made, was to confirm it. The assumption of a power by the lord mayor actually to appoint the sheriffs, and to reduce the confirmation of the common hall to a matter of mere unmeaning form, could not fail to create alarm. The  
companies

companies appeared at a loss what measures to pursue. In the summons issued by them, some of them conformed to the expressions of the precept, some adhered to the ancient form, and others made use of a general expression, and summoned their liverymen *to elect city officers*. The affair was taken into consideration by the aldermen; and the opinion of the recorder being demanded, he declared the right of election of both sheriffs to be in the commonalty, and that the sheriffs *pro tempore* were judges of the poll, if there was one. In this opinion the court concurred; and some of the companies, who, according to the precept of the lord mayor, had issued summonses for confirmation and election, delivered out others for *election* only. On the day of election the hall was very full, and when the common crier opened the business of the meeting by proclaiming, “ You gentlemen of the “ livery attend your confirmation;” the hall resounded with cries of *No confirmation, No confirmation*. This opposition lasted for near half an hour, when the recorder stepped forward and addressed the livery, praising the government of the city, and adducing proofs of their privilege to elect their own sheriffs, from the charter of John downwards. The lord mayor and aldermen then retired, and left the livery to proceed in the election. The contest about confirmation was of course abandoned. The following gentlemen were put in nomination: Dudley North, Thomas Papillion, John Dubois, and Ralph Box, Esqrs.; and the shew of hands appearing in favour of Papillion and Dubois, a poll was demanded, and granted for all the four candidates. This gave occasion to a new contest and confusion. For when clerks and books were prepared for taking the poll, some demanded that a distinct column might be appropriated to those who were for confirming the choice of the mayor; and when this was denied as irregular, they made complaint to the court of aldermen, and offered to make oath that they were denied the liberty of polling. During all the time, a number of insolent persons, some of them provided with swords, were employed in going about the hall, offering the greatest provocations, and using every effort to excite a riot. The recorder and some of the aldermen were the particular objects of their insults. When the suffrages appeared to run in favour of Papillion and Dubois, the mayor came again into the hall, attended by a clamorous multitude, and sent for the sheriffs into the council-chamber. They excused themselves on account of their attendance on the poll, but promised to come as soon as the business of the day was over. He then came to the place of polling, and made some attempts to stop the proceedings; but by the representations



ations of the sheriffs was induced to desist. About seven o'clock, however, the poll still continuing, he returned, came upon the hustings, attended by a few of the aldermen, and ordered the common crier to address the multitude in the following words: "All you who were summoned to appear here this day, are required to depart, and to give your attendance on Tuesday, at nine o'clock in the morning." Some of the people immediately asked for what; and others called out *A poll, A poll*. The sheriffs in the mean time continued the poll, hoping to finish it that night, but about nine they desisted, and of their own accord adjourned the proceedings till Tuesday morning.

In the mean time a complaint of ill usage (he had been almost jostled, he said, off his legs) was exhibited by the lord mayor, and an order of the privy council obtained for the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs to appear before them, on Monday. Here, being severally examined concerning the riot, the two sheriffs, Pilkington and Shute, with alderman Cornish, were committed prisoners to the Tower, and the attorney-general ordered to institute a prosecution against them in the court of king's bench. Being admitted, however, by a writ of *habeas corpus*, to bail on Friday, they were enabled to meet a common hall on the 1st of July. This the lord mayor, under pretence of indisposition, sent an order to the recorder to adjourn to the 7th. But the sheriffs objected to the validity of such adjournment, finished the poll, and declared Papillion and Dubois duly elected. The validity of the late adjournments was the next object of contest. It was argued before the lord mayor and his party, by council at Guildhall, on 7th of July, but no determination being agreed on, adjournment was again made to the 14th, when a bold measure of the lord mayor attracted general attention. He produced an order of council for a common hall to be held on the morrow, and all proceedings to be commenced anew. When this order was read in the hall, it excited the highest indignation, as an invasion of the ancient rights and privileges of the citizens. The lord mayor, however, declared North to be duly elected by him, and opened a poll for another sheriff. As none but the court party accepted this poll, no opposition appeared; North and Box were of course elected; and Papillion and Dubois were left to seek their remedy by law. A petition presented to a court of aldermen for swearing them in was rejected. Box, however, the second of the sheriffs elected by the court influence, intimidated by the difficulties which he foresaw, paid the legal fine rather than serve. The lord mayor called a common hall, and

was allowed, without opposition, to appoint Mr. Peter Birch in the room of Box ; and together with North he was sworn into the office.

The mayor and sheriffs were eager not to lose time in shewing the court what true and useful friends they had gained. They acted with the greatest rigour against the presbyterians ; and Sir William Pritchard, who succeeded Moor as lord mayor, even prevented the populace from burning the pope on the 17th of November, a ceremony which had been diligently observed since the time of queen Elizabeth. The court, too, finding they might now trust to their friends the sheriffs to procure them juries suitable to their purposes, thought the time for gratifying a few of their resentments was at last arrived. When the duke of York was about to leave Scotland, Pilkington, the late sheriff, was reported to have said, “ He has already burnt the city, and now he is coming to cut all our throats.” For these indecent expressions a prosecution was now commenced by the duke. They were sworn to by two brother aldermen of the sheriff, Sir William Hooker and Sir Henry Tulse. Sir Patience Ward, however, then lord mayor, who was present at the time, deposed that he heard no such expressions. A verdict nevertheless was found against Pilkington ; but what is perhaps still more strange, no less a sum than 100,000*l.* damages was awarded against the refractory sheriff, in defiance of the law of England, ratified by the charter of king John, which expressly ordains, that no man shall be fined to his ruin. Pilkington surrendered himself in discharge of his bail, and North, the mayor’s sheriff, succeeded him as alderman. That the transaction might be complete in all its parts, Sir Patience Ward was indicted for perjury, and set in the pillory.

One victory gained by arbitrary power over any part of a people, constantly makes way only for another, and a worse. The king had now obtained the ability to take revenge of the city for all the mortifications he had received from them, and he resolved not to lose the opportunity. The advice was received from a man worthy to give it, lord chief justice Sanders ; for no king was ever served more to his heart’s desire by the law than Charles II. Sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney-general, upon the advice of this judge, undertook to overthrow the charter of the city. This was a compendious operation to lay the capital, and with it the whole nation, at the mercy of the court. A writ of *quo warranto*, that is, to inquire into the validity of its charter, was issued against the city, and the cause was tried at Hilary and Easter terms. The arguments which were employed deserve attention. The charter,



charter, it was stated, was originally the free gift of the king to the city ; in consequence of this it was forfeitable back to the crown upon a malversation of the body upon whom it had been bestowed. The instances of evil behaviour by which the city had justly incurred this forfeiture were the following : They had scandalized the king's government, when in their late petition they had charged him with obstructing public justice, by proroguing the parliament at Westminster ; and they had oppressed their fellow-citizens by establishing certain tolls on goods brought to the public markets, towards defraying the expense of their late erection after the great fire. These, indeed, were only the actions of the common council ; but as they were elected by the whole body of the citizens, it was argued that the whole body of the citizens was responsible for what their representatives did, and involved in all their forfeitures. For these weighty causes, on the 12th of June was the charter of the city of London declared by the judges to be forfeited. The city looked upon itself as in a manner destroyed by this unexpected sentence. A common council was called to deliberate on the alarming exigency ; and one is here, as on many other occasions in the history of mankind, astonished to find, how suddenly, in unfavourable circumstances, the usual spirit of a people may totally desert them. The only resource which appeared to the common council at this time, was an entire submission to his majesty ; and an abject petition, imploring his princely compassion, was agreed on by a great majority, and carried to Windsor on the 18th by the lord mayor, at the head of a deputation from the council. They were received as they had reason to expect. The lord keeper North was directed first to reproach them for not having been more early in their application, and then to inform them, that the king would not reject their suit, provided they were ready to submit to the conditions which he was about to exact. As this is an important passage in the history of the capital, we give the conditions in the words in which they were prescribed : “ 1st, That no lord mayor, sheriff, recorder, common-serjeant, town-

“ clerk, or coroner of the city of London, or steward of the borough of South-

“ wark, shall be capable of, or admitted to, the exercise of their respective offices,

“ before his majesty shall have approved them under his sign manual. 2d, That

“ if his majesty shall disapprove the choice of any person to be lord mayor, and

“ signify the same under his sign manual to the lord mayor, or, in default of a lord

“ mayor, to the recorder, or senior alderman ; the citizens shall, within one week,

“ proceed to a new choice ; and if his majesty shall in like manner disapprove the

“ second choice, his majesty may, if he please, nominate a person to be lord  
“ mayor for the ensuing year. 3d, If his majesty shall in like manner disapprove  
“ the persons chosen to be sheriffs, or either of them, his majesty may appoint  
“ persons to be sheriffs for the ensuing year by his commission, if he so please.  
“ 4th, That the lord mayor and court of aldermen may also, with the leave of his  
“ majesty, displace any aldermen, recorder, &c. *ut supra*. 5th, Upon the election  
“ of an alderman, if the court of aldermen shall judge and declare the person  
“ presented to be unfit, the ward shall choose again; and upon a disapproval of a  
“ second choice, the court may appoint another in his room. 6th, The justices of  
“ the peace are to be by the king’s commission; and the settling of these matters  
“ to be left to his majesty’s attorney and solicitor general, and council learned in  
“ the law.”—These conditions, the mayor and his deputation were told they must  
accept, under pain of the attorney-general entering upon judgment next Saturday.  
They did not pass in the common hall without opposition. There were still men  
found, who declared loudly that they would sacrifice every thing that was dear to  
them, rather than with their own hands put the yoke of slavery on their necks.  
The acceptance, however, was finally carried by a majority of eighteen. The  
effect was singular, which this instance of the king’s power and injustice had upon  
the minds of men. Almost every corporation in the kingdom came voluntarily to  
reign their charters into his hands. He restored them again for large sums of  
money, and retained in his own power the disposal of all places of trust. So ter-  
minated one of the most remarkable events in the history either of our capital or  
kingdom, which completed the power of Charles II. and constituted him the most  
absolute monarch who ever reigned in this country.

The two rejected sheriffs, however, Papillion and Dubois, had still the spirit to  
bring forward their claims for justice. They commenced a prosecution against the  
lord mayor, sheriff North, and those of the aldermen who assisted in depriving them  
of their offices. A writ of *latitat* was sued out of the court of king’s bench, which  
was served upon the parties by one Brown an attorney. When he was carrying his  
prisoners to Skinners’ hall, it was contrived to get him arrested for debt. He was  
carried to the comptroller, and no person remaining in charge of his prisoners, they  
were allowed to walk home. The court of common council, with great expedition,  
published an order, disclaiming all concert in this action of the superseded sheriffs,  
and declaring their disapprobation of it.



It is established in the order of human affairs, that the more easily any man, or any set of men, submit to oppression, the greater share of it is sure to be imposed upon them. These proceedings of the city, by which they expected to ingratiate themselves with the king, served only to convince his majesty that he might proceed with safety to humble them still further. When they imagined that their degradations were at an end, and that they should now enjoy tranquillity at least as the fruit of their sacrifices, it was suddenly alleged that they had not tendered to the king a formal submission. On this, the judgment of forfeiture upon the *quo warranto* was immediately ordered to be entered; and this was no sooner done, than by a commission under the great seal, the present mayor, Sir William Pritchard, was established in his office during pleasure, and Peter Daniel and Samuel Dashwood made sheriffs for the same term. Sir George Treby, the recorder, was removed in favour of Thomas Jerner, who was knighted on the occasion; eight of the aldermen in the city or whig interest were degraded; and the remaining sixteen made justices of the peace. Soon after eight new aldermen were appointed by the king, and Sir Henry Tulse, one of the informers against alderman Pilkington, constituted lord mayor during his majesty's pleasure.

The commotions which arose in consequence of these tyrannical proceedings, and the blood which was lavishly shed, being common to the city with the rest of the country, belong rather to the history of the nation than of the capital. But one event took place in the metropolis, which, as all the particulars are very exactly transmitted to us, it seems improper to pass over in complete silence. It is the execution of lord Ruffel to which we allude. A scaffold was erected for this purpose in the middle of Lincoln's-inn-fields. As he was conducted hither from Newgate, he passed by Southampton-house at the end of Chancery-lane; here he had a pang to suffer severer than death. This house he had received upon his marriage from the father of his lady, and with that incomparable woman he had lived in this house for many years. He looked towards it, and the tear started into his eye. He hastily wiped it away, and moved calmly on to his execution.

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## JAMES II.

THE hatred of the people of this island to popery has something in it scarcely exemplified by any other fact in the history of the human mind. To a religion in

which their forefathers had been bred, and to which so many habits of their minds and affections were accommodated, to the old religion of the nation, an object from which men are in general with such difficulty weaned, they became all at once so averse, that their abhorrence of it rose to be one of the most powerful sentiments which ever actuated and ruled a nation. James's avowed and obstinate attachment to this hated persuasion, had rendered him an object of extreme dislike to the people; and according to that course of thinking which is natural to them, they imputed to him, in consequence, every disposition and principle which they disliked and feared. They regarded him as the chief cause of all the odious measures of the preceding reign; and the destruction of the two objects most dear to them, their religion and liberty, was to be, they expected, the perpetual aim of his government. James was not insensible that such were the sentiments with which he was regarded by the nation; and as soon as the lords returned from proclaiming him at Whitehall, he assembled a privy council, and told them, that he had been reported to be a man for arbitrary power; but that it should be his endeavour to preserve the government in church and state, as it was now by law established.

The first proceeding of their new monarch which arrested the attention of the capital, anxious to watch his steps, was his going, only two days after his accession, not privately, which was agreeable to his former practice, but publicly, to hear mass; thereby announcing to his people that his sentiments and inclinations, not theirs, were to be the rules of conduct which they were to expect from the governor whom they now had at the head of their affairs. The sending of Caryl to Rome, was his next step, as agent, to make his submission to pope Innocent XI.; and so completely was he engrossed and ruled by the priests who surrounded him, that even the Spanish ambassador was induced to pity him, and warned him not to yield with too great facility to their dangerous counsels. "Is it not the custom of Spain," said James, "for the king to consult with his confessor?"—"Yes," replied the ambassador, "and for that very reason it is that our affairs succeed so ill."

The villany and perjury of the informers of the popish plot were now become so evident, that James would have gained high credit for bringing them to justice, had not their punishment been conducted with such rigorous and deliberate cruelty, as proved in the court much less a zeal to satisfy justice, than to gratify resentment, and exert tyrannical power. The suppression of the rebellion excited by the duke of Monmouth, afforded them ample scope for the exercise of this disposition; and the



the proceedings of colonel Kirk and judge Jefferies in the west of England, form one of the most deformed of those scenes, which make us shudder at the possible depravity of human nature. Specimens enow of a like behaviour were exhibited in the capital. There was one Mrs. Elizabeth Grant, an independent, a lady well known in the city for her humane disposition and beneficent conduct. One of the rebels applied to this lady in his distress, and prevailed upon her compassion to afford him concealment. Having taken an unfortunate man under her protection, she would not afford it him by halves, and was using her endeavours to convey him safely out of the kingdom. The man, who seems to have known the sort of persons with whom he had to do, goes and surrenders himself, betrays his benefactress, and obtains a pardon. She received a punishment surely equal to the offence. She was burned alive for her misplaced charity.—For crimes of the same nature, six men, and what perhaps we ought not to forget, without trial, were hanged at Tyburn as traitors. Nor were recent offences the only ground of apprehension on an occasion such as the present. The activity of Cornish, then sheriff of London, in the affair of the popish plot, had never been forgotten or forgiven at court, but his behaviour since had been such as to afford no occasion of giving him disturbance. In the Rye-house plot his name had scarcely been mentioned, and he remained quietly at his business without apprehension. Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, was taken prisoner with others of Monmouth's rebels at the battle of Sedgemoor, and he had been engaged as one of the most desperate in the Rye-house conspiracy. He proposed to save his life by giving the court that occasion against Cornish, which he knew they desired. Cornish was on Tuesday, 13th October, hurried away to Newgate, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper. On the next Saturday evening, he had notice that he was indicted for high treason, and that he would be tried on Monday morning. He sent on Sunday a petition to the king, requesting longer time, and intimating his ignorance of what he had done to constitute the treason of which he was accused. The petition was by the king referred to the judges, by whom, as was to be expected, its prayer was denied. It was only when brought to his trial that he learned that his accusation was for having conspired against Charles II. along with lord Ruffel and others; and it is hardly necessary to add that he was condemned. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at the end of King-street, Cheap-side, fronting his own house. The fate of Charles Bateman, a noted surgeon, formed the sequel to the above transactions.

He had attracted attention by the humanity, or, as others construed it, the seditious hypocrisy, with which he attended Titus Oates, after his many cruel whippings, and used his skill to cure his wounds. He was accused of holding seditious discourses against the government, and though on his imprisonment he grew distracted in mind, that did not prevent the usual sentence. He was condemned and executed in that shocking situation of mind which we have described.

An event, singular in the history of any city, happened to the capital of England during the second year of the reign of this monarch. It was in this year that Lewis XIV. by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, exposed his protestant subjects to persecutions, which drove more than half a million of them from their native land. Of these, nearly 50,000, the most skilful artists and manufacturers at that time in Europe, passed over into England; and 13,500 of that number settled in and about the capital, and introduced their improvements along with them. Spital-fields, and the place formerly called Petty-France, in Westminster, were appointed for their reception; and money, and every thing necessary to provide for their necessities, was eagerly afforded by the citizens. It was about the same period, that, to prevent the children of the lower sort from being sent to the popish schools and seminaries, which were opened gratis in great numbers about the metropolis, the institution of charity-schools was projected. The first establishments of this kind were opened at Norton-Falgate, and St. Margaret, Westminster. The parish-church of St. James, too, was just built and consecrated, and named in honour of the saint and monarch. London had already increased so much in this quarter, as to render a new erection of this kind necessary. St. Alban and Jermyn streets were considerably advanced, and took their names from the celebrated Henry Jermyn, earl of St. Albans, who had a house at the end of the last, and was said to have been privately married to the queen dowager Henrietta Maria. The church was built on his ground, and as much was taken from the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-fields, as to form the parish of St. James's. Originally two turns in the right of presentation to this rectory were given to the bishop London, and one to the family of St. Albans; but the last was fully resigned to the bishop. The curious history of the Conduit-street-chapel, or Trinity-chapel, well deserves likewise to find a place in the history of the capital. It was originally built of wood by James II. for private mass, and being moveable on wheels, was made attendant on its royal master, during his excursions, or when with the army. Among other  
places



places it visited Hounslow-heath, where it remained till some time after the revolution. It was then removed by the rector of St. Martin's, enlarged, and placed not far from the spot where it now stands. Dr. Tennison, rector of St. Martins, built it of brick in the reign of king William, and it underwent little alteration till it came into the hands of the present proprietor, who added to it a new front, and fitted up the inside in a very convenient manner.

The contest between king and people was now drawing to a conclusion. James, without being a bad man, with a love of his people which would have done honour to the most patriotic monarch, had formed to himself a scheme of religion, and a scheme of government, which he thought himself entitled to impose upon the nation. The nation possessed a bad opinion, partly well and partly ill founded, of his religion, and a bad opinion altogether well founded of his government; and they resolved to permit neither the one nor the other. The matter was fairly brought to contest between the two parties, and decided in the manner which all know. James, among other steps to accomplish his purposes, had, toward the beginning of his reign, dispensed with the tests, and afterwards suspended the penal laws. His subjects were not enlightened enough to have approved of these measures, if adopted purely to grant liberty of conscience: but they well knew that, unfortunately, nothing was less the object of them, and that they were called upon to see others obtain liberty of conscience, only that they themselves might quickly be deprived of it. The king, as a further step toward the attainment of his favourite object, published a new declaration for liberty of conscience, and ordered it to be read on certain days in all churches and chapels after divine service. This was met with violent opposition. One clergyman told his people, that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it. They every where left the churches as soon as it began to be read. Most clergymen chose, against every danger, to refuse to read it, and it was not read in more than four or five churches in all London. When this order was sent to the bishops, there were six of them in London, who all repaired to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, to consult with him what was to be done. The result of this conference was noble. The prelates were honourable, fearless men. They disapproved of the order, though sent from court. Their unanimous declaration, that, as the king could not be obeyed without betraying their consciences, it was better to obey God than man, has placed their names among the most venerable in our history. They were Dr. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury;

bury ; Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph ; Dr. Kenn, of Bath and Wells ; Dr. Turner, of Ely ; Dr. Lake, of Chichester ; Dr. White, of Peterborough ; and Sir Joseph Trelawney, of Bristol. Before they parted, they drew up a petition to the king, praying him not to insist on their distributing and reading the said declaration ; and crossing the river privately, they delivered it directly to his majesty at Whitehall. The effect was quickly seen. They were summoned to appear before the council on an appointed day. Being advised, while on their way, to remember, that no man was, by the law of England, obliged to accuse himself ; when the king, holding the paper in his hand, demanded whether they had signed that paper, they answered only by a bow. “ What,” said his majesty, “ do you deny your own hands ? ” They bowed again. He then told them, that if they would own it to be their hands, upon his royal word not a hair of their heads should be touched. Upon this the archbishop said, “ Relying on your majesty’s word, I confess it to be my hand : ” the same said all the rest. They were then ordered to withdraw : when they were again called in, the king was vanished, and a most fit representative, chief justice Jefferies, in the chair, who treated them with great indignity, called their petition a seditious libel, and ordered them to be sent to the Tower. For fear of disturbance from the people if they were sent through the city, it was proposed to convey them by water to the Tower. But it was impossible to escape the vigilance of the anxious populace. When they heard that these venerable protectors of their favourite objects were brought from court under a guard, and embarked on vessels to be conveyed to the Tower, they hurried in multitudes to the banks of the river, with all the ardour which admiration, compassion, rage, and fear could dictate. They threw themselves on their knees, implored the blessing of the suffering prelates, extolled their constancy with the loudest acclamations, and prayed to Heaven to protect them in the dangers to which they were exposed. Even the soldiers who were appointed to guard them, received them on their knees, and prayed for their blessing and forgiveness. Mighty was the anxiety of all on the day when the bishops were brought forth to be tried. Twenty-nine temporal peers attended, the bishops keeping away on account of delicacy. People were held in suspense during the whole night, the jury taking all that time to deliberate : but in the morning, when the verdict of *Not Guilty* was pronounced, the acclamations of the hall immediately communicated the news to those without ; the acclamations of those without immediately transmitted them to such as were at a distance. The rejoicings



rejoicings quickly reached the camp at Hounslow, when his majesty demanding the cause of the tumult, was told it was nothing but the soldiers shouting at the delivery of the bishops. “Call you that nothing?” said the king: “but so much the worse for them!”

Such movements upon the part of the government, to force upon the people arrangements which they hated, produced in them correspondent movements to counteract these designs. Discordant parties united, and whig and tory, church and dissenters, laying aside their animosities, thought only of repelling the common danger. They resolved to apply to the prince of Orange for protection and aid against their own government. This prince had long fixed upon himself the eyes of all Europe for his heroic defence of his country against the arms of Lewis XIV. He had married, during the last reign, the eldest daughter of James, and was a great favourite with the English people. By affecting to discourage their discontents, he contributed artfully to inflame them still more; but at last his preparations became so visible, and the dispositions of the English were so hostile, that James became seriously alarmed. He wished to recover the affections of the people now when it was too late; but his retractions were made with a bad grace, and only excited for him contempt, as they were universally imputed to the motive only of fear. This motive, however, was productive to the city of an event no less memorable in their history than the restoration of their charter and ancient privileges. His majesty sent for the persons who then acted as lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, to Whitehall, to communicate to them this gracious intention, which he had been induced, he said, to form, that they might the better be enabled to serve him with that duty and loyalty, of which they had given the late king his brother and himself so many testimonies, and upon which he would now depend. The messenger who bore the charter back was judge Jefferies; he delivered it to the *custos* and his assistants, then sitting in the council-chamber at Guildhall. In consequence of this restoration, Sir John Chapman was immediately constituted lord mayor until the ensuing feast of St. Simon and St. Jude: Sir Samuel Thomson and Sir Humphrey Edwin, the present sheriffs, were appointed to continue until others were elected. The aldermen were restored to their respective wards: all these magistrates were sworn into their offices in the great hall; and a short address was drawn up to be presented to the king, thanking him for his favour, and promising, with the utmost hazard of their lives and fortunes, to discharge the trust reposed

in them, according to the avowed principles of the church of England, in the defence of his majesty and the established government. Though next day was Sunday, a special court of aldermen was held, and an order made for restoring the liverymen of the several companies, who were on the livery at the time judgment was given on the *quo warranto*; and this order was immediately entered on the books of each company, by direction of the respective masters, wardens, and assistants.

Another step to satisfy and conciliate the minds of the people, to which the king at this time submitted, was one of the most mortifying to which any man could be reduced. The queen had lately been delivered of a son, after an interval of many years from the birth of the last child. This excited the greatest alarm among the protestants, and joy even indecent among the papists; because both the princesses to whom, barring this event, the succession would come, were protestants, and married to protestant princes: but the prince now born, it was certain, would be educated in all the bigotry of the Roman catholic principles. In this situation of men's minds some one hinted, that, considering the state of the queen's age and health, and after an intermission of pregnancy for so many years, the improbability was very great that she should again become a mother; but that many motives existed for counterfeiting that event. This suggestion was first talked of, and then believed. The king had at first affected to neglect these rumours, but his situation was now become so precarious, that he felt with trembling sensibility the necessity which he should never have overlooked, of consulting the sentiments of his people; and an extraordinary council was held to establish the proofs of the queen's pregnancy and delivery. To this council were called the queen dowager, all the lords spiritual and temporal then in town, several of his majesty's learned council, with the lord mayor and aldermen of London. The king addressed them with an account of the occasion for which he had brought them together; and then the depositions were taken. The queen dowager, and forty witnesses more, declared that they were in the room when the prince was born. Some of the ladies deposed, that they saw the child soon after the birth in the hands of the midwife. The midwife affirmed the reality of the birth. Lady Wentworth was the single witness who declared, that she had received evidence of the life of the prince before the birth, by an unequivocal proof. These depositions were solemnly enrolled in chancery, printed, and dispersed; but had very little effect in producing the satisfaction



faction which was desired ; and the hostile dispositions of the nation were still higher inflamed at the baptism of the child, by appointing the pope, represented by the nuncio, to be godfather, by appointing the queen dowager to be godmother, and employing father Saban to officiate.

The landing of the prince of Orange with an inconsiderable force at Torbay on the 5th of November, a circumstance which would have been of so little consequence either to king or people, had they been happy and contented with one another, was rendered by the dispositions of men's minds one of the most extraordinary and important events which has occurred in the history of any nation. The king instantly proposed to chastise this attempt to interfere with his government. He was waited upon by the lord mayor to wish him success, to whom his majesty earnestly recommended the care of the city during his absence, and protested, that, if he returned victorious, he would faithfully perform all which he had promised, for the security of their religion and liberties. Few occurrences are more calculated to excite astonishment, than the total desertion of James, which now took place. As yet the sovereign of a mighty nation, invested with all the power which he had ever possessed, his kingdom all in peace, not an enemy appearing against him, but an inconsiderable one in a remote corner of the kingdom, all at once his whole people, nay his very servants, courtiers, favourites, and children abandon him, and pass over to his enemy. A terrible sensation of his individual weakness was now roused within the monarch. " God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his anguish ; " my own children have forsaken me !"

Having returned with the utmost precipitation to London, having summoned a council of the few spiritual and temporal lords then in the city, having by their advice issued writs for the election of a free parliament, and appointed commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange ; having displaced Sir Edward Hales, a papist and lieutenant of the Tower, who had rendered himself odious to the Londoners by threatening to bombard the city, the kingly functions of James may be said to have been terminated. The representations of the queen, whose womanish fears were strongly excited, and of the popish courtiers and priests, who expected no mercy from the people, threw the king into the utmost alarm, and he listened to the counsel of quitting the kingdom. On the night of the 9th of December the queen in disguise crossed the Thames in an open boat, exposed to wind and rain, to Lambeth. Here she waited under the wall of the church till a coach was brought from

from the next inn to carry her to Gravesend, whence she embarked with the young prince for Calais. The following night king James, after having ordered all the writs for elections, which were not sent out, to be burnt, and leaving orders for the earl of Feversham to disband the army, without taking any care of their payment, embarked at Whitehall on the Thames, into which he threw the great seal of the kingdom, and proceeded to the mouth of the river, where a ship was prepared for his reception.

In the dissolution of all authority which now existed, the utmost disorders were to be dreaded. The militia of London and Westminster were immediately called to arms; but it was impossible during the first commotions entirely to repress the multitude. They destroyed all the mass-houses, and made bonfires of the materials: they rifled the houses of the Spanish and Florentine ambassadors: they treated with many indignities Jefferies, whom they discovered in the disguise of a sailor's dress, attempting to make his escape, and carried him before the lord mayor. The lord mayor refusing to have any thing to do with him, he was, at his own desire, conveyed to the Tower, where he died of the blows which he had received, and of excessive drinking, taken, as is said, to drown the fears of death. In such a state of excitation in the minds of men, every impression which they receive is of the most powerful kind. When the army was disbanded by lord Feversham, and left without pay in the utmost distress, some of the Irish soldiers are said to have forcibly entered a house to obtain subsistence; and a man in the neighbourhood ran directly to London, crying that the Irish were up, and marching to the city, firing houses, and putting man, woman, and child to the sword. Immediately the confusion was extreme; the timorous fled they knew not whither for safety; the bold ran to arms, and barricadoed the ends of the streets leading to the fields; the women illuminated all their windows in London and Westminster, to enlighten the streets and discover the enemies; the trained bands armed, and formed themselves with the utmost haste: the night was spent in awful suspense; and nothing can be supposed to have preserved the papists from an actual massacre, but the fears with which all were actuated for their own safety.

In the mean time an event occurred, which almost stopt the progress of the revolution, and certainly made it go on more heavily than before. The king was discovered at Feversham, and ill-used by the populace before it was known who he was. He was prevented from embarking, and by lord Winchelsea persuaded to

return



return to London. The populace, upon whom the distresses of the great have so powerful an influence, were melted at the thought of the fallen state of their sovereign, and received him with the loudest acclamations. The lords, and magistrates of London, who had made advances to the prince of Orange, were thrown into no little consternation, as well as the prince himself, who had arrived at Windsor. But this ebullition of favour to James was only momentary. He was allowed to languish in total neglect at Whitehall; and an order of council which he issued, on account of the outrages of the populace during his absence, was not even attended to. His presence, however, was extremely embarrassing, and it was determined to push him to his former resolution of retiring to France; for the prince declared against all restraint or violence on his person. The Dutch guards were ordered to relieve the English at Whitehall, and on the 17th at midnight a message was delivered to James from the prince, desiring he would remove to Ham. He requested that he might rather go to Rochester. He left London next day about noon, and after lingering a few days at Rochester, presented the uncommon spectacle of a king withdrawing himself from a people who would not any longer submit to his government.

The prince of Orange arrived at St. James's on the same day on which the king left Whitehall; and as the momentary burst of favour in the people at the sight of James in distress, had made no change in the habitual state of their sentiments toward either him or the prince, they received the latter too with acclamations, and shouted, "Long live our great deliverer!" The lord mayor being indisposed, the aldermen and common council, attended by Sir George Treby the recorder, congratulated him on his arrival, and on the success of his endeavours to serve the nation. He received likewise the compliments of the nobility; and most of those lords who enjoyed places at court laid down the badges of their offices, as having no longer any right to exercise them. The populace terminated their rejoicings, as usual, by attempts at mischief; they wished to indulge their resentments a little further against the catholics.

The great national opposition had now succeeded in the first part of its grand attempt, in delivering the nation from those who were the objects of its fears; but it had by that means plunged it in difficulties of no common magnitude. The government was dissolved; there was no parliament; no one had a right to assemble it; though it were assembled, its decisions could have no force, because they would

want

want the sanction of that part of the legislature, without which they were not laws. The question was reduced in fact to the original one in the imaginary state of nature, where men assemble to make for themselves a government, and where the objects of deliberation are just two: whether the law of force shall prevail, and the strongest individual or individuals shall impose upon the rest what terms they please? or whether the voice of the whole shall be consulted, and they shall form for themselves the arrangements which they best like? The truth is, that these two methods were combined in regulating the affairs of the English nation at this period. The voice of the people was undoubtedly consulted to a certain degree. But it is equally certain that the leading men succeeded in imposing their sense of things in many respects upon the people; though perhaps no further than was necessary to prevent the evil effects which are so apt to rise from the unrestrained predominance of the voice of the people. The great men, as became them, took the lead in the grand settlement of the national concerns. The peers presented an address to the prince, inviting him to take upon himself the administration of public affairs, until a convention of the national bodies should be assembled; but the difficulty was, to determine who were the persons of whom this convention was to be composed. The constituted bodies which formed the ancient parliament, had no longer any right to impose their decisions upon the rest of the community: the danger, the impossibility of assembling the nation, or even the greater part of it to concert regulations, was evident. The circumstances of the case taught the wise procedure. Those persons were assembled to deliberate, in whom it was foreseen the nation at large would have the greatest confidence, and the nation submitted voluntarily to their decisions. The prince of Orange issued an order, requesting the attendance, on a certain day, of all such persons as had served in any of the parliaments held during the reign of the late king Charles II., the attendance of the lord mayor and court of aldermen of the city of London at the same time, and the attendance of fifty of the members of the common council, deputed by the rest of their body. When this assembly met at St. James's, his highness addressed them in the following terms:

“ You, gentlemen, who have been members of the late parliaments, I have  
“ desired you to meet me here, to advise the best manner how to pursue the ends  
“ of my declaration, in calling a free parliament, for the preservation of the pro-  
“ testant religion, and the restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and  
“ settling



“ settling the same, that they may not be in danger of being again subverted. And  
“ you, the aldermen and members of the common council of the city of London,  
“ I desire the same of you. And, in regard your numbers are like to be great,  
“ you may, if you think fit, divide yourselves, and sit in several places.”

By appointment of this assembly, elections were commenced for a new parliament, as if it had been summoned by a legal king; and the prince's orders being regularly obeyed, the utmost tranquillity every where prevailed. Having re-assembled the forces disbanded by the earl of Feverham, and being in want of money to discharge their arrears, a loan of 200,000*l.* for six months was raised for him in the city, and subscribed in four days, Sir Samuel Dashwood, afterward lord mayor, contributing 60,000*l.* of the sum; and when the elections were about to terminate, and parliament to meet, William sent for the princefs. The parliament assembled, and the prince remained at St. James's, wholly passive, without attempting to court any party, or to interfere in their debates. At last, however, to cut off all dispute with regard to himself, he sent for some of the peers, and told them that he could have no share in the management of their affairs but as their king, and that after any other resolution of the convention he would immediately return to Holland. In the mean time, he gave orders for suppressing the attempts of some active persons in the city to procure subscriptions to a petition to the states assembled at Westminster, for settling the prince and princefs of Orange on the throne; and the parliament proceeded in their deliberations. At last the lords and commons concurred in the following resolutions:—That king James had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby become vacant: That the crown should be conferred on the prince and princefs of Orange; but that the prerogative should be so limited in the act of settlement, that the nation should have no longer occasion to stand in fear of the dangers from which it had been just delivered. On Feb. 30, 1689, the prince and princefs of Orange being seated on two chairs, under a canopy of state in the Banqueting-house, Whitehall; both houses of the convention waited on them in a full body, and the clerk of the crown being ordered to read a Declaration of Rights, enumerating the restrictions on the crown, and the privileges of the people, which the convention thought necessary to secure the happiness and liberties of the nation, the crown was tendered to their highnesses on these conditions, and they were immediately proclaimed king and queen by their names of William and Mary, to the inexpressible joy of the people.

## SECTION XI.

*The History of London, from the Revolution, A. D. 1688, to the Accession of the House of Hanover, A. D. 1714.*

THE revolution was the great event which settled the constitution of government for the kingdom of Great Britain, and some slight alterations or amendments are the only change which it has sustained since that period. The same event forms not an era altogether so remarkable in the corporate constitution of the capital, because it received no change at the time. But in one respect the revolution forms an era no less remarkable for the constitution of the capital than it formed for the constitution of the empire, inasmuch as from the said period forward that constitution has been stationary as much as that of the empire; and a few alterations in matters of secondary importance, are the whole change which the form of government of the capital too has undergone, since that great epoch in the history of England. The present, then, of all opportunities, seems the fittest to give some account of the government of London, so important an object of curiosity in its history, and so useful to throw light on the transactions which happened in it.

The cities which arose in modern Europe after the fall of the Roman empire, were formed in a very different manner from those which anciently existed in Greece and Italy. These last were chiefly composed of the proprietors of land, who found it convenient to build their houses in the neighbourhood of one another, and to surround them with a wall, for the sake of common defence. The proprietors of land, on the contrary, in the different nations of modern Europe, lived chiefly in fortified castles on their own estates, and in the midst of their own tenants and dependants; and the towns were formed almost entirely of tradesmen or mechanics, who seem to have been of servile, or nearly of servile condition; and were regarded as in some sort the property either of the king, or of the great lord on whose estate the town was situated. In some of the most ancient charters granted to some of the principal towns in Europe, the new privilege is conferred upon the citizens of giving away their own daughters in marriage, without the consent of their lord; that upon their death, their own children, and not their lord, should succeed to their goods; and that they might dispose of their own effects by will. They paid a poll-tax, which, after some time, was usually let in farm for a certain



term of years, sometimes to the sheriff of the county, sometimes to other persons. But as soon as the burghers themselves of the towns got credit enough to be admitted to this sort of farm, it was found most convenient to let to them the revenues of the towns to which they belonged. Certain powers were necessary at the same time to be conferred upon them, to enable them to levy upon the town the tax, which, in its name, they undertook to pay. For this purpose they were in general permitted to form to themselves a magistracy and town-council for the management of the town's affairs, to make by-laws for their own government, and at last to build walls for their defence, and to reduce all their inhabitants to a sort of military discipline by obliging them to watch and ward; that is, as anciently understood, to guard and defend those walls against all attacks and surprises, by night as well as by day. Such is the account of the origin of corporation-towns in modern Europe; a curious institution, which established a sort of double government in every country, and erected a number of republics in the heart of absolute monarchies; and which, reasoning before the experiment, we should certainly have concluded must be the source of endless discord, till either the republics swallowed up the monarchy, or the monarchy destroyed the republics. It is, however, an awkward contrivance, undoubtedly, which is worthy only of its Gothic original, and destroys the simplicity and uniformity of the regulations by which all the subjects of the same government ought to be guided; and so far is it from being of any advantage to the towns in favour of which it is made, that, both for the encouragement of their industry and the perfection of their police, it were to be wished that it were universally abolished.

The corporate power of London, which began after the manner just now described, and was increased or modified by the successive events recorded in this history, extends over part only of the city as it now exists. Its boundaries were formerly distinguished by posts and chains, and afterwards by bars; and these were placed on the east in Whitechapel, the Minories, and Bishopsgate; on the north, in Pickaxe-street at the end of Fan-alley, and in St. John-street; on the west, at the end of Middle-row in Holborn, and at Temple-bar at the end of Fleet-street; on the south, the river Thames and the borough of Southwark are included in the jurisdiction of the city. The mode in which this power is distributed and managed, forms a constitution far more complicated than that of the empire, and of which it is more difficult, within a narrow compass, to communicate any distinct idea.

As the magistrates are all elective, we shall endeavour first to describe the mode of their election, and then the powers which they severally possess.

That part of the city which is subject to the corporation is divided into twenty-six wards or districts. In each of these districts all the free citizens are summoned to assemble to elect an alderman for the district, as often as there is a vacancy; and this magistrate, when chosen, continues for life, or at least till misbehaviour afford sufficient cause for his removal. The aldermen originally possessed their office by purchase or inheritance; but this giving occasion to numerous abuses, and consequent discontents, the perpetuity of the office was abolished, and it was brought to an annual election. Other inconveniencies were found to arise from this mode of election; and by an act of 17 Rich. II. it was put upon the footing on which it now stands.

Beside this division of the citizens of London into districts or wards, according to their local situation, there is another classification, which however does not include all the citizens, which seems to have been established in all the towns corporate which were erected in Europe after the fall of the Roman empire. As the government of these towns was altogether in the hands of traders or artificers, each particular class of them began soon to think it would be for the interest of their particular trade or craft to have it erected into a special corporation, or subordinate government, for the management by themselves of all affairs belonging to the trade. Charters were, accordingly, very generally bestowed, granting to the different classes of traders or artificers within a corporate town, privileges very much resembling those conferred upon the town by its charter, the power of electing governors to conduct them, and of making by-laws for their own regulation. The laws by which these subordinate corporations are characterized, and those of London among the rest, are sufficiently selfish. The chief is, to permit no one to exercise the trade in the town but such as the company shall approve of, and consent to make free of the corporation. To be admitted to this privilege, a fine is always necessary; and, in some cases, the number who can be admitted is limited. In London, twelve classes of traders and artificers were very early incorporated into these privileged and exclusive companies; the mercers, the grocers, the drapers, the fishmongers, the goldsmiths, the skinners, the merchant-tailors, the haberdashers, the salters, the company of ironmongers, of vintners, and of clothworkers. The number of companies gradually increased, and at present is no less than ninety-two. These  
companies



companies are governed by primes, or masters, by wardens and their assistants, and a set of privileged members, denominated liverymen. The masters, wardens, and assistants are chosen in courts called hall-motes, held in the hall of each respective company, courts in which all the general affairs of the company are transacted; and the liverymen, of whom a certain number is fixed for each company, are generally raised to their dignity according to seniority, and upon paying a fine, which is a fixed sum for each company. There are twenty-nine of the companies which have no livery.

The livery of all the different companies assembled together in courts called common halls, in Guildhall, elect the sheriffs, the lord mayor, and the representatives of the city in parliament. Anciently the sheriffs were always chosen out of the number of aldermen, and the lord mayor claimed the privilege of nominating one: still all the aldermen who have not served the office are put up first in the order of seniority, and the lord mayor uses the ceremony which was held equivalent to nomination; but the livery assert their title to elect one of the aldermen, or the person designated by the lord mayor, or any other, just as they please.

The person chosen to be lord mayor must be an alderman, and he must have served the office of sheriff. On the day of election the livery are assembled in Guildhall, and all the aldermen who have served the office of sheriff, are put up in the order of seniority, of whom the livery are required to choose two. All the remaining aldermen of the city then assemble in a court, called the court of aldermen; to them the two candidates chosen by the livery are referred, and of these two they elect one, who is lord mayor. Both the livery and the court of aldermen are in general directed in their choice by seniority; but this is not always the case, nor is it by any means accounted necessary.

The powers of the lord mayor are very extensive, and his dignity high. Upon the demise of the king, the lord mayor of London is considered as the highest officer in the kingdom, and takes his place in the privy-council until the new king is proclaimed. He is the king's representative in the civil government of the city; first commissioner of the lieutenancy, and perpetual coroner and escheator within the city and liberties of London and borough of Southwark. He is chief justice of oyer and terminer and gaol-delivery of Newgate. He is judge of the courts of wardmote at the election of aldermen. He is conservator of the rivers Thames and Medway, and perpetual commissioner in all affairs relating to the river Lea;

and he is chief butler of the kingdom at coronations. For the support of his dignity the following officers are attached to his office; the sword-bearer, the city remembrancer, the common crier, the common hunt, and water-bailiff, who have all the title of esquires with suitable salaries. There are the three serjeant-carvers, the three serjeants of the chamber, a serjeant of the channel, two yeomen of the chamber, four yeomen of the water-side, a yeoman of the channel, and under water-bailiff, six young men waiters, three meal-weighers, two yeomen of the wood-wharf, and the foreign taker. Upon all public occasions he is clothed according to the season, either in scarlet or purple robes richly furred, with a velvet hood and golden chain, or collar of SS, with a rich jewel appendant. He has a coach of state of antique form and richly gilded, drawn by six horses. He is always attended when abroad by a great number of his officers, before and on each side; and if on foot, his train is supported by a page, and the city sword and mace are carried before him, attended by the sheriffs.

The aldermen are the officers second in dignity in the administration of the city. Their title, in the ancient Saxon language, is equivalent to that of earl, and they continued long to be distinguished by the title of barons. They are the governors of their respective wards: all of them who have passed the chair, and three under it, are by charter perpetual justices of the peace within the city: they are exempt from serving on inquests, juries, &c. within the city, and from parish offices without. The lord mayor and aldermen together choose the recorder, who is a counsellor experienced in the law, to assist them with his advice and services, in all matters of justice and proceedings according to law. Before the lord mayor, the aldermen, and recorder, courts are held, in which the great part both of the judicative and executive power of the city is lodged. Here all actions of debt, trespass, attachments, covenants, &c. to any value, arising within the city and liberties, may be tried; and actions from the sheriff's court may be removed hither, before the jury are sworn. Suits too of chancery or equity may be entered here, and relief is given where judgment in the sheriff's court is obtained for more than the just debt. In the same place foreign attachments are tried; and it is one great recommendation, that here an action may be entered for fourpence, and brought to trial in fourteen days time for 30s. It is in a court formed of the same judges that all leases and other instruments which pass the city seal are executed. It is by them that the assize of bread is ascertained; that contests relating to water-courses, lights, and party-walls



walls are adjusted; and the city officers suspended or punished, according to the nature of their offences. It is they who have the power of fixing, with the approbation of the privy council, the several taxes of the city. They dispose of the places of the greater part of the city officers, and elect annually eleven overseers of the fraternity of watermen. The lord mayor and aldermen, attended by both the sheriffs and one or more of the national judges, are the proper judges in the court of justice-hall, held by the king's commission of oyer and terminer eight times a year in the Old Bailey, for trying criminals for offences committed within the city of London and county of Middlesex. The court of orphans too is held by the lord mayor and aldermen, who are guardians to the children of all freemen of London. And they appoint a commission of such aldermen and commoners as they think fit, to form a court of requests or conscience for the determination of all disputes between citizens respecting debts under 40s.\* These commissioners sit in Guildhall every Wednesday and Saturday, from eleven till two o'clock.

The sheriffs are two in number, and are for both the city of London and county of Middlesex; the lord mayor and citizens of London having the shrievalty of Middlesex in fee by charter, and being answerable for the right discharge of its duties. The office of a sheriff is threefold—to serve process, and to return juries for the trial of lives, liberties, lands, and goods; to execute process and make execution; and to preserve the peace. The sheriffs of London hold a court at Guildhall every Wednesday and Friday, for actions entered at Wood-street compters; and on Thursdays and Saturdays for those entered at the Poultry compters. Each of them has an assistant or deputy, who is called a judge of these courts, in which are tried actions of trespass, debt, covenants, &c. If one of the sheriffs of London die, the survivor cannot act until another is appointed. By them, together with the lord mayor, assisted, in all cases of consequence, by the recorder, is held the court of hustings, the supreme court of judicature in the city, where all lands and tenements, rents and services, within the city are pleadable, in two hustings, held distinctly, the one called husting of a plea of land, the other husting of common pleas. These courts are held on Monday and Tuesday every week, one week for pleas merely real, the next for actions mixed.

The wardmotes, common-councilmen, and courts of common council, are assemblies and magistrates of a different kind. The wardmotes, which answer to folk-

\* This sum was, at a subsequent period, a little raised. This and a few more slight alterations will be noticed at the time when they took place.

motes among the Saxons, or assemblies of the people by tribes among the Romans, are collections of the whole free citizens of one ward, summoned by the lord mayor to meet before their proper alderman, or his deputy, to correct disorders, remove annoyances, and promote the common interest of the ward. It is in these assemblies that the common-councilmen are chosen. Every year a precept from the lord mayor is issued to the aldermen to hold a wardmote of their respective wards on St. Thomas's day for this purpose. Two hundred and thirty-six is the number of common-councilmen chosen for the whole twenty-six wards, of which some send more, and some fewer. The lord mayor, the aldermen, and these deputies or representatives of the wards, assembled together in Guildhall, form the court of common council, which is the supreme court of legislature for the city. Here all the by-laws for the city are enacted. The court must be summoned four times every year; and the lord mayor may summon them as much oftener as he pleases. They appoint commissioners out of their own body for the management of several departments of the city affairs; and they appoint the commissioners of sewers, the town-clerk, the common serjeant, and city chamberlain. The business of the commissioners of sewers is to take care of these provisions for the purification of the city. The town-clerk has the custody of the charters and records of the city, in which he registers the acts and proceedings of the corporation; and he attends the mayor and aldermen at their courts, and signs their public instruments. The business of the common serjeant is to assist the lord mayor and aldermen in council, and in all their courts; to take care of orphans' estates, and to sign their indentures before passing the lord mayor and court of aldermen. The chamberlain is the city treasurer. He is elected annually; but when once chosen never displaced, unless for some great cause of complaint. He receives and pays all the money belonging to the corporation, for which he annually accounts to the proper auditors; and he has the keeping of all bonds and securities taken by the city. He attends every morning at his office in Guildhall to enroll and turn over apprentices, to decide all differences between them and their masters, and to admit all persons duly qualified into the freedom of the city.

The ancient military establishment, too, of the city is not yet entirely dropped, though the causes which originally procured to incorporate towns the right of defending their own walls no longer exist. The old artillery-ground by Devonshire-square was enclosed for exercising the citizens in archery, in which they soon became  
very



very famous; and at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. it is said that London could muster 15,000 disciplined men. An order was issued by queen Elizabeth, on the apprehensions of a Spanish invasion, to train the young able-bodied citizens to the use of arms. The members of the different companies were accordingly exercised in their respective halls, and 10,000 men were prepared. The use of fire-arms, however, superseding that of bows and arrows, the exercises of the city companies or bands became neglected. In 1610 some gentlemen, of their own accord, revived a weekly exercise in the artillery-ground, and assumed the name of the artillery-company. It is from the civil war, however, that the origin is to be dated of the military establishment which existed in the city at the time about which we are at present engaged. Being the chief support of the anti-monarchical cause, the city raised within itself a sort of militia by levies upon the different companies. The men were formed into regiments, bore the appellation of the trained bands of the city, and contributed greatly by their bravery to the success of the popular cause. These regiments were six in number, and they were distinguished by the names of the blue, the green, the yellow, orange, white, and red. The regiments as well as the names, were long preserved from falling to decay. The government of this body was vested in a court of lieutenancy, composed of the lord mayor, aldermen, and some principal citizens. The officers of the regiments were appointed by this court. They were always some respectable citizens, and generally received their military education in the artillery-company. This company consists of about 300 men, and is governed by a president, vice-president, treasurer, and court of assistants. The lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, for the time being, with the field officers of the trained bands, compose what is called the honorary court; and these, with twenty-four gentlemen annually elected, compose the court of assistants. The king is captain-general, and all the other officers are elected annually, and serve by rotation.

The borough of Southwark is by royal charter placed under the jurisdiction of the lord mayor and officers of London, in the same manner as that city itself; and by the magistrates of London are a steward and bailiff appointed, who conduct the administration of the borough. The officers of the county, however, sometimes interfere in that administration; and though the words of the charter are sufficiently expressed, that encroachment has never been totally precluded by the city.

That large portion of London, known by the name of the city of Westminster,

is governed in a very different manner from the part subject to the corporation. Until the time of the reformation it was under the arbitrary government of the monks and abbot of the monastery, and afterwards of the bishop, dean, and chapter, till the dissolution of the bishopric; and since that time it has been under the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of St. Peter, although the administration must, according to act of parliament, be placed in the hands of the laity. The government is conducted in the following manner:—A chief magistrate, having the title of high steward, is chosen by the dean and chapter. This magistrate is always some nobleman of high rank: and as the duties of the office are by far too laborious to be executed by a person of this description, he is allowed to nominate a deputy, who must, however, be confirmed by the dean and chapter, and both of these appointments are for life, except in case of misbehaviour. Of the same nature is the election of the officer next in dignity, the high bailiff, who in like manner is chosen by the dean and chapter. By these magistrates the city is divided into sixteen wards or districts; and for these, sixteen magistrates, with the title of burgeses, are elected annually upon Easter Thursday by the dean, or the high steward, or his deputy. Sixteen persons more are elected at the same time for assistants or deputies to the former sixteen; and though these elections are annual, the persons once chosen are continued for life, or during good behaviour, or residence in the city. Two out of the sixteen are named chief burgeses, and their pre-eminence lasts a year. If the dean and high steward shall incur delay or remissness in appointing burgeses, two justices of the peace of the county of Middlesex are empowered to supply the deficiency. The inferior officers of the city are the town-clerk, the assessor, and crier.

The dean and chapter, with the high steward, the burgeses, and their assistants, are the court of legislature for the city of Westminster, empowered to make whatever good ordinances, consistent with the laws of the nation, they shall think necessary for the government of the city and liberties. A court of judicature is formed of the dean, the high steward, or his deputy, and the two chief and other ten burgeses, or any three or four of them, for determining all matters relating to incontinencies, common scolds, inmates, and common nuisances, and to commit to prison all persons who shall be guilty of a breach of the peace. The high steward, too, or his deputy, attended by the burgeses, discharge the functions of sheriff, and preside at the court leet, and quarter sessions. The duties of the high  
bailiff



bailiff likewise partake, in a certain degree, of the nature of the duties of the sheriff. He summons juries, manages the elections for members of parliament, and has the several bailiffs of Westminster subordinate to him. As all fines and forfeitures belong to this officer, his place is reckoned lucrative. In Westminster all the inhabitants have equal privileges. There are neither freemen, incorporation, nor chartered companies; and the members of parliament are elected by the householders at large.

A great proportion of the city of London lies without the liberties both of London and Westminster, and is governed by regulations different from those which belong to either of these two places. At the period of the history of the capital about which we are now engaged, the out-parishes were governed like so many county parishes or towns, and each had a set of regulations and officers for itself.

Such has been the form of government in the capital, since the period of that great national act, which altered the hereditary line of our sovereigns, and established a new system of regulations for the government of the kingdom. It was not, however, all at once, that, after such violent convulsions, and so extraordinary an act, the nation could return to complete tranquillity. The whole people, with the exception of a number comparatively very small, had joined cordially in promoting the revolution, but with great diversity of views and principles. The party who lately overturned the monarchy still subsisted in the nation, with a force considerably recruited of late by the misbehaviour of the succeeding kings. Those who had joined the civil wars with a view to reduce the powers of the monarchy, though without any intention to abolish the office, or destroy the administrator, still retained their numbers and their principles, and were even joined by a great part of those who had at first adhered to the prince, from the opinion that all those who opposed him were of one character, and wanted nothing less than the destruction of his person together with his office. These persons had now formed their principles into a system, and displayed their maxims of government with great confidence. By the habit of opposition to the monarch, and of suggesting to their own minds the reasons to justify such conduct, they had greatly lessened within themselves that reverence with which all men had hitherto been accustomed to think of the sacred office as it was called, and deemed, of the ruler of the nation; and when they admitted the utility of the institution, they affirmed that they had stated the only foundation on which it was, or could be established. There was, however, a large

proportion of the nation who had more closely adhered to the king, who were unwilling to part with their ancient feeling, of a sort of religious veneration and respect for monarchy, and who, as is the usual effect of opposition, had acquired a more obstinate attachment to these sentiments, from the attacks which they had sustained from the patrons of the opposite doctrines. This party, too, from self-defence, had been obliged to systematize their principles, and find reasons for their justification; and they represented monarchy as an institution appointed by God, of divine and universal obligation, and to which all resistance was impiety. These opposite parties had, even previous to the revolution, been so completely formed as to have obtained distinct names; and the former were called *Whigs*, and the latter *Tories*. Men in modern Europe had hitherto divided and contended, either from attachment to particular leaders, or houses, whose interests were opposite, or from the pressure of immediate feelings, to resent some injury, or throw off some oppression whose weight they could no longer endure. Religious principles, indeed, had not unfrequently roused hostilities; but the whigs and tories were probably the first instance of people who had in politics formed to themselves plans of speculative opinions for which to fight against one another. The revolution afforded a curious instance of the triumph of practical feelings over speculative principles; for the tories, disgusted with the proceedings and terrified at the designs of the monarch no less than the whigs, joined with as much zeal as they, in the measures which drove him from the throne; but no sooner was the new prince established in the vacant seat, than the parties classed themselves as formerly, and hated and opposed one another with all the enthusiasm and violence of sectaries. Arms were no more resorted to; but the court was, during several reigns, made a scene of perpetual contention and animosity, from the struggles of the parties to obtain power; and they communicated their passions and commotions to the greater part of the nation.

Another cause, which still preserved the minds of men in a state of fermentation and discordance, was religion. The church of England was by no means equalled in numbers by the dissenters; but these last amounted to a respectable proportion; and the natural hatred to one another of the two bodies was highly exasperated, that of the former by the severities, which, during the two last reigns, they had been the cause of imposing upon the other; and that of the latter, by the hardships which, on account of the former, they supposed that they had sustained. The efforts, accordingly, of the one party, to mitigate or remove the grievances of which they



complained, and those of the other to maintain those restraints upon their adversaries, which they thought necessary for their own preservation, maintained a contention of considerable turbulence and malignity during this reign. But the passions raised on account of the popish religion expressed themselves with the greatest vivacity and openness. The greater part of the people were filled with the most violent hatred of this superstitious persuasion: and the number of its votaries in the nation having their strength augmented by all the adherents and supporters of an exiled monarch, the fears of the people were roused to the highest degree, and they could not, they imagined, take measures too prompt or strong, to guard against the impending danger.

One of the first acts accordingly of the new government, was to empower the magistrates of the city of London to tender a declaration, made for the more effectually preserving the king's person and government, to all papists coming to London: and if they should refuse to read and subscribe it, to order them to quit the city and ten miles round, on pain of being punished as popish recusants convict. These sentiments regarding the papists were still more highly inflamed by the transactions in Ireland. A great proportion of the Irish being papists, James still retained a strong party in that country, and flattered himself with the hopes of being able, by their means, to reinstate himself in his ancient authority. Strong preparations were made by the French for his support; and he was able to take the field with a great army, as soon as he landed on the island. The first enterprise which he attempted was distinguished by circumstances calculated the most powerfully to rouse the passions of the nation, and to inspire the most desperate resistance. This was the siege of Londonderry, the inhabitants of which endured the most incredible hardships, and displayed the most astonishing bravery to defend themselves from conquest by a popish army; and the accounts of this defence being every where spread abroad, kindled the most enthusiastic spirit of emulation, and sentiments of the most furious hostility. War had been declared against the French, after an address, recommending this measure, had been presented by the commons; and the French papists in London, on the first appearance of James in such auspicious circumstances in Ireland, manifesting their triumph with rather too little temperance, proceeding even to criticize the government in papers, which were then denominated libellous and seditious, the house of lords addressed his majesty for a proclamation, prohibiting any French papist from coming into Whitehall,

St. James's, or St. James's park, and commanding all French papists, not being merchants or householders, to leave the kingdom in six weeks, and all others within six months, on pain of being prosecuted as alien enemies. The moderation and wisdom of William in the midst of such hot and thoughtless passions is remarkable. He preserved himself untainted, in a great degree, from the infection born by all around him, and repressed the violence of the times. He artfully represented that such an expulsion would be injurious to trade; and by means of this popular plea, and the confidence reposed in his judgment, he was enabled to prevent the measure. This prince was often heard to declare, that he came over to England to deliver the protestants, not to prosecute the Romanists. He seems to have possessed more enlightened views than were common in his day, or perhaps in our own, of the justice and true policy of toleration; and it was with much reluctance that he abandoned the scheme, which he seriously attempted, of procuring to his dissenting subjects an equal share in all the privileges of citizens with those who belonged to the established church. He gratified the citizens of London by the compliment of communicating to them, as well as to the parliament, some letters of the late king which had been intercepted; and they expressed their satisfaction by an address of thanks, and by assurances of their zeal in maintaining his government.

The city was chiefly engaged with the preparations for the French war, and speculations about its necessity and consequences. The king himself went to Portsmouth to hasten the naval preparations. An action of his on his return, though of a private, and even domestic nature, deserves, from the liberality of our sovereigns, who participate with the public almost all their private possessions, to find a place in the history of the capital. He went, together with the queen, to view the earl of Nottingham's house at Kensington, and purchased it for 20,000*l.* as a convenient and healthful residence during the sitting of parliament; and from this circumstance it is that the inhabitants of London have the privilege of enjoying the beautiful walks and gardens which surround the palace of Kensington.

Two proceedings of the first session of parliament must be mentioned. A tax was laid upon the ground-rent of all buildings, excepting those within the walls of the city, erected upon new foundations within the bills of mortality since March 25, 1660. It is to be presumed that the legislature did not any longer propose to restrain the growth of the capital by penal laws; and that they only availed themselves of  
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the established custom of such fines or taxes to raise a little money. At any rate, the extension of the city was by no means prevented. It had advanced greatly toward the west during the late years. The ground from Charing-cross to St. James's had been filled up, and Piccadilly was built on both sides to nearly the same distance. At this very time all the streets round the Seven Dials, in the parish of St. Giles's-in-the-fields, were built, on ground which was at that time crown land, and by king William granted to the earl of Portland. The next proceeding of parliament which belongs to the history of the capital is the following. A bill was brought into the house of lords, for enjoining the subjects to wear only woollen clothes during a certain part of the year. This was with a view to encourage the woollen manufacture, as more profitable to the nation than any other. The folly of the project would, it is to be presumed, have procured its rejection in parliament; but the persons, whose interest appeared to be most immediately threatened, did not choose to leave it to this doubtful process. The silk-weavers of London and Canterbury presented a petition against it, and themselves accompanying their petition, they assembled in great multitudes about Westminster. The conduct of the lords was manly and sensible. They resented the tumultuous manner in which the petition was brought, and would yield nothing to the importunity which that manner indicated. But they did not allow the offensive mode in which it was presented, nor the selfish motives from which it probably arose, to prejudice them against the object which it respected. They applied to the king for a guard to secure them from violence. They told the petitioners that the manner of their application was improper, and that the office-bearers of the company should have directed its members better. They commanded the crowds to return home, and to trust to the house that justice should be done to them. The lord mayor was also directed to have in readiness a sufficient number of the trained bands to prevent the passage of any more such crowds through the city; and when every thing was reduced to order, the consideration of the bill was resumed, and it was rejected unanimously.

The city eagerly embraced the first lord mayor's day, to testify the favour in which they held the king. Having accepted their invitation to dine in Guildhall, together with the queen, the prince and princess of Denmark, and both houses of parliament, every thing was done to prepare for him the most magnificent reception. A procession, more splendid than any which had ever been exhibited on the like

occasion, was formed ; and every testimony of respect and affection which could be devised, was employed. Not the city only, but even the city companies, solicited the honour of publicly testifying their regard for the sovereign ; and the company of grocers had, five days before, obtained permission to choose him master of their company. When the wardens, with some of the principal members, presented him with his freedom and election in a golden box, they received his thanks, and Ralph Box, their chief warden, was honoured with the order of knighthood. These civilities, however, exasperated the spirits of some malcontents, and they sought to allay their uneasiness by cutting away the crown and sceptre from the king's picture in Guildhall. For discovery of the persons guilty of this insult, the lord mayor and court of aldermen offered a reward of 500*l*. William soon found an opportunity of returning the obligation of the favours received from the capital, by forwarding and passing the act for the reversal of the proceedings on the *quo warranto* in the reign of Charles II. This national and legislative act is the last confirmation which the rights and privileges of the city of London have received. By this was every judgment for seizing the franchises of the city declared to be void, and vacates ordered to be entered upon the rolls ; the officers, companies, and corporations were restored ; and the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of the city of London declared to remain by that name a body corporate and politic for ever.

The contests between the whigs and tories at court and in parliament kept the people in agitation, and the king in perplexity. Notwithstanding the general zeal of the nation, and the known promptitude of the king, the enemy were six months in Ireland before the succours were got ready for embarkation. So much was the peace of the king interrupted by the party disputes and struggles, that he was with great difficulty dissuaded from the resolution of retiring to Holland, and leaving the government in the hands of the queen. He would not, however, be dissuaded from going to Ireland to finish the war in person ; though no small apprehensions were entertained of danger to the nation, in so unsettled a state of affairs, during his absence ; but the queen, who hitherto had carefully abstained from all interference in the affairs of government, displayed such prudence and steadiness in the administration, which had now devolved upon her, that no dangerous attempt had an opportunity of being formed. Her situation at the same time was a very delicate one : her husband had left her to carry arms against her father, and she could not fail to be anxious about the fate of both ; the kingdom was threatened with an invasion from  
France,



France, and it was divided and disturbed at home. The adherents of James, now distinguished by the name of Jacobites, as if this were the most favourable opportunity which they could hope to obtain, were extremely active. The papists flocked to London; and it was understood that a part of the French fleet was intended to sail up the Thames to assist the papists in seizing the queen and ministers, while the other, after landing a force in Torbay, was to sail into the Irish seas to intercept the king's return. The queen issued two proclamations, the one commanding all papists, and reputed papists, to depart from the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of them; the other ordering the confinement of popish recusants within five miles of their respective dwellings: and the combined Dutch and English fleets were sent out to meet and engage that of the enemy. Great was the consternation of the people at the news of the engagement off Beachy-head, where the English were conquered. These news were indeed immediately followed by those of the victory of William over the force of the ejected monarch on the banks of the Boyne. But as the strength of Great Britain at sea is its grand security, the humiliation and terror of the nation was great almost beyond example; and immediate invasion was the expectation of every one. The magnanimity and good sense of the queen at this crisis is praised by all; and no measure which activity and wisdom could accomplish, was left unexecuted to put the kingdom in a state of defence. She was powerfully seconded by the zeal and affection of the subjects. The most effectual assistance of the city was proffered, with every demonstration of the deepest interest in her majesty's fortune. The lord mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy attended her in council. They informed her that the several regiments of city militia amounted to 9000 men, were well appointed, and ready for her majesty's service; they told her also, that the lieutenancy had resolved to raise six regiments of auxiliaries besides; and they added, that the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council would, by the voluntary contributions of themselves and the other citizens, raise a large regiment of horse and 1000 dragoons, and maintain them for such time as occasion should require. The appointment of the officers they desired, they said, to intrust to her majesty. This gratifying offer received from the queen the thanks which it deserved; and she replied, that she would consider of the appointment of the officers as they required. The appearances of danger, however, wore speedily away without any memorable event; and the king returned in peace, after a happy conduct of affairs in Ireland, to Kensington; where he was waited on by  
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the magistrates of the city, and congratulated upon his successful expedition and safe return.

The dissensions of the whigs and tories passed into the city too, and molested its counsels and proceedings. The tories were enraged that the whigs kept possession of all offices of trust and power in the city, and they conceived that they had now attained sufficient strength to justify an attempt to wrest the authority out of the hands of their enemies. They presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining, that notwithstanding the reversal of the judgment on the *quo warranto*, and of all the proceedings depending on that judgment, yet the aldermen elected by commission under the late king's great seal, still acted by virtue of that authority: that Sir Thomas Pilkington was not duly returned as mayor by the livery: that he and the aldermen had intruded Mr. Leonard Robinson into the office of chamberlain, though another person was duly elected: that divers members of the common-council were illegally excluded, and others duly elected were refused admittance: and after the specification of other grievances they prayed for relief. The opposite party undertook to prove that these complaints were false or frivolous; and they represented the petition as a jacobitical scheme, intended to disturb the peace of the city, to retard the supplies, and distress the government. In the late difficulties of the government the whigs of London had appeared to be the monied men, at least the men most willing to intrust government with their money, while the tories had kept aloof, from want either of ability or inclination. This was the most infallible of all claims for the support of government. The court accordingly interposed its influence, and no attention was paid to the remonstrance of the tories.

During the same session of parliament was a new act passed, granting powers for paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets of London, Westminster, and Southwark, and for regulating the markets in the same places. At this period too were the proprietors of the water-works in York-buildings incorporated by a private act. And the same is the date of the fire in the palace of Whitehall, which destroyed the dutchefs of Portsmouth's lodgings, with all the stone gallery, and the buildings behind it, down to the Thames. The accident was occasioned by the negligence of a female servant, which deserves to be described for the warning of others. To save the trouble of finding a knife to cut a candle from a pound of them which were tied together, she burnt it off and threw the rest aside, without perceiving that  
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the fire was not yet extinguished. It was at eight o'clock in the evening that the fire commenced, and it was four next morning before it could be subdued.

The object which principally engaged, and almost engrossed, the cares and concern of the king, were the affairs of the continent. Roused, in his earliest youth, by the extreme danger in which his country was understood to be placed by the ambition of the king of France, he had cultivated an opinion that the greatest danger impended not over Holland only, but all Europe, from the power of that monarch; and he had exerted every effort and contrivance to raise a confederacy of the surrounding governments to oppose him. The counsels of this confederacy he had directed; and he had led its armies to the field. During the whole of his reign in England he was continually passing over to yield his service in some exigence of the general concern, sometimes so often as twice in one year; and the chief advantage which he appeared solicitous to derive from being king of England, was to obtain supplies to carry on his continental wars. He left the conclusion of the war in Ireland to one of his generals, while he himself was leading the confederate army in Flanders. It was not always, however, without danger, notwithstanding the prudence of the queen, that the kingdom was thus abandoned to itself. During the summer of 1692, while the king was on the continent, the queen was again alarmed with the intimation of the designs of the papists. A descent upon England was projected in France, an insurrection at home was planned to favour it, and William was to be assassinated abroad, to ensure the success of the enterprise. Her majesty renewed the proclamation for papists, and all those reputed so, to quit the metropolis. She ordered diligent search to be made for the most disaffected persons; who absconding, a proclamation was issued for apprehending the most eminent of them by name. She ordered also the militia of Westminster, consisting of two regiments of foot, of about 1500 men each, to appear in Hyde-park, on May 9th, under the earl of Bedford, lord lieutenant of the county of Middlesex. The following day the six regiments of London trained bands, containing about 10,000 men, were drawn out in the same place, under command of the lord mayor, and their respective colonels. The queen herself reviewed these regiments on both days, and expressed herself highly satisfied with the good order of their appearance, and their readiness and zeal for her service: and she obtained a loan of 200,000*l.* from the corporation of London. An event, however, quickly followed, which removed all fears of danger, and raised the spirits of the nation to more than their usual elevation.

The great fleet and armament of the French, sent out to force a descent upon England, was completely overcome and demolished, by the combined English and Dutch fleets, under the command of admiral Ruffel, off la Hogue. This established so completely the naval superiority of Great Britain, that all thoughts of compelling the nation by a foreign invasion were from that period abandoned.

Less interested from this time in considering the situation of affairs abroad, the citizens of London, during the remainder of this reign, were chiefly occupied with the occurrences within their own boundaries. An event, very unusual in the metropolis of Great Britain, one of the remarkable phenomena of nature, seems to have made a very violent impression on the minds of the inhabitants. A shock of an earthquake, which however occasioned no damage, was felt. It extended over France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the greater part of England. News had been received of extraordinary disasters occasioned a little before, by a like convulsion of nature in Sicily and Malta; and the town of Port Royal in Jamaica had been totally destroyed. Prophecies, and explanations of prophecy, issued forth, denouncing the speedy dissolution of the world. It is perhaps not very remarkable, that in a place so credulous as London such predictions should obtain credit; but it is not easy to discover what wise reason had induced the government to issue orders at this, rather than at any other time, to execute the laws against drunkenness, swearing, and debauchery; laws which had received no particular part of the attention of government for so long before, and which have received no particular part of that attention since.

The minds of the citizens were now struck with the inconveniences arising from disputable and unsettled points in the constitution of their corporate government, after experience of the happy effects which arose from having every thing fixed in the constitution of the kingdom; and they proceeded with expedition to ascertain and settle whatever was undetermined and unfixed in their forms and institutions. It is remarkable that till this time it was disputable, who had a right, or who had not, to sit in their primary courts, and have a voice in the election of aldermen and common-councilmen. It was now declared, by act of common-council, that none but freemen, being householders, paying scot and bearing lot, were entitled to that privilege.

They had a new number about the same time added to the list of the city companies: this was an incorporation formed under the title of the Lustring company. It was



was composed of French refugees in company with some English merchants, who wanted to monopolize the manufacture of lustring and alamode silks in England. Their selfish request was imprudently granted; to which attainment the influence of the earl of Pembroke, whom they chose their governor, was of some service: and when he read the patent which constituted them a body politic, he informed them of his majesty's great satisfaction in their designs; a happy circumstance, he added, from which they had reason to expect every kind of encouragement. To confine a trade to a certain number of individuals, and exclude competition, is not, however, the most certain means of promoting the trade. The lustring company found it difficult to maintain their existence for a few years, and at last suffered complete dissolution.

The satisfaction of the people on the restoration of their minds to tranquillity, occasioned a very cordial reception of the king on his return from the campaign of 1692. He was met by the queen at New-hall, and they passed through the city to Kensington, amid a concourse of people displaying every mark of affection and joy. Two days afterwards the lord mayor, aldermen, and recorder waited upon him with congratulations. He accepted their invitation to dine with the city in Guild-hall on the approaching lord mayor's day. A splendid procession, as formerly, was contrived, which their majesties witnessed; and several of the magistrates were knighted on the occasion.

In March the king returned to Flanders; and on the news of the battle of Landen, the chief magistrates waited upon the queen. They congratulated her on the safety of his majesty's person, whose courage had extorted praises even from his enemies. They thanked her for the care with which she had provided convoys to protect the trade of the city. They assured her of their zealous assistance; and, to make good their professions, they raised and paid into the exchequer a loan which she required of 300,000*l*.

Some acts of passionate severity, too frequent even under old governments, where they are less excusable than under new, but which are a disgrace to every government, ought, in justice, to be ascribed to William's ministers perhaps, rather than to himself, as he was not present when the deeds were committed. Such was the treatment of Anderton, the supposed printer of some tracts against the government. He was brought to trial for high treason, and every kind of discouragement and insult was poured upon him by the bench. Yet he made a vigorous defence, and

as nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict which would affect his life. Upon this they were reviled and reprimanded by judge Treby. This they had not firmness to stand. Juries did not then, it seems, understand their own privileges, dignity, and duties, so clearly as they do at present; and by the abuse of the judge they were induced to condemn the man whose life depended upon their honesty and fortitude. Care was taken to bar the ear of the queen against all applications for mercy to him; he was executed at Tyburn, and left a paper solemnly protesting against the proceedings of the court, which he affirmed was appointed not to try, but to convict him.

Affairs more peculiarly their own, than the greater part of those which had hitherto occupied their attention during this reign, now succeeded to the regard of the citizens of London. The corporation found itself in a state in which the corporations of most towns in the kingdom are placed, very much in debt, and in such a manner, that some of the claims upon them would admit of no longer delay, and yet were claims which they were unable to satisfy. At a very early period the magistrates of London had taken upon themselves the guardianship of orphans within the city: whose joint property was a fund in the hands of the magistrates, to be managed for the owners, and preserved till they should come of age. In 1391, at which time mention is first made of this fund, it must have been of some standing, since 2000 marks were then borrowed out of it for purchasing corn during a dearth. In 1569 we are told that regular interest was allowed by this fund, and accounted to the estate of each orphan. At the period of the history to which we are now come, the affairs of the city had arrived at such a state, that the magistrates were utterly unable to refund the estates of the orphans which had been deposited in their hands: the chamber of London, which was the office of account, was shut up for several years; and many hundreds of orphans were ruined. Application was made to parliament for powers to take such steps as were necessary to retrieve and regulate the city affairs. The case was urgent; they repeated their application again and again, for three years, but still without any success. They at last devised an expedient, which, it seems, answered their wishes. They distributed, prudently, certain sums of money to persons of influence in parliament; and now their bill obtained that attention which it deserved. It is dangerous to receive bribes from a public body, because the money must be accounted for in their books. By this means it appeared that among other sums disbursed on the present occasion,



1000 guineas had been given to Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons ; a scandal so flagrant, that it was found necessary to expel him the house ; and one other member, Mr. Hungerford, was for the same fault made to accompany him. The act obtained established the following provisions. It appointed 4 per cent. to be paid on the property of all orphans in the hands of the city ; it directed the annual sum of 8000*l.* to be charged upon the estates of the city, those excepted which belong to the hospitals and bridge, toward the payment of that interest ; it ordered the profits arising from the several aqueducts belonging to the city, and the 600*l.* yearly paid by the lighters of the convex lamps, to be applied to the same purpose ; it enabled the lord mayor and common-council to raise 2000*l.* per annum by equal assessments on the personal estates of the citizens ; to make every apprentice, at his binding, pay 2*s.* 6*d.*, and every person on his being made free, 5*s.* to the same end ; it appointed 5*s.* to be levied for the same use on every ton of wine ; and 4*d.* extraordinary metage for every chaldron of coals in the port of London ; it directed the said 4*d.* to be raised to 6*d.* after the 29th of September, and to continue for fifty years ; it then appointed this imposition to cease, and afterwards the estates of the city to stand charged with the payment of 6000*l.* yearly on the same account, over and above the 8000*l.* already appropriated to the same purpose.

An institution of more general interest than that for the protection of the city orphans was, quickly after the settlement of that affair, concerted between the government and the city. This was the erection of the Bank of England. On all emergencies requiring money, the government had hitherto been under the necessity of submitting to applications to the common-council. These the common-council had sometimes received in a manner not perfectly flattering to the spirit of kings and courtiers ; and the common-council themselves were often put to great difficulties in raising the money for which they had agreed, being obliged to go from house to house, and to solicit subscriptions on their personal security. At present, confidence in the stability of the new government being not as yet by any means entire, men demanded exorbitant interest for whatever money they consented to advance to it ; and those who wished well to that government desired, if possible, to find the means of relieving it from so great a hardship. In several of the great commercial towns of Europe, in Amsterdam, in Hamburgh, Venice, and Genoa, banks had been erected, not for the accommodation of merchants only, but of the government too ; and inquiry was now made whether the same object would not be attained

attained in England. Great opposition was made to the project. Some were afraid of losing the great interest for their money which they had been accustomed to receive; some wished to see the government lose all support, rather than obtain any new facility in procuring it; others dreaded that the facility of raising money would tempt government to raise too much, and enable them to oppress the people as well by the weight of their exactions, as by the power which exorbitant supplies of money would throw into their hands. All these joined in proclaiming every objection which they thought would make an impression on the minds of the public: that such an institution would become a monopoly, and engross all the money in the kingdom; that being an engine of government, it would thus render the government absolute; that it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employ it on stock-jobbing; that it would produce a swarm of brokers and jobbers to prey upon their fellow-citizens, to encourage fraud and gaming, and further corrupt the morals of the nation. All those, on the other hand, who were employed in turning the wheels of government, or who had any interest in the facility with which they moved, were equally eager to carry the scheme into execution, and exerted themselves to find popular topics to recommend it. It would rescue the nation, they said, out of the hands of usurers and extortioners; it would raise the value of land; it would revive and establish public credit; it would extend circulation, and consequently improve commerce; it would facilitate the annual supplies, and connect the people more closely with the government. The friends of the institution proved most powerful in numbers at least. A plan was formed by William Paterson, a merchant in the city, by whom first the design was started. A fund of a certain amount was proposed to be raised, and for its management a body politic to be incorporated with suitable powers. On the credit of this capital the bank were to circulate notes and discount bills. They were to be ready to advance to government, on the credit of acts of parliament, whatever part of their capital should be demanded. When this plan was digested in the cabinet, and a majority in parliament secured for its reception, it was brought forward on the following occasion. An act having passed for granting several duties on the tonnage of ships, and on beer, ale, and other liquors, and the money being wanted immediately, before these taxes could come in, their majesties were empowered to raise a sum of 1,200,000*l.* by subscriptions, from all persons, natives and foreigners, to form by charter these persons into a body corporate, under the title of the



the Governor and Company of the Bank of England; to allow them 8 per cent. for the money advanced, and 4000*l.* yearly for the charges of management, amounting in the whole to an annuity of 100,000*l.* It was however provided, that at any time after the 1st day of August, in the year 1705, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the money advanced, the said corporation should cease and determine. The whole subscription was filled in ten days after its being opened. Such is the origin of the bank of England. It is by its charter empowered to lend money on pawns or pledges, but little or no use has been made of this power. It issued sealed notes, on its first institution, which bore interest. Its ordinary banking operations are now confined to discounting bills of exchange, and circulating notes payable to bearer on demand. It is intrusted with the care of supplying the public with specie. It receives and pays the greater part of the annuities which are due to the creditors of the public; it circulates exchequer bills; and it advances to government the annual amount of the land and malt taxes. Its capital stock has been increased on different occasions, till it is now about eleven million sterling.

Notwithstanding the numerous complaints which were daily poured out concerning the decay of trade on account of the obstructions of the war, we have a tolerably convincing proof in the year 1694, that the import and export trade of London had been pretty strongly on the increase. So much had the inhabitants of Wapping, composed almost entirely of the families of seafaring people, now multiplied, that a new church and parish were found necessary for their accommodation; and they were erected accordingly, under the name of the church and parish of St. John in Wapping. A proof of the increasing luxury too of the times, may probably be taken from the new tax which the hackney coaches and stage coaches were able to bear, and the number at which the former were now fixed in London. That number was 700. They were charged with a fine of 50*l.* for a license, to be in force for twenty-one years, and an additional duty of 4*l.* per annum. Stage coaches were taxed at 8*l.* a year.

The 22d of November this year was distinguished by the death of archbishop Tillotson, who had been seized with a fit of the dead palsy in the chapel at Whitehall. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest men who have appeared in England. He had carefully cultivated an excellent genius, and he applied the whole of those fine powers in the service of his profession, and for the advancement of religion and virtue among his fellow-creatures. His own conduct was exemplary; and temperance,

ance, elegance, charity, meekness, and moderation, were qualities which even his enemies allowed to distinguish his deportment. The queen, who shed tears of sorrow on his death, did not long survive it. She died of the small-pox on the 28th of December, regretted and esteemed by the nation, and lamented with the deepest sorrow by the king, who would neither see company, nor attend to matters of state, for several weeks. A warm address of condolence was presented to his majesty by the corporation on the melancholy occasion. The body lay in state till the 5th of March, when it was interred with the greatest magnificence, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, with the two houses of parliament, the judges, sergeants at law, and all her majesty's household, making part of the retinue.

The city having some time before determined and fixed all the unsettled and disputable points respecting the courts of common-council, were desirous of obtaining the same improvement respecting common halls. By an act accordingly of common-council, passed during the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Lane, on the 21st of June 1695, the constitution of common halls was permanently established. It was declared, " That the right of assembling common halls, for the election of lord  
" mayor, sheriffs, and other public officers of the city, is, and ought to be, in  
" the lord mayor for the time being. That the right of taking a poll and scrutiny,  
" and of adjourning the hall from time to time, till the same shall be concluded, shall  
" be in the sheriffs; but that if the sheriffs disagree, so as to impede the com-  
" pleting of a poll or scrutiny, and refuse to observe the orders sent to them on  
" that occasion by the lord mayor, to put an end to the difference, his lordship may  
" proceed himself in granting and taking the poll and scrutiny, and adjourning  
" the hall until all shall be finally finished." Conformably to these regulations, the following is now the mode of proceeding adopted in common halls: The lord mayor, attended by the aldermen and sheriffs, presents himself on the hustings; then proclamation is made by the common crier, that all the liverymen draw near and give attention according to their summons, and that all others leave the hall on pain of imprisonment; next the recorder and common serjeant address themselves to the livery, and declare the purpose of the meeting; after which the lord mayor and aldermen retire to the council-chamber, and leave the following proceedings to be managed by the sheriffs. Then the candidates are proposed, and hands being shewn, the sheriffs judge in whose favour the shew appears; if a poll is demanded, it is taken by clerks under appointment of the sheriffs; and when a scrutiny is demanded,



demanded, it is referred to their judgment. When all is done, the sheriffs make declaration of the majority to the lord mayor. He then returns to the hustings, attended as before, and declaring the election to the common hall by the mouth of the recorder, he dissolves the court. The election, however, of the representatives to sit in parliament is somewhat different. In this case the sheriffs only are the returning officers, and the sole directors of all proceedings in the election.

The regulations made by the city of London for the advancement of its trade, have not often been distinguished by illiberality. One of the circumstances which does most honour to the national character is, that while commerce in other countries has been found to contract and render fordid the minds of those engaged in it, the traders of England, and above all in the metropolis, are the most generous and public-spirited men perhaps upon the face of the earth : we are, however, obliged reluctantly to relate a very mean and pedlar-like transaction of the city at this period. An act of common-council was passed for the suppression of hawkers, who, it was thought, interfered greatly in the retail trade of the city. Order was given that no person should presume to sell any goods or merchandise in any public place within the city or liberties, except in open markets and fairs, under a penalty of 40s. for each offence both on buyer and seller ; and that no housekeeper under the same penalty should allow any hawkers or pedlars to expose their goods to sale in his house. The privilege, however, of using the public markets, allowing the hawkers still to carry on their business to a considerable extent, another act quickly followed, prohibiting entirely in all the markets within the city and liberties, the sale of any species \* of goods or manufacture sold in open shops or warehouses of any of the freemen, on pain of 3/. with costs of suit, to be forfeited for every offence.

The merchants seem to have been very active at this time in securing all external advantages to their trade. They were particularly clamorous on account of several captures lately made by the French, and complained bitterly of the little regard which, for several years, had been paid to trade and commerce. Since the dissolution of the council of commerce of Charles II. the government had left this class of transactions entirely to themselves. To quiet the present noise, however, William erected a new council for the superintendence of this business ; and that council, under the title of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, has

\* The words of the act are, " Any mercery wares, lace and linen, grocery or confectionary wares, hosier's wares, cutler's wares, tin wares, drapery wares, millinery wares, glass or earthen wares, toys, or any such-like commodities or merchandises."

continued ever since. To this board all proposals for the improvement of trade, manufactures, fisheries, navigation, &c. or for the redress of grievances, are made, and are argued before the board chiefly by counsel. It is they who nominate the consuls appointed to reside in foreign parts, give them their instructions, and receive their reports. To them the governors of our plantations abroad transmit the journals of their councils and assemblies, the accounts of the collectors of the customs, navy officers, &c. reports concerning the balance of trade between England and the plantations, and concerning all other matters of national importance. On all these subjects laid regularly before them, the council present their reports, and deliver their opinions to the king and his privy-council.

We have already related a considerable number of new regulations established by the city since the commencement of this reign. They had not yet, however, removed all abuses. At this time a petition was by the retailers of goods in the markets presented to the lord mayor and common-council, complaining of the extortions imposed upon them by the farmers of the city markets. A committee was appointed to inquire into the cause of these complaints. The abuse had arisen to a height which proves not a little negligence in the magistrates who had permitted it, and not a little patience in the people who had submitted to it. The farmers of Leadenhall, Stocks, Honey-lane, and Newgate markets, were found to have raised from the tenants an annual rent of 10,896*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* for stalls, and the sum of 2194*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* as fines, and thereby to have forfeited their leases. On this report a number of suits were commenced against them; and the cause was by the court of king's bench referred to the arbitration of Sir Nathan Wright and Sir Bartholomew Shower, sergeants at law; who awarded that the said farmers should refund the several sums of money by them unjustly extorted, and that for the future every thing should remain according to the regulation made by the common-council in 1674. Another nuisance at the same time called loudly, it seems, for removal. In the times of popery several places in London, and about it, had been allowed as sanctuaries to criminals and debtors. These had even continued to be allowed as sanctuaries to debtors ever since the reformation, no officer daring, without hazard of his life, to arrest any debtor who had taken refuge in them; and the men of desperate fortune and bad character, who now sheltered themselves in these receptacles, and set all law at defiance, were so numerous, as to be a scandal to the government and a pest to the city. A remedy was applied by an act of parliament,

“ For the more effectual relief of creditors in cases of escapes, and for preventing



“ abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places.” By this statute, the following places of pretended privilege, that in the Minories, those in Salisbury-court, Ram-alley, Whitefriars, and Mitre-court, were suppressed ; as were also those in Holborn, in Fulwood’s-rents, and in Baldwin’s-gardens in Gray’s-inn-lane ; those in the Strand and the Savoy, and those in Southwark, Montague-close, the Clink, Dead-man’s-place, and the Mint. With regard to this last place, however, claims were again allowed to be raised, and abuses rose to a greater height than ever ; nor were its pretended privileges finally suppressed until the reign of George I.

On the 15th of November 1697, after concluding the peace of Ryfwick, the king landed at Greenwich ; and next day was met at St. Margaret’s-hill in Southwark, by the magistrates of London, who attended him into the city, and would have honoured his return with a triumphal procession if he would have permitted it. But such displays were as repugnant to the nature of William, as they are agreeable to the taste of most kings : and he even ordered a stop to be put to the erection of some triumphal arches intended for the occasion. Though war was concluded between England and France, the advantages of peace which the two nations ought to derive from one another found too effectual obstructions ; and though several motions toward a treaty of commerce were made, and a commissary even came over from France to adjust the terms, the object was not effected. High duties had been laid on French goods, and the produce of these duties had been applied to various uses. The English besides had learned to accommodate themselves without French articles, by procuring wine from Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and linen from Holland and Silesia ; and the French refugees settled here had introduced the manufacture of silks, stuffs, hats, and paper. The French too had not relaxed the imposts which they had laid on British manufactures ; and both parties kept so shy, that no accommodation between them was obtained.

The spirit of trade seems at this time to have risen to that degree of ardour in England, which has supplied to her every advantage which otherwise she has been denied. The jealousies and rivalry so strongly exhibited by the different trading parties against one another, are a sufficient proof both of the success which attended their enterprizes, and of the hopes with which they were inspired. The East India company in particular were the object of violent complaints ; not so much from the enlightened, general views which might justly have raised wise men to oppose a great and injurious monopoly, as from the vulgar and fordid motive of private

and opposite interest. The silk-weavers had begun the outcry, on account of the great quantities of silks, calicoes, and other articles imported by the East India company. They had even made use of tumult and violence as expressions of their sentiments; and had proceeded to attempts to seize the treasure in the East India-house; nor was it without considerable difficulty that they were reduced to order. The merits and claims of the two parties, however, continued greatly to occupy both conversation and the press. The company employed an author of no small reputation, Davenant, to defend their cause; and Mr. Pollexfen, an eminent merchant, took upon him the support of the other side. This was the most popular side of the question, and Mr. Pollexfen, of course, was regarded as the ablest champion. These contentions and complaints continued and increased, till parliament thought proper to take the state of the trade into consideration. It has been asserted, that the coldness with which the company received some applications for money, was the true cause which induced the government to interfere with their privileges. It is at least certain, that the company now offered to supply the government with 700,000*l.* at 4 per cent. provided the trade to India should be exclusively settled on them; that another set of merchants offered on the same terms to advance 2,000,000*l.* at 8 per cent. and that the last offer was successful. An earnest remonstrance was presented both to the commons and the lords, by the old company, representing their services to government, their expectations founded on so many royal charters, the amount of their property about to be lost, and the multitude of families about to be ruined. Without regard to this remonstrance, a bill in favour of the new lenders was passed, in which, however, it was provided, that the old company might continue their trade until Michaelmas 1701. In the mean time they artfully subscribed 315,000*l.* into the new stock, in the name of their treasurer. They next year presented a petition to parliament that they might be continued by parliamentary authority during the remaining part of the time prescribed in their charter; and at the same time published a state of their case, magnifying the equity of their claims, and the injuries which they had undergone. The new company drew up an answer, exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries. But the influence of the ministers of last year was now vanished, and the commons seemed greatly to have changed their opinions respecting the two companies. A bill accordingly passed in favour of the old company in both houses, and they were authorized to continue a corporation,



ration, till this subscription into the new fund should be redeemed. By this law were two rival companies appointed to trade to India.

The vast success of mercantile enterprises which had been lately experienced, and which was yet a spectacle only beginning in the nation, filled the minds of a number of people with the most romantic and foolish hopes. The writers of this time are filled with complaints, that every day projects of the most extravagant kind were proposed, which promised mountains of gold, but generally ended in the ruin of the unwary prosecutors. Stock-jobbing was the offspring of this period; at least it was at this period that it came to such magnitude as to deserve or obtain any notice. The jobbers, however, were soon removed from the Exchange, and they established themselves in Change-alley just opposite. The passion for lotteries too became so general, not in London only, but in most of the cities and great towns in England, that an act of parliament was thought necessary for their suppression. It is remarkable that a species of fraud which no wise government can allow to be perpetrated by its subjects, the government of Great Britain should have practised as a mean of supply for such a term of years.

The spectator of the present times finds his wonder a little excited by the complaints of the corruption and degeneracy of their age, with which the writers of this period abound. Nay, parliament seem to have been powerfully impressed with the same opinion; and they presented a solemn address on the subject to the king, representing the magnitude and malignity of the evil, and beseeching him to command all his judges, justices, and magistrates to put the laws in execution against profaneness and immorality. An earnest recommendation to the city of London followed from his majesty, enjoining the care of this great object, and of some effectual provision for the poor, to prevent their begging about the streets: and at the same time a society for the reformation of manners was formed under the king's countenance and encouragement. They raised subscriptions for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worship, and administer the sacrament every Sunday. They resolved to inform the magistrates of all vice and immorality which should fall under their cognizance; and to form a fund of charity by means of that part of the fines which the law awards to the informer.

Jacobites and papists were now classed together, and the jealousy of a new government was easily alarmed at the formation of any assemblage of these adversaries.

faries. On disbanding the armies after the peace, it was thought that persons of this description had become much more numerous about the capital than formerly ; and exhibited themselves in a more bold and insolent manner. Of this the commons took notice in an address to the king, and a proclamation was issued, commanding them to depart from within ten miles of the city, on pain of suffering as recusants convict. These proclamations were frequently repeated. All popish priests and all jesuits were commanded to leave the kingdom ; and strict injunctions were laid upon the magistrates of London to execute the laws against known and reputed papists. They were ordered to prevent the subjects from going to mass ; to suppress all popish schools and popish books ; to tender the oaths to all reputed papists ; and from time to time to report their proceedings to the privy-council.

On the 10th of May 1699, Billingsgate, in consequence of an act of parliament, was opened as a free market for fish every day in the week except Sundays ; and mackarel was allowed to be sold even on that day, only not during the time of divine service. Provisions against forestalling and engrossing fish were made by the same act ; and no one was allowed to make purchases here with which again to supply the fishmongers, but solely for his own retail trade, or his own consumption.

The city treated with extreme indignation the fresh pretension of the king of France to prescribe to this country who should be its king, or to interfere in its government. When they learned that Lewis, on the death of James, notwithstanding he had made a peace with William, and had an ambassador from William residing at his court, had proclaimed the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the name of James III. ; they drew up the following address, so energetic an expression of their sentiments : “ Great Sir, we are deeply sensible  
“ how much we are in duty bound highly to resent that great indignity and affront  
“ offered to your most sacred majesty by the French king, in giving the title of  
“ king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the pretended prince of Wales, contrary to your majesty’s most just and lawful title, and to the several acts of parliament for settling the succession to the crown in the protestant line.

“ By this it is apparent he designs, as much as in him lies, to dethrone your  
“ majesty, to extirpate the protestant religion out of these your majesty’s kingdoms,  
“ and to invade our liberties and properties ; for the maintaining whereof your  
“ majesty hath signalized your zeal, by the often hazarding your precious life.

“ We, therefore, your majesty’s most loyal subjects, do sincerely, unanimously,  
“ and



“ and cheerfully assure your majesty that we will, at all times, and upon all occasions, exert the utmost of our abilities, and contribute whatever lies in our power, for the preservation of your person (whom God long preserve), and the defence of your just rights, in opposition to all invaders of your crown and dignity.”

The king was abroad at this time, but the corporation presented their address to the lords justices, and it was by them transmitted to Holland. The lords were in return ordered to acquaint the lord mayor and aldermen with the satisfaction which the king received from this testimony of attachment borne him by the city, and this message was reported in the common-council. On the return too of members to serve in the new parliament summoned for December 30, the city gave them instructions to discharge, as far as depended upon them, the engagements made to his majesty in their late address.

The busy life of the king was approaching its termination. He had from his birth possessed a very feeble and sickly constitution, which he had endeavoured to repair by temperance and exercise. As he was riding from Kensington to Hampton-court, his horse fell under him, and he fractured his collar-bone. He was conveyed by his attendants to Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced. He returned to Kensington in the evening, and by the jolting of the carriage the bone was again disunited. The parts were once more replaced: the accident was one which in general is by no means dangerous; and he appeared to be in a fair way of recovery. After having fallen asleep one day on his couch, he was seized with a shivering, succeeded by a fever and diarrhea, which soon appeared to be dangerous and desperate. He expedited, however, several articles of public business, and when he became too feeble to write his name, he applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. He gave the keys of his scrutoire and closet to lord Albemarle, telling him he knew what to do with them. He expired on the 8th of March 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign.

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### ANNE.

ENGLAND had now attained a very high degree of cultivation and refinement. Notwithstanding the long confusion, and continual agitation and discord in which she had hitherto been held, her improvement had been rapidly advancing. At the period of which we are now speaking, agriculture in England was in a state nearly

as perfect as it is at present ; and riches were pouring in upon her from commerce in a manner at which she herself seems to have been surpris'd. So successfully had letters been cultivated, and to such perfection was the art of writing carried, that the reign of Anne has been denominated the Augustan age of English literature. At this period were the sublime discoveries of Newton made, sufficient alone for the honour of any age of any nation. It was now that Pope perfected English versification, and lent his aid to the correction of morals and of taste by some of the finest satires that were ever written. And at this time it was that Swift and Addison exerted their genius ; the one unrivalled in the union of purity, simplicity, and strength of style ; the other unrivalled in the union of purity, simplicity, elegance, and sweetness : the first surpassing almost all men in a strong, indignant, original vein of wit ; the second, in the most exquisite species of refined and delicate humour ; both of them possessing the most complete acquaintance with men and manners ; and both of them the zealous friends of virtue, and adversaries of vice. Improvement has indeed been made in correctness of style since their time ; but no one has united a greater number of the qualities of fine writing than they have done. Nor had manners in England at this time made less progress than literature in elegance and refinement. The manufactures and commerce of the nation liberally furnished every commodity which could add to the comfort, or gratify the taste of the people ; and the luxuries of that period were scarcely less curious, or less numerous, than those of the present. The modes of address and salutation, the forms of conversation, and the ceremonies of visits, even the articles of the table, and the furniture of the houses, are distinguished from those in present vogue, only by certain shades of difference ; and this slight change some people are very far from regarding as an improvement. A greater degree of stateliness and reserve was practised in the intercourse of the different ranks ; a more pompous and punctilious ceremonial was used in conversation and visits ; and instead of the simplicity and familiarity with which the sexes now converse together, a considerable remain of the ostentatious and formal gallantry of the times of chivalry was yet preserved.

The political parties which disturbed the tranquillity of William, and divided and agitated the public, still maintained their contention at court, and furnished materials to the passions of the people. The principles, however, which originally formed the sects of whig and tory, now sat a good deal looser on people's minds than they did formerly ; and men, without much ceremony, and scarce any disgrace, passed from



from the one party to the other, according as they had received any disgust on the one side, or any particular encouragement on the other. The present reign affords several striking proofs of this observation. Principles, however, did still form, to a considerable degree, the bond which united the members of a party. They were zealots for their dogmas, at the same time that they were restless aspirers at power. And the subordinate members of the faction which happened to be superior, had still the satisfaction of looking upon themselves in a more respectable light than as the sordid, selfish menials of a first minister. Their hopes of private interest were blended with their hopes of the triumph of that set of principles which they had taught themselves to think were alone consistent with the happiness and glory of their country.

The queen herself was of a mild and easy temper, and directed by a most sincere affection to her subjects, a pattern of domestic virtue, by no means deficient in understanding, but rather too subject to be led by those about her, and who had insinuated themselves into her confidence. As her inclinations and propensities, however, were all virtuous, and her judgment sound, she was preserved from forming any intimacy with persons whose views were either very wicked or very mean. And though she was, perhaps, during a considerable part of her reign, not directed to objects the most advantageous to her kingdom, she was ably served in enterprises which never could have been intended to hurt the country. It is doubtful whether the warriors and statesmen selected by queen Anne, have found any successors who have equalled them in abilities, or surpassed them in purity of intention.

Among other addresses and congratulations presented to the queen on her accession to the throne, one was from the bishop and clergy of London, and another from the dissenters in and about that city. The religious passions of the nation were now chiefly divided between the church and the dissenters, but the antipathy and hatred which these two bodies waged against one another was very powerful. There was, indeed, a considerable part of the church, composed chiefly of the inferior clergy, who were more moderate than the rest in their opposition to the dissenters, and in dislike of their principles. These were the low-church party; the other was denominated the high-church party. It so happened that these parties in the church generally were associated with the opposite parties in the state: and the principles of low-church and whig, of high-church and tory, were most commonly

blended together. When the above addressees were presented to the queen, she professed her attachment to the church, but promised her protection to the dissenters, and seemed to be far from wishing to widen the breach between any part of her subjects.

One of the first actions of the queen was the declaration of war against France, a war which lasted during the greater part of her reign, and which was carried on very much to the military fame of the nation, but very little to its real advantage. The adjustment of the East India company was another very early operation of her majesty's government. The contentions between the two rival East India companies ran so high, and the inconveniences of the absurd state into which that branch of trade had been thrown were so great, that the necessity became urgent for a reformation. They were consolidated into one body by an indenture tripartite, between the queen and the old and new companies, under the name of The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

During the summer both the government and the city had some employment in furnishing supplies to the duke of Marlborough's army in Flanders, and abundant gratification from the news of his success. On the approach of the lord mayor's day, the queen received and accepted an invitation to dine at Guildhall on that occasion. The city trained bands were drawn out; the orange and red regiments lined both sides of the streets from Temple-bar to Ludgate-hill; the queen proceeded to Cheapside, preceded by the artillery company, and attended by a numerous train of nobility and gentry; she here stopped, and viewed the procession from the balcony of a house facing Bow-church, whence she was conducted by the sheriffs to Guildhall. The very day following intelligence arrived of the success of the British forces at Vigo. In consequence of this, and of the prosperous campaign of the duke of Marlborough against the French, the queen appointed a solemn thanksgiving to be celebrated on the 12th of November. On that day she, accompanied by both houses of parliament, attended divine service in St. Paul's cathedral, and passed through the streets lined from St. James's palace to Temple-bar with the Westminster militia, and thence to Ludgate by the London trained bands. Two companies of foot-guards were stationed in the church and churchyard.

It is always difficult for people placed at a little distance of time, to enter into the violence of the temporary passions of those whose history they contemplate; passions for which no adequate reason appears to any one but to those who feel them.



them. Posterity will certainly be as much astonished at some of the passions exhibited in the present age, as we are at the virulence of the petty retainers of the factions of the reign of queen Anne. Some striking instances too of this state of mind in these latter persons are on record. The enemies of the late king continued to revile his memory. They charged him with having formed a design of excluding the princess Anne from the throne, and of introducing the elector of Hanover as his immediate successor; nor was the slander suppressed until the lords who had visited his majesty's papers were desired by the house of peers to declare, whether they had found in them any thing relating to the succession, and until a severe resolution was passed by the house against the report. In the hours of their debauch the authors of this and the other calumnies against William used to drink to the health of Sorrel, meaning the horse which fell with the king; and under the appellation of the little gentleman in velvet, they toasted the mole which raised the hill over which the horse stumbled. Some conception too of the strength of the religious animosities may be obtained from the strange exaggerations into which the different partisans were carried. It was a great aim of the church party to load the dissenters as a body, with the whole odium of the death of Charles I., and by consequence to magnify the atrocity of that action to the utmost. Dr. Binkes, in a sermon preached before the convocation, drew a parallel between the sufferings of king Charles and those of Christ, and assigned the superiority to the sufferings of the monarch in respect of right, character, and station. While the act against occasional conformity was under discussion in the house of commons, where the tory interest now prevailed, and where the dissenters were treated with great indignity, a pamphlet was published by Daniel De Foe, the author of the celebrated romance of Robinson Crusoe, and other productions. It was entitled, "The shortest Way with the Dissenters; or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church;" and was a severe satire on the violence of the church party. Justice, humanity, and the freedom of the press must have been poorly valued by the nation, when any man or set of men durst award the punishment which was inflicted on this occasion. De Foe was prosecuted by the commons, his book burned by the hangman, he himself committed to Newgate, fined 200*l.*, and exposed in the pillory.

On the night of November 16, 1703, London was visited by a calamity very extraordinary in this island, a hurricane of no common magnitude, which struck with prodigious consternation and alarm the inhabitants, who had never witnessed

the horror of a similar scene. The wind had blown with unusual violence during fourteen days, and no circumstance particularly distinguished the evening of that night on which it rose to excess. People, however, had not been long retired to rest, when the noise of the tempest became dreadful. Every one was roused by an awful apprehension of immediate ruin to the habitation in which he was placed; yet the danger was more certain if he ventured to leave it, on account of the spoils of the houses discharged from all quarters with the utmost violence into the streets. Every family was a scene of consternation and confusion; horror and dismay were painted in every countenance; and wildness and despair were exhibited by their actions. Even those who themselves might indulge the hopes of safety, had friends in various quarters, whose destruction they believed inevitable, and of whose fate it was impossible for them to obtain any intelligence. It was with awful sensations of wild curiosity that people began to look abroad in the morning, and beheld the streets covered with the havoc of the terrible night, and made inquiries after the fate of their friends and acquaintances. Scarcely was there a house which did not exhibit marks of the fury of the tempest. Upwards of 2000 stacks of chimnies were blown down; and a great number of houses completely unroofed. The lead on the tops of many of the churches was rolled up like skins of parchment; and at Westminster-abbey, Christ's-hospital, St. Andrew's, Holborn, and several other places, it was completely blown from the buildings. The palace of St. James's suffered; the roof of the guard-room at Whitehall was carried entirely away; and the great weathercock was blown down. Two new-built turrets on the church of St. Mary, Aldermary; one of the spires of St. Saviour's, Southwark; five pinnacles of St. Albans, Wood-street; and four at St. Michael's, Crooked-lane, were completely demolished. The vanes and spindles of a number of weathercocks were bent down. Several houses near Moorfields, and about twenty in the out-parts, were levelled with the ground; and end walls of houses and separate brick walls without number were blown down. It appears extraordinary, that amid this sudden devastation the weekly bills gave account of only twenty persons destroyed, beside those lost in the river. No less than 200 however were maimed. It is remarkable, that the houses on London-bridge, to which, from the lightness of their materials, and their exposed and tottering situation, one would have expected complete destruction, escaped with comparatively little damage. The mischief done upon the river however was prodigious. Five hundred wherries were computed to be



lost, part sunk, and part dashed to pieces. Sixty barges were found driven foul of the bridge; and as many more sunk or staved between the bridge and Hammer-smith. Such of them as made their way through the bridge took their fate among the shipping. Of all the ships in the river four only remained not forced from their moorings, and no less than 700 vessels were driven ashore between Shadwell and Limehouse. They exhibited a singular spectacle. Here was to be seen a vessel lying with the bow of one over her waist, and the stem of another on her forecastle; there the bowsprit of one was driven through the stern of another. They were huddled and squeezed together in every variety of position, mixed with small craft and the wreck of their own rigging, and of the vessels which had been totally lost. It was reckoned that the destruction was much less from the accident having happened at the full flood of a spring tide. Fourteen or fifteen men of war, however, were cast away, and with them 15,000 seamen lost. Such ships as were driven out to sea suffered little, some few only being overset.

Some idea may be formed of the demolition occasioned in London from the rate to which the expense arose of every thing necessary to repair the devastation. The price of tiles increased from 21s. a thousand to 6l.; pantiles from 50s. to 10l.; and bricklayer's labour was not to be procured under 5s. a day, a rate which, according to the mode in which labour was at that time rewarded, is not equal to much less than 10s. at present. This excessive expense retarded greatly the repair of the city. Many houses stood exposed through the whole winter to all the inclemencies of the season. Numbers of persons made use of sail-cloth, tarpaulins, or wood, as temporary expedients to cover in their houses. And whole ranges of buildings, in several places, as Christ's-hospital, the Temple, Aske's-hospital, Hoxton-square, Old-street, and many others, stood several years covered with deal boards.

Parliament sitting at the time of this extraordinary event, thought it necessary to address the queen on this awful occasion, and promised her to repair the loss which the navy had sustained, by building such other capital ships as her majesty should think proper: and in a few days she issued a proclamation for a general fast, which was observed throughout England on January 19, 1704, with unusual marks of sincere devotion.

It was one of the remarkable circumstances attending this memorable storm, that no two persons agreed in the reports of the quarter from which the wind blew. It is certain that all the day before, its direction was from south-west to north-east.

And

And it communicates a terrible picture of the distraction and horror of the night, to learn that nothing but uncertain conjectures could be obtained of the course of an agent which had so awfully roused the attention of all men. The progress of the storm was afterwards traced from England over France, Germany, and the Baltic sea, over Sweden, Finland, Russia, and part of Tartary, till it was lost in the northern ocean.

While the British fleets and armies abroad were involved in the hottest warfare, and achieving the most splendid victories, the only circumstance peculiarly belonging to the history of the capital which we find in the whole course of the year 1704, is the regulation of the night-watch of the city. It is probable the improvement had been called for by the increasing prevalence of nocturnal assaults and depredations; as reformation is seldom effected in this country till they can no longer be deferred. By an act of common-council it was ordained, That the deputy and common-councilmen of each of the wards should have power to oblige every person occupying any house, shop, or warehouse in the ward, either to watch in person, in rotation with the other householders of the ward, or to pay his contingent for an able-bodied man, to be appointed to that employment by the said deputy and common-councilmen;—that these watchmen should be provided with lanterns and candles, and be well and sufficiently armed with halberds;—that one constable in each ward, and the established number of watchmen, so provided and armed, should watch in their proper districts every night from nine in the evening till seven in the morning, from Michaelmas to the 1st of April; and from ten till five from the 1st of April to Michaelmas. The number of watchmen appointed by this act of the city amounted to 583.

The chief business furnished to the metropolis at this time, seems to have been that of rejoicing at the splendid success of the arms of their country abroad. The two remarkable events in the history of Great Britain, the battle of Blenheim fought by the duke of Marlborough, and the capture of Gibraltar by Sir George Rooke, crowned the campaign of this year. For this signal good fortune the queen appointed the 7th of September for a day of thanksgiving, and passed in state through the city to St. Paul's in order to celebrate the solemnity. The standards taken at Blenheim were on January 3 carried by a detachment of horse and foot-guards from the Tower of London, and hung up in Westminster-hall. And on the 6th of the same month the duke of Marlborough, by invitation, dined with the lord mayor



mayor and aldermen of London at Goldsmiths' hall. At no greater interval of time than the 12th of August the same year, another thanksgiving was appointed, for the duke's having forced the French lines in Brabant: and the queen again repaired to St. Paul's with the usual parade, accompanied by the prince her husband. No event, which any historian of the capital has thought worth his mentioning, happened in that city till a new thanksgiving, with a like procession of the queen to St. Paul's next year, on account of the battle of Ramillies. The colours taken at this victory were presented to the city, and by a detachment of horse and foot guards brought from Whitehall on the 19th of December, and hung up in Guildhall. On this occasion the victorious duke, attended by a great train of nobility and gentry, was again entertained by the lord mayor and aldermen at Vintners' hall. The court seems to have been as liberal at this time in appointing thanksgivings as their forces were fortunate in obtaining victories. The proceedings of the armies in Spain and Italy were thought sufficiently successful to deserve a grateful commemoration of this sort, and a thanksgiving was appointed on the 30th of December, when the queen again celebrated her devotions in the cathedral of St. Paul's. It seems to have been a policy of the times to amuse and impose upon the people by these holidays and shews, which, if they are of little service to the cause by the devotion which they excite, are often of very considerable importance by the popularity which they procure to it.

The union of England and Scotland, an event so much to be desired by both nations, and which had been several times attempted in vain, was at last seriously undertaken with a favourable prospect of success. Many prejudices were to be removed to pave the way for this important arrangement. The two nations had been enemies through all ages, and, what is generally the case between enemies who ought to be friends, had been enemies with extraordinary jealousy and malignity. There was great disproportion of strength between the two parties. The weaker, accordingly, was held in a continual state of alarm and hatred toward a powerful neighbour, from whom it apprehended wrong; and the stronger was exasperated to the last degree, that so unequal a rival was able to resist all the efforts of a power so much superior. This situation had rendered habitual to the members of the two nations the most opprobrious sentiments and the most opprobrious epithets with regard to one another: and ages of experience of each other's virtues have scarcely sufficed to obliterate old impressions from their minds. The first project of a union

was

was formed by Henry VII. as we have before related. Henry VIII. had it strongly at heart to procure the annexation of Scotland to his other dominions by the marriage of the young princefs to his fon Edward. As he appeared, however, difposed to woo the lady fword in hand, the Scots very properly liftened to a more polite fuitor, and fent their young queen to France. James was able to procure the repeal only of the hostile laws between the two countries. Oliver Cromwell, who governed both kingdoms with abfolute power, iffued an ordinance for uniting Scotland with England. The vigour and juftice of that man's adminiftration produced the effects in Scotland which it did in England, and that country never before was fo eafy and prosperous. Overtures to the fame effect had been made in the reign of William: and a renewed attempt at Anne's firft acceffion to the throne was frufterated by the bufinefs of the Eaft India company, about which men, it feems, were much more interefted. On the 27th of February, however, 1706, commiffioners were at laft appointed on the part of Scotland, and others on the part of England, on the 10th of April. On the 16th of the fame month they met in the council-chamber in the Cockpit at Whitehall, under the higheft opinion entertained by all men of the importance of their commiffion, but an opinion that many years would be neceffary to adjust all the articles, and furmount all the difficulties, which muft be adjusted and furmounted previous to the attainment of the great and defirable event. The bufinefs, like moft others, when clofely approached, was found to be of a much lefs formidable fize than it appeared when viewed at a diftance: and before the end of July in the firft year, the commiffioners had agreed upon articles of union, and laid them before the queen to be confirmed by her approbation. The articles, and indeed the project itfelf, occafioned vehement contefts in the parliaments of both nations. At laft, however, they were confirmed, and the union took place on the 1ft of May 1707. The day was ordered to be celebrated as a folemn thankfgiving for the accomplifhment of fo happy an event, and the queen repaired to St. Paul's in more than ufual ftate.

Three enthufiafts or impoftors from France, called Cevennois, or more commonly Camifars, excited the attention of the capital about this time. They pretended to the gift of prophecy, and by their ecftatic exhibitions and convulfions gained many filly followers. The French churches in London confidered it as highly concerning their refpectability with the people of England, to demonftrate their difapprobation of fuch folly or knavery in their countrymen. By the authority of the bifhop of

London



London, their ecclesiastical superior, the minister and elders of the French church in the Savoy (the head of the French congregations in Westminster) summoned the three Camisars, Elias Marion, John Cavallier, and Durand Fage, to appear before them. Two of the three refused; but the other came, and boldly justified the pretensions of himself and his associates. Upon this, the church declared them impostors and counterfeits; and this decision was confirmed by the bishop of London. The prophets still, however, continued their assemblies in Soho, which were numerously attended; they declaimed against the established church and clergy in the most opprobrious terms, denounced the heaviest judgments against the city of London and the whole British nation, and even published predictions under the title of "Prophetical Warnings of Elias Marion, &c." They were suspected, whether justly or not, of harbouring villainous designs, under the appearance of madness; and being prosecuted at the expense of the French churches as disturbers of the public peace, they were, by sentence of the court of king's bench, exposed on scaffolds at Charing-cross and the Royal Exchange with a paper denoting their offence. Thus was the matter terminated. And this is at least one instance, where persecution and a sentence scarcely legal did good.

For some time the city had been disturbed by frequent alarms of fire; and the negligence of servants, by which they appeared to be occasioned, seemed to require the interference of the legislature: an act of parliament was accordingly passed for punishing this negligence, and appointing other precautions against fire. A hundred pounds penalty was ordained on conviction, or eighteen months confinement and hard labour in default of payment. And this clause was printed by the magistrates, and distributed to every house for information of those whom it respected.

An affair of a more unusual kind occasioned an additional disturbance to the city toward the end of the summer of this year. Such swarms of flies infested it, that the feet of persons walking in the streets are said to have left impressions as visible as in snow. Some hundreds of bushels were swept into the kennels, and serious apprehensions were entertained of the communication of disease; but fortunately no such calamity followed.

A single regulation, of no great importance, is the only circumstance which the year 1708 affords, peculiarly belonging to the history of London. An old law of James I. for the well garbling of spices being found useless, was repealed; and the profits which the city made by the garbler's office were replaced by a tax of

40s. a year laid on all brokers, who were subjected to a fine of 25*l.* if they acted without regular admittance. The court of common-council may still, however, if they think proper, appoint a garbler, who at the request of the owner of any goods requiring the operations of such an officer, but not otherwise, may garble the same at such fees as the court may direct. The death of prince George of Denmark, an event common to the history of the city and of the nation, happened in the same year. His nature was mild and unassuming, and he was generally beloved; but his death very little affected the state of the kingdom.

The year following was distinguished by events rather more memorable. Though the French protestants who came over after the revocation of the edict of Nantz had been well received, they had still remained on the footing of aliens, until this year, when their efforts to obtain the privilege of naturalization proved at last successful. They owed this acquisition to the superiority in parliament of the whigs, whose principles were favourable to the encouragement of foreign protestants; though many fears were urged of bad consequences from an excessive influx of aliens. Both houses, in the preamble of the bill, declared their opinion, "That the increase of people is a means of advancing the wealth and strength of a nation," and authorized the naturalization of all foreign protestants who would take the oaths to government, and receive the sacrament in any protestant church.

This liberal treatment reported in the countries laid desolate by the arms, and oppressed by the exactions of the French, induced great numbers of Swabians, Palatines, and other German Lutherans to repair hither. No less than 12,000 arrived in the space of a few months. They consisted of handicraftsmen of all descriptions, too poor to assert their claim on the naturalization act, and must have perished for want of subsistence, had not the queen immediately distributed to them a daily allowance. She ordered a sufficient number of tents to be delivered out of the Tower, for their encampment on Blackheath, and in a large field near Camberwell. She afterward, in compliance with a petition from the justices of peace for Middlesex, granted a brief for the collection of charity within that county, and in a little time extended the same throughout Great Britain: and the lord mayor and aldermen, with other persons of the first distinction, were appointed trustees for the management of the money thus obtained. It was thought necessary, however, at last to transmit directions to the secretary at the Hague, to prevent the passage of any more of these foreigners, who crowded to exchange the misery of their own country



country for the bounty of England; and some German catholics being found to have insinuated themselves among their protestant countrymen, were sent back, unless they voluntarily changed their religion, with money to defray their charges till they reached their own home. Of those who remained, some were kept in England, some were sent to Ireland to strengthen the protestant interest in that country, and some were conveyed to Carolina; but the greater number were sent to New York under commissary Du Pré, and proved a valuable accession to that colony.

The distinction between whig and tory grew daily wider, while, through contention, the partisans on the one side and on the other, asserted their principles with new assurance, and with additional exaggerations. The peculiar doctrines of both parties were now strained nearly to the utmost, and their passions in a proportionate degree, when an extraordinary animation was communicated to them by a threatened change in their relative power. The whigs had enjoyed authority so long, as, had they been without any other blemish, to have forfeited the favour of the changeable populace; the evils of the war, though one splendidly victorious, pressed with considerable weight, and were all ascribed to the whigs; and the people were tired of war, and wanted peace, whether it was the one or the other which the interest of the country required. From all these causes the popularity of the whigs had considerably declined, and that of the tories had increased. The queen too was understood to be partial to the latter: and matters were ripe between the two parties to decide, by a new contest, the turn of the balance. While the weakest partisans on both sides were raising loud the cry, a clergyman of the name of Sacheverel, on the side of the tories, from an additional share of folly and presumption, lifted his voice a degree above the rest of his competitors. He had indulged himself several times in the most violent declamation on the danger of the church, and against low-churchmen and dissenters. But in particular on the 5th of November 1709, in a sermon before the lord mayor in St. Paul's, his furious rhetoric lost all mercy in the treatment of his antagonists, and all reserve in the disclosure of his principles. He railed against the act of toleration; his indignation was inflamed at the state of the church, which was attacked by its enemies, and weakly defended by its pretended friends. The same persons who were enemies to the church, were opposers, he said, of the government, and both with equal impiety; that the right of kings to their throne was a right divine, and on no account to be challenged by their subjects without the utmost criminality; and that passive obedience and non-resistance

to their authority was a duty eternally obligatory. The sermon was heard with approbation by the lord mayor; and he proposed to the court of aldermen that they should give their thanks to the preacher, and request him to publish his sermon. The motion was rejected; and the affair might have gone to rest, if the vanity of Sacheverel had not been stimulated to publish the harangue. The tories fought after it with great avidity, and 40,000 copies were dispersed over the kingdom. It was probably folly in the ministers to regard this tide of silly approbation, which would soon have spent itself: but ministers have a peculiar sensibility; those of whom we are now speaking, thought the impudence of Sacheverel and the popularity of his sermon by no means to be disregarded; and they blew up the flames which they wanted to extinguish.

Complaint was presented in the house of commons against two sermons published by Sacheverel, as containing positions directly contrary to revolution principles, to established laws, to the present government, and to the protestant succession. Sacheverel was ordered to attend at the bar of the house next day, where he owned the two sermons, and pleaded the authority of the lord mayor for their publication. The lord mayor, Sir Samuel Garrard, was a member of the house; he was questioned as to the encouragement which he had given, and denied that he had given any. The impeachment of Sacheverel for high crimes and misdemeanours was resolved on; he was delivered into the custody of the serjeant at arms; and a committee was appointed to draw up articles to be presented against him at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of all the commons of Great Britain.

Immediately the passions of the people took part on the one side or the other. The clergy of the established church very generally regarded Sacheverel as the champion of their cause; and every topic which could inflame the minds of the people, —the danger of the church, the malignity of dissenters, was resounded to interest them in his quarrel. It is an universal impulse of the English populace to espouse the cause of a man prosecuted by the government; and though in obeying this disposition they are often unjust, yet it is a generous and noble disposition, and a most salutary restraint on superior power. Sacheverel and the church became instantly the idols of popular affection. Another cause contributed to the dissatisfaction with the government, a scarcity, which the people always impute to their rulers; and their discontent on this account was heightened by the relief which had been so liberally bestowed upon the poor Palatines. On the day when his trial commenced, he



he was attended to Westminster-hall by vast multitudes, numbers striving to kiss his hand. When the queen's sedan appeared, who attended the trial during the whole time, they crowded around it, and exclaimed, " God blefs your majesty and " the church. We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." Next day they were still more tumultuous, and ordered all whom they met to pull off their hats to him, as he passed from his lodgings in the Temple to the place of trial; and whoever delayed compliance were abused, though some of them were members of parliament. Daniel Burgefs was a celebrated dissenting clergyman; to his meeting-house, in New-court, Carey-street, they repaired in the evening, and broke the windows, threatening destruction to all dissenters. On the third day, after conducting Sacheverel to his lodgings, they returned to the attack, broke up the doors, tore out the pulpit, benches, and every thing combustible, and made a bonfire of them in Lincoln's-inn-fields, shouting for *High Church and Sacheverel*. They even fought for Burgefs, to burn him in his pulpit in the middle of the pile, and he only escaped by making his way out of a back window of his house. Nor was this the only scene of their fury. No less than seven other meeting-houses were destroyed by different parties of the rioters at the same time. They threatened the houses of the lord chancellor, and the other conductors of the prosecution; and the directors of the Bank, who were equally objects of their disapprobation, were so alarmed as to apply to the court for a guard. Troops were drawn out to disperse the rioters, the guards at Whitehall and St. James's were doubled, the Westminster militia was kept under arms, and one regiment of the London trained bands was kept on duty during the remainder of the trial.

The decision, anxiously expected, at last arrived. Sacheverel was found guilty. Seventeen voices, however, were the whole majority; and four and thirty peers entered a protest against the judgment. In the face of such opposition a mild punishment was all which durst be attempted. He was suspended from preaching during three years; and his sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, before the Royal Exchange, in presence of the lord mayor of London, and sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The issue of this trial was regarded as a complete triumph by the tories; it discovered to them the weakness of their enemies, and it both discovered and increased their popularity; and they celebrated the event with bonfires and illuminations all over the kingdom. Of the rioters but a few were apprehended, two only were sentenced, and none suffered; a lenity ascribed

ascribed to the weakness, not to the inclination of the prosecutors. The lord mayor of London was the person whom the sentence principally displeased. He was violently mortified to be obliged to assist at the burning of the sermon which he had applauded, and which, according to the assertion of Sacheverel in the dedication, he had even commanded to be printed; and he moved, that, being a member of parliament, he might be excused the ceremony. A debate ensued, but was afterwards deferred till it should be known what answer his lordship returned to the sheriffs requiring his attendance; and so the matter dropped.

While the heat raised by this transaction continued, the ministry was changed, the parliament dissolved, and writs were issued for a new election. The enthusiasm was general and extravagant. Elections were carried in most places for the tory interest, with passionate demonstrations of preference. In Westminster, those who offered to vote in favour of General Stanhope and Sir Henry Dutton Colt, the low-church candidates, were knocked down, and received so much ill usage, that many were deterred from polling; and their competitors, Mr. Medlicot and Mr. Cross, of the opposite party, were returned by a great majority. In London the queen had removed the lieutenancy out of whig into tory hands, with a view to deprive Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who was next the chair, of his election as lord mayor, and to strengthen the high-church interest in the election of members for the city. She was indeed disappointed in the first consequence, alderman Heathcote being elected lord mayor; but the tory interest prevailed in the election of representatives in parliament, which gave occasion to new triumphs and barbarities of the vulgar. Illuminations, ringing of bells, and bonfires might have been permitted them; but they committed unpunished outrage on the person of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, lord mayor elect; and one of the whig candidates, going out of Guildhall, they insulted with reproachful language, and spit in his face.

The usual pageantry exhibited on the installation of the lord mayor was this year omitted, as Sir Gilbert, knowing how little acceptable he was to the people, feared disorder and mischief. He did not, however, escape insult in that part of the cavalcade which he could not avoid. These tumults, partly religious and partly political, were in favour of a very different set of principles from those tumults, partly religious and partly political too, which distracted England not many years before.

At a period when government interfered with every thing, it was impossible that



so important a concern as the market and manufacture of bread, should escape the benefit or the misfortune of their regulations. In the time, accordingly, of Henry III. a statute had been passed, entitled *Affiza Panis & Cerviciæ*, and this had continued the rule for the management of this commodity till the present time. Being found, however, unequal to the remedy of the disorders which now existed, so much of it as referred to the affize of bread was repealed, and an act was passed granting power to the magistrates of any corporate town, or to two or more justices of the peace, where there are no such magistrates, to ascertain and appoint, within their respective jurisdictions, the weight and price of all sorts of bread, according to the price which the grain, meal, or flour, of which such bread is made, shall bear in their respective public markets. It was by the same statute appointed that no kinds of bread should be made for sale, but those known by the names of *white*, *weaten*, and *household*, except where the magistrates should publicly permit and license it: and the bakers were obliged to mark their bread as the said magistrates should direct. According to this act the sale of bread has, through the whole kingdom, been adjusted, not by fair competition, like other commodities, but by authoritative dictates; and it may well be doubted whether it has come cheaper or better to the buyer by such trouble. At a time when the price of the article should seem to have required a more than usual regard, during the late alarming scarcity, the fixing of an affize was abandoned: and although the necessity of life requires, perhaps, a more watchful attention than ordinary commodities to prevent its being artificially raised, it is certain that in all ordinary cases competition will bring it cheaper to market than any arbitrary regulations. No man will undertake a trade condemned by external authority to such small profits, as he will contentedly accept to maintain his business against an interfering rival.

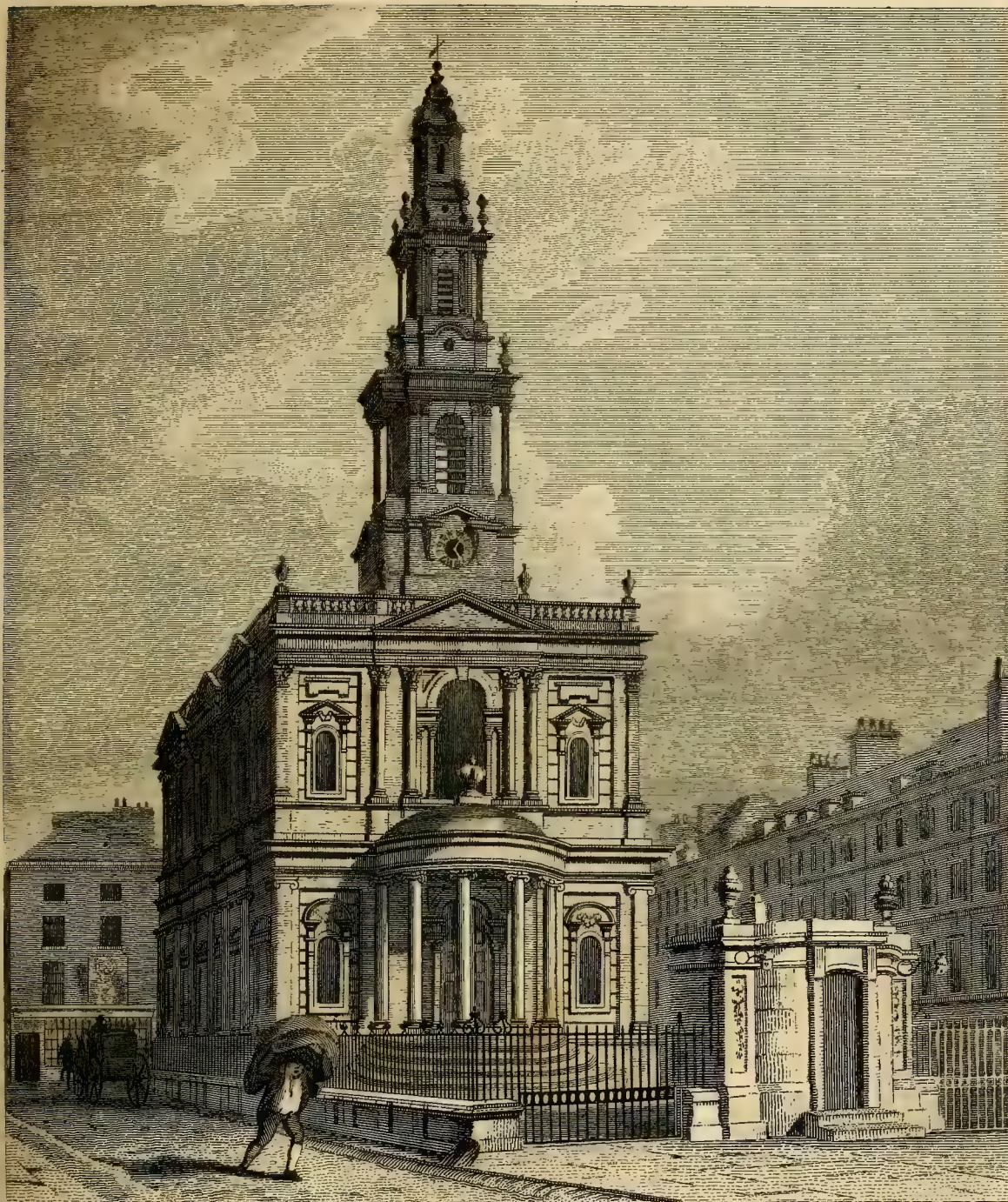
The next particular in the history of London is more remarkable for the importance which it afterwards acquired, than for its magnitude at present. Some navy, victualling, and transport debentures were at this time in arrear to a considerable amount, without any fund being established to effect their discharge. These, on the late changes at court, having fallen to a great discount in the market, occasioned some uneasiness to the new ministers, who were afraid to hazard their popularity by laying taxes for the payment of this debt. They wished accordingly to persuade, if possible, the holders of these debentures to remain willingly the creditors of the nation, and a popular persuasion gave them easy means. The importance of the  
discoveries

discoveries in the South Seas had been a great subject of conversation for some time, and it had been the custom to think and speak in a very lofty manner of the riches which they might be made to furnish to this country. The ministers laid hold of this circumstance, and proposed to erect the owners of the debt into an exclusive company for trading to the South Seas; the money left in the hands of government being established as the capital of the company, for which regular interest should be allowed, and an annuity paid for the trouble of management. The offer was eagerly accepted; the charter was passed; and the stock of the company reached a high price in the market. They were zealous enough, on assurance from the queen that she would supply them with a sufficient force to establish their trade, to propose 200,000*l.* as the value of their first adventure. The termination however of the war altered so much the channels of commerce, that the enterprise was delayed longer than they expected.

Both the commerce and the population of London were rapidly increasing, notwithstanding the interruption which the prosperity of the country sustained from war and factious contentions. This received particular confirmation at this time, when an application to parliament from Greenwich for assistance in building their church, suggested an inquiry concerning the numbers in London whom the churches were insufficient to accommodate. These numbers, according to this inquiry, were 200,000; who were obliged either to abstain from public worship, or to frequent the meeting-houses of dissenters. To correspond with the growing population of the capital, a liberal act of parliament was passed for the erection of fifty new churches; and the cathedral of St. Paul's now being nearly finished, the tax on coals, which had been appropriated to that magnificent structure, was continued for the new erections. Of the fifty, ten only on new foundations were built, but they afforded a most important relief; and it is astonishing that the example which parliament set to themselves so nobly with regard to the capital, they have not followed up with regard to other increasing towns, where the inhabitants, often without any objection to the established church, are compelled to become dissenters, that they may not be deprived of the benefit of public worship. Of the churches now raised the first was the New Church in the Strand, erected on the spot where the rural appearance of a maypole stood, the remains of which had the honour to be begged by Sir Isaac Newton, and by him carried to Wansted in Essex, where it was erected in the park, and raised the greatest telescope then known. The objection to the

architecture





*E. Dayes del<sup>o</sup>*

*P. Audinet sculp<sup>t</sup>*

VIEW of the NEW CHURCH STRAND.

*Pub.<sup>d</sup> August 1<sup>st</sup> 1810 by John Stockdale, Piccadilly.*





W. Knight sculp.

VIEW of BUCKINGHAM HOUSE.

Engraved from a drawing by J. G. Knapton, Esq.

J. G. Knapton del.



architecture of this church, the work of Gibbs, is excess of ornament; the same which is made to another of the erections on the same occasion, that of St. John's, Westminster, the architecture of Mr. Archer, though generally imputed to Sir John Vanbrugh. St. George's, Hanover-square, would be admired for its portico, were there space to observe it at a proper point of view; but to the spectator, obliged to look up to it from the very base, it appears awkwardly gigantic. Limehouse church is another of the appointed fifty, generally regarded, perhaps with some injustice, as a model of clumsiness. The town extended now as far west as Devonshire-house. Bond-street was built beyond Clifford-street, and took its name from that of the proprietor, a baronet, of a family now extinct. But New Bond-street was still an open field, called Conduit-mead, from one of the conduits which supplied this part of the town with water, the same circumstance which gave the name to Conduit-street. George-street, Hanover-square, was reared at this time: all beyond was open ground, the receptacle of dunghills, and every obscene object. May-fair was kept about the spot now covered with May-fair chapel, and the adjoining streets, and was so odious a scene of riot, debauchery, theft, and even murder, that in 1708 it was presented by the magistrates as a public nuisance. It revived again, however, and its final suppression was not till several years afterwards. In 1716 Hanover-square and Cavendish-square were unbuilt; but their names appear in the plans of London of 1720. Oxford-street was built on the south side as far as Swallow-street; but almost entirely unbuilt on the north side from High-street, St. Giles's, westward. It was a deep, hollow road, and full of sloughs, with here and there a ragged house, the lurking-place of cut-throats. Golden-square was built before 1700. It was originally called Gelding-square, from the sign of a neighbouring inn; but the inhabitants, offended at the vulgarity of the name, changed it to the present. In this place had been the Lazaretto, during the period of the dreadful plague in 1665, built by that true hero lord Craven, whose courage and humanity should never pass without the tribute of gratitude and applause. Marlborough-house, to the east of St. James's-palace, was built at this time at the expense of the public, in a part of the royal gardens, granted by the queen for that purpose, and cost not less than 40,000*l*. Buckingham-house was built in 1703 by John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham. It was bought from the duke's natural son by his present majesty, and has now the honour to be the retreat of our king and queen. The number of superb edifices built for the accommodation of our nobility at this

time, gives us some idea of the style of living which was then followed among the great. It affected a greater elevation and distance from the ordinary ranks of life, was hardly less dissolute than the present, but possessed not all its elegances and accommodations.

A new act was made for the regulation of hackney coaches. Eight hundred were licensed, charged with a duty of 5*s.* a week, and restricted to the following fares: 1*s.* for a mile and a half, two miles for 1*s.* 6*d.*, above two miles for 2*s.*, and greater distances in the same proportion. Two hundred sedan chairs were appointed by the same act, bound to pay each 10*s.* yearly. Their fares were stated at one third more than the hackney coaches; and an additional hundred was next year added to the number of those licensed by this act.

A curious fact appears in the report of the commissioners of the public accounts of this year, that the receipts at the custom-house of the port of London were three and a half times greater than those of all the out-ports together. This is a striking proof among many others, into what forced and unnatural channels the commerce of this country is always carried by war; and though transactions may not be always diminished in quantity, though the amount of mercantile profits may be even greater than in peace, the amount of benefit, of improvement to the country, is beyond calculation less from the commerce of war than from the commerce of peace.

At the time of the trial of Sacheverel the city of London appeared to be entirely composed of tories. A circumstance occurred but a few months afterwards which gave it the appearance of being composed entirely of whigs. The queen's new ministers were understood to entertain resolutions of terminating the war, which were very disagreeable to the allies; and they sent over Eugene, prince of Savoy, whose character and conduct had been so justly admired during its continuance, to persuade England to prolong the contest. The ministers were alarmed at the popularity of the prince's character, and treated him coldly; but the city of London shewed the strongest marks of esteem and respect. Sir Alexander Cairnes and Sir Theodore Janssen waited upon him. He took this opportunity of expressing his thanks to the city of London for the loan of 200,000*l.* which they had advanced to the emperor upon the security of his revenues in Silesia; and assured the gentlemen who attended him, that, next to God, the raising of the siege of Turin, and all the glorious consequences of that event, were owing to that seasonable supply. The gentlemen



gentlemen answered, that the citizens of London had less valued the improvement of their money in that transaction, than the honour of contributing to the common cause, and of shewing their respect to a prince so distinguished for glorious actions as his highness. They expressed their sense of obligation to his integrity and honour for the punctual payment of their interest and principal, and promised if, during the continuance of the war, he should have occasion for any greater sum, to advance it to him on his own security. They concluded with a desire that he would condescend to accept of a small entertainment, which as a mark of their respect they intended to give him in the city, and that he would be pleased to fix a day for that purpose. The lord mayor and aldermen, who wished also to have a share of the honour of entertaining the prince, proposed afterwards to accompany them in this mark of respect, and to make it a joint exhibition. Some one, however, having suggested in the court, that it would be right to inquire how the queen would regard such a compliment, two of the aldermen were deputed for this purpose to wait upon lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state. Being asked whether they had their message in writing, and making answer that they had come upon a minute taken at the court of aldermen, occasion was drawn from this circumstance, and some other occasion would have been found had this not existed, to discourage the proposal. A letter was next day sent by his lordship to the lord mayor, informing him that the queen would return no answer to any message which was not brought with the same respect that had always been paid by the city to her predecessors. In consequence of this answer all thoughts of the entertainment were laid aside: but the most strange concomitant of the affair was the disappointment which the people expressed, who seemed to be whig or tory, as any trifling occurrence happened which struck their fancy more powerfully on the one side or the other.

It is not very easy to see the objections which the tories could have to the act passed in the last parliament for the naturalization of foreign protestants, unless that it was an act of their adversaries. A motion, however, had been made in the last session for its repeal, but thrown out by the lords, more constant in this case than the commons, whose votes waited upon the principles of the court. The motion was renewed in this session, passed both houses, and received the royal assent. It is grievous in the history of mankind to be obliged to observe the instances so frequently recurring, when every important measure is deferred or abandoned, that

points either contemptible or pernicious may be gained, to gratify the interest or passions of particular men.

A singular rumour and panic broke out in the city about the time of these transactions; that a number of ruffians employed themselves in the night in going through the streets, and abusing the passengers. They were said to slit and flatten people's noses, to cut off their ears, to gag or distend their mouths with an iron machine, and to run large pins, and sometimes more dangerous instruments, into their bodies. The strangest reports concerning them circulated. The persons thus mangled were said not to be robbed. It was impossible, accordingly, to determine the motive of such enormities. The perpetrators were said to be an associated band, who called themselves Mohoks and Hawkabites. They were sometimes represented as a set of dissolute young men, some of them of high condition, who after intoxicating themselves proposed these barbarities as a wanton amusement; the partisans of the court often talked of them as a banditti hired and set on by the whigs to disturb the government; and the whigs, on the other hand, represented them as hired by the government, with a view of throwing the odium of such barbarities upon the whigs. A proclamation was issued by the queen, commanding the suppression of riots, the apprehension of such as had been guilty of the late atrocities within London and Westminster, and in the parts adjacent, and offering a reward of a hundred pounds for the discovery of any person, who since the 1st of February last had, without provocation, wounded, stabbed, or maimed any of her majesty's subjects, or to the 1st of May next should commit any of these crimes. This measure inflamed the rumours; and the general terror was so great, that scarcely any body would venture into the streets after night. It is remarkable, that after all this uproar and alarm, no person was ever detected as an author of the crimes reported; that even no well-attested instance was ever produced of one who had suffered such an attack; and that a nocturnal riot by some rakes and drunken soldiers was the only cause to which the reports could be traced.

The ministers were labouring earnestly for peace, as the only measure which could secure their power; and the whigs were as earnest to prolong the war, for which they imagined that their assistance would soon be found absolutely necessary. Some public overtures toward an accommodation having been made between the contending parties, a proposal was started in the common-council respecting an address to the queen on that subject. This was opposed by Sir Gilbert Heathcote and



and Sir Charles Peers, two whigs, who objected, that to make peace or war being the prerogative of the crown, it became not them to interfere with this right. As it was well known, however, that such infringement, if it was one, would not at this time be disagreeable to the queen, the opposite party urged and gained their point. And it was curious to observe, on this occasion, the whigs contending for a scrupulous protection of the prerogative, while the tories were forcibly setting a precedent, which does to a certain degree at least control the power of the crown; both parties in this manner changing their pleas as soon as ever it suited the change of their views. The address, together with one from the court of lieutenancy, was presented two days after; and John Cals and William Stuart, the two sheriffs, and Samuel Clark, another of the bearers, were knighted on the occasion. This example was quickly followed from all quarters by addresses as full of praises on the present ministers and of reproaches against their predecessors, as any ministry could require.

The internal trade of the city next drew some attention from the common-council. A multitude of persons, it seems, carried on different species of trade, who were not members of the general corporation. It is impossible now to determine whether it was owing to the wisdom, or to the negligence of the common-council, that they did not interfere with this beneficial irregularity till after many complaints. At last, however, a new act was passed more expressly prohibiting the exercise of any species of art, manufacture, or traffic, by any one not regularly authorized by the corporation, and more severely punishing those who ventured to transgress this statute. Complaints, which more deserved attention, had strongly been made against the office of coal-meters in London, and had at last procured a committee to make inquiry into the state of the business. This committee now made their report to the court of lord mayor and aldermen. It stated the right of the city to the said office, recited the acts of common-council made for its regulation at different times from the reign of Henry VIII. downwards, and declared the opinion of the committee to be, That the ancient order of the coal-office ought to be observed, and that the alderman of Billingsgate ward ought to see that it is properly so; that the master and under meters are all subject to the jurisdiction of the court of lord mayor and aldermen, to be removed, suspended, or otherwise punished as they shall think fit; that the appointment and removal of under-meters ought not to be at the discretion of the masters, but subject to the control of the said court; that the books of the coal-office concern the rights of the city, and ought to be inspected by the same court,

court, as they shall think necessary ; and that no under-meter ought to begin to work in coals, before a cocket of permit has been issued from the lord mayor's office. The report recommended several other regulations. It was approved of, and ordered to be entered on the repertory. The master-meters were commanded to observe the ancient method and practice of shipping the under-meters according to seniority ; and the under-meters were directed not to take their fellows' labour out of their turns, on pain of being suspended by the alderman of Billingsgate ward.

A part of the business concerning Sacheverel yet remained. The period of his suspension closing on the 23d of March, that day was celebrated with extraordinary marks of rejoicing in London, and in other parts of the kingdom. Next Sunday he preached in his own church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, to a prodigious concourse of people ; employed as his text the passage, Luke, xxiii. 34 ; " Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do ;" and very decently traced a parallel between his own sufferings and those of Jesus Christ. The house of commons too, that they might be as much disgraced by their approbation of him, as the former house had been by its persecution, invited him to preach before them on the anniversary of the restoration of Charles II., a fine opportunity for the display of his favourite doctrine ; and he received the thanks of the house for his discourse. He did not miss too a still better expression of the favour of the court. He was soon afterwards presented to the valuable rectorship of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

The memorable treaty of Utrecht was at last completed, which restored peace to Europe, after one of the longest, the most universal, and the most bloody wars which she had ever endured. It was proclaimed in London with the usual solemnities, on the 5th of May 1713 ; and the 7th of July was appointed as a day of thanksgiving for the happy event. The queen had proposed to offer up her devotions in St. Paul's, but was prevented by an attack of the gout. The two houses of parliament, however, went, the lords wearing their robes, and in great state. The whigs absented themselves, declaiming against the peace. The war had enriched the greater part of their leaders ; it was by the continuance of the war that they chiefly expected a sudden restoration to power, and it was a matter of necessity that they should find the terms of the treaty greatly deficient. They had influence, however, to make their sentiments pretty general among the people, who are always ready enough to believe that they have received too little.

On the opening of amicable intercourse between England and France, the duke



d'Aumont came over as ambassador extraordinary of the latter country, and made his public entry into London in a manner uncommonly pompous. He was received by government with extraordinary respect, and lodged in Powis-house, Great Ormond-street. He appeared at first extremely desirous to cultivate popularity, and used to throw handfuls of money out of his carriage among the populace as he passed along the streets; and while he continued this practice he was received by them with acclamations; but no sooner did he cease, than the cry of *No papist, No pretender!* accompanied his progress. An alarm concerning the pretender and popery was propagated at this time with wonderful industry by the party out of power. The queen and her ministry were represented as having formed a plan to disappoint the protestant succession, and to introduce the pretender; and the civilities paid to the French ambassador were interpreted as a proof of this traitorous design. Other causes of popular dislike were added. His domestics had smuggled over great quantities of wine, silks, and other goods, and offended the retailers in London by diminishing their trade. Some French merchants too had seized the opportunity, and brought over a quantity of Burgundy and Champaign, which, before the ambassador's arrival, they sold by retail at his house, and other places. At this the rabble were offended, and offered insults before the house; these being resented, a scuffle ensued, and it became necessary to appoint constables to guard the place. These, however, could not protect the ambassador from an alarm of a different kind. On the 26th of January, while his excellency was entertaining the Venetian ambassador, the envoys of Sweden and Florence, lord Waldgrave, and other persons of distinction at dinner, a cry of fire suddenly broke out in one of the upper rooms of the house. In less than two hours the whole was burnt to the ground, and all that could be saved from the flames was the plate, and a small part of the most valuable furniture. How the fire began was never distinctly understood; nor was this very wonderful. But people's minds at this time were in a state in which any event was capable of appearing big with design and mischievous portent; and as the duke was afterwards accommodated with lodgings in Somerset-house, his former residence was said to have been burnt designedly to afford a pretence for removing him to his new situation, where being on the banks of the river, secret access to him was open by water. It was even said that the pretender had come over with the ambassador, that several interviews had passed between him and the queen, and that

that the house had been set on fire to favour his escape. The loss was repaired in a very magnificent manner at the French king's expense.

The fears of a popish succession rose to a great height, when the queen's declining health seemed to threaten a sudden change in affairs. All preparations were reported to be made to secure the reception of the pretender; and an armament, said to be fitting out in the ports of France, was believed to be destined for this country. The monied interest was alarmed; stocks fell; and such a run came upon the bank, that the directors made a representation to the lord treasurer that public credit was threatened. He saw the danger, and promised his assistance: and the queen wrote a letter to the lord mayor, stating the return of her health, her resolution speedily to assemble the parliament, and her will that he and all her other subjects should discountenance the malicious reports, which evil-disposed persons, she said, had raised with a view to disturb and hurt the kingdom. This measure had a considerable effect in quieting the minds of the people: and, indeed, it was impossible they could long be so blinded as not to see that all reports of preparation were vain. However, the retainers of the exiled family, whose hopes outran their wisdom, thought the time fit to employ their activity. Two Irish officers, Hugh and William Kelly, were seized for enlisting men in the pretender's service in London and Westminster; and about a hundred Irish papists held a feast at the Sun tavern in the Strand, to which a noted popish lord was chosen steward; and the company were admitted by a printed ticket, on which was a representation of the pope treading heresy under foot. The court interfered, much to the satisfaction of the people. The queen published a proclamation, offering a reward of 5000*l.* for apprehending the pretender whenever he should land, or attempt to land, in the kingdom; and such was the opinion of Anne's sincerity and good faith, that a cordial and affectionate address was immediately presented by the citizens of London. The commons too, as a manifestation of their zeal, addressed the queen to make the reward for apprehending the pretender 100,000*l.*

A decisive proof of the accumulation of wealth in the nation, was obtained by the reduction which it was found proper to impose upon the interest of money. It was by an act of this session of parliament brought from 6 to 5 per cent. The queen did not long survive this testimony of the prosperity of her reign. She died on Sunday, 1st of August 1714.



## SECTION XII.

*The History of London, from the Accession of the House of Hanover, A. D. 1714, to the Death of George II. A. D. 1760.*

NO prince ever ascended the throne of his ancestors in more peace than the elector of Hanover did that of Great Britain. The violent opposition which the parties in the nation exerted against each other, was suspended with regard to him. He considered the whigs as his peculiar friends; and the tories peaceably acquiesced, though they were not ignorant that he was prejudiced against them. Indeed the difference was too great between the tories and the jacobites, for the former easily to adopt the schemes of the latter. From opposition to the whigs, the zealots among them had raised their speculative political principles not only till they favoured despotism, but till they were nonsense. But they were as faithful friends to protestantism as the whigs themselves, and as little disposed to submit to slavery. They exerted as willing and as active a hand as any men in the nation, in the expulsion of the father of the person whom they were now said to favour; and the sentiments which then prevailed in their breasts, had not yet lost their influence. If they regarded not the accession of the house of Hanover with joy, as they had no favour to expect from it, they regarded it as an event more fortunate to the nation and even to themselves, than the reign of a man who would endeavour, by any means whatever, to force upon the nation a religion which it detested, and who thus would become habituated to acts of severity and despotism, which it was to be feared he would afterwards carry into all parts of his administration. Their acts are the best proofs of the situation of their minds. Although they had been in possession of the power of the kingdom for four years, although the precarious health of the queen was known to every body, and although the elector of Hanover had openly given his ear to their enraged antagonists, it may now be pronounced, without hazard of deception, after the scrutiny which their conduct underwent, that no step was taken by them either at home or abroad to pave the way for the restoration of the exiled family, and that they had no intention to bring about that event.

As soon as the death of the queen was known the privy-council met, and no object engaged their attention but the arrangements for the reception of the Hanoverian prince. The archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the Hano-

verian

verian resident Kreyenberg, produced the three instruments in which the elector of Brunswick had nominated the persons to be added as lords justices to the seven great officers of the realm. The regency was formed immediately according to these directions. Orders were issued for proclaiming king George in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The whigs assumed the air of complete direction. The earl of Dorset was appointed to carry to Hanover the intimation of his majesty's accession, and to attend him in his journey to England. Mr. Addison was appointed secretary to the regency; and when Bolingbroke attended the council with his papers, he was obliged to stand at the door with his bag in his hand, and underwent every species of mortification. The parliament met agreeably to the act which regulated the succession; and the lord chancellor, in the name of the regency, addressed them with an account of the proclamation, and the other acts of that council, and with an intimation of the provision necessary to be made for his majesty's service. This was the tory parliament, elected under the queen's last ministers; a parliament of which the party conduct had been sometimes so intemperate as to be contemptible. Yet both houses immediately agreed to addresses containing the warmest expressions of duty and attachment to the new sovereign; and they received such answers as were calculated to be very agreeable.

On the evening of the 19th of September 1714, George I., accompanied by the prince of Wales, landed at Greenwich, where he was met by several of the nobility and the officers of state; and next day made his public entry into the capital of his new dominions. Upwards of 200 coaches of the chief personages of the kingdom, all drawn by six horses, attended his progress. At St. Margaret's-hill he was met by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, recorder, and officers of the city of London; where the recorder, in the name of the city, made him a congratulatory speech, and the lord mayor delivered to him the city sword. His majesty returned it, with a command to bear it before him, which the lord mayor performed bare-headed. The streets were lined with the Southwark militia, the trained bands, the city companies in their formalities, the artillery company, and the militia of Westminster, all in their respective jurisdictions. The Park and Tower guns were discharged during the procession, and the evening concluded with every demonstration of public joy.

A few days afterwards the city presented an address to his majesty, and the court of lieutenancy another, declaring their satisfaction and attachment. The king replied,



replied, " I take these addresses very kindly. I have lately been made sensible of  
 " what consequence the city of London is, and therefore shall be sure to take all  
 " their privileges into my particular protection." And, as an immediate mark of  
 his favour, he conferred the honour of knighthood on John Ward, Gerard Conyers,  
 Thomas Scawen, Peter Delme, Joseph Laurence, and Robert Child. Addresses  
 were presented from the two universities, and from all the cities and corporations  
 in the kingdom; and his majesty testified particular satisfaction at these universal  
 expressions of loyalty and affection. In the month of October the princess of Wales  
 arrived in England, with her two eldest daughters, the princesses Anne and Amelia;  
 and on the 20th of that month George was crowned in Westminster with the usual  
 solemnity, the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke assisting at the ceremony. The  
 king, with the prince and princess of Wales, accepted an invitation of the city  
 magistrates to dine at Guildhall on the ensuing lord mayor's day, which was at  
 hand; and having gone with a splendid retinue to Cheapside, they saw the pro-  
 cession from the place usually appointed for that purpose. They were afterwards  
 conducted by the sheriffs to Guildhall, where the lord mayor, kneeling, presented  
 the city sword to the king as he entered, which receiving back, he carried it before  
 his majesty to the court-room, and thence to the hustings, where the royal company  
 dined. His lordship had the additional honour of presenting the first glass of wine  
 to the monarch; and the king expressed his satisfaction by ordering a patent to be  
 made out for creating him a baronet; and by directing a thousand pounds to be paid  
 to the sheriffs as a donation for the relief and discharge of poor debtors. Occasion  
 of another procession of his majesty into the city was given soon after by the  
 appointment of a day of public thanksgiving for his happy accession to the throne.  
 He attended the service in St. Paul's, with the prince and princess of Wales, and a  
 great retinue, the streets lined in the usual manner, and the lord mayor and aldermen  
 assisting at the solemnity. In the evening the houses were illuminated, and bonfires  
 and other exhibitions of the populace testified the general satisfaction.

In the mean time the king appeared to have delivered himself wholly into the  
 hands of the whigs. The Tories were every where removed from their offices, and  
 these filled by the most violent of the opposite party. The whigs were received at court  
 with every demonstration of favour, and the Tories with something worse than neg-  
 lect. The old parliament was dissolved on the 15th of January; and a new one was  
 called by a proclamation of an unusual species, which filled all men of moderation

(they were at that time unfortunately not numerous) with grief and astonishment. With the language of a hireling of a vindictive faction, not with that of the father of his people, was the unhappy monarch misled to address the electors of his grand national council. He began with a recapitulation of all the slanders which had been vented against the party lately in power, the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession, the misrepresentations which had been made, he said, of his conduct and principles, the miserable state of public affairs, the declension of commerce, the heavy debts of the nation, and the danger which had threatened the protestant succession; and he expressed his hopes that his loving subjects would, in the elections, have a particular regard to the persons who had ever shewn a firm opposition to the measures pregnant with these evils.

The history of parliament presents a curious fact, which we may account for as we please; that whenever a minister summons a new parliament, he always gets one such as he has occasion for. The whig ministers of queen Anne enjoyed whig parliaments as long as they were in office. As soon as that princess made choice of a tory ministry, they summoned a new parliament, and that was zealously a tory parliament. This was now dissolved by king George's whig ministers, and they received a parliament violently in the whig interest. We shall have several more instances of the same thing to remark in the course of this history. The king met his new parliament on the 17th day of March, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in the presence of both houses, and contained a strange repetition of the topics which disfigured the proclamation; with intimations of the money expected, and protestations of affection to the people and to the established churches. The addresses of the two houses shewed exactly the tone which corresponded with the designs of the ministry. An expression of the lords was considered as particularly virulent; they professed their hope that his majesty, assisted by the parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world, by their actions, was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general. It was justly asked, When was the reputation of the country higher than when it was delivered into the hands of the present administrators? The debates on the addresses run to the greatest violence; and Walpole, Pulteney, and Stanhope declared, that they possessed evidence to prove the late ministry the most corrupt which ever sat at the helm; and that this should in due time be laid before the house, when crimes they  
hinted



hinted would appear of a higher order than common misbehaviour. The magistrates of London too were eager to shew their zeal on the same side. They took occasion from the insinuations in the king's speech about danger from the pretender, to present to him an address filled with assurances of attachment. Another of the same tenor was presented in the name of the merchants and traders of that city; and both were thankfully received.

The violent partiality of the court to the whigs had a considerable effect in engaging the passions of the people on the side of the tories. The clamour of the church being in danger was again revived. Conversation was inflamed with jealousies and reproaches; seditious libels were dispersed; and dangerous tumults were raised in different parts of the kingdom, whose cry was, "Down with the whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" On the 28th of May, the anniversary of the king's birthday, the mob in London offered insults before several houses which were illuminated: and the next day, which was the anniversary of the restoration of king Charles, they exhibited tumultuous rejoicings. They prepared bonfires, they illuminated their houses, and broke the windows of all those in which their example was not imitated. They laid hold of the life guards, who were patrolling the streets, and made them cry "High church, and Ormond!" And they burned the picture of king William in Smithfield. The ministers were enraged at these insults; but it was not an easy matter to subject the whole mob of London to punishment. However, a victim was selected. There was one Bournois, a schoolmaster, who was accused of declaring that king George had no right to the crown. He was tried, and scourged through the city with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture.

Disaffection too was introduced into a quarter where it touched other sentiments in the court than resentment. On the king's birthday, when new clothing was delivered to the first regiment of guards, they were offended at a more than ordinary coarseness in the shirts, and threw several of them into the garden of the king's palace at St. James's, and into that belonging to the house of the duke of Marlborough, who was their colonel. A detachment of them too marching from Whitehall through the city to relieve the guard at the Tower, pulled out their shirts, and shewed them to the passengers by the way, exclaiming, "These are our Hanover shirts!" The court were no sooner informed of these murmurs than they ordered the shirts to be burned. The contractors were accused of having delivered articles nowise answerable to the patterns agreed for. But the sordid avarice of the duke  
of

of Marlborough subjected him to strong suspicions of having intended to add the difference of the value to his enormous fortune. He was pleased to make an apology in person to the men for their coarse shirts, when he reviewed that regiment on the 2d of June : and by taking such pains the military disquiets were settled.

The ministers proceeded with exemplary vigour in gratifying their resentments. On the 9th of June Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the secret committee which had been appointed to inspect the papers of the late ministry, declared to the house of commons that the report was ready : and in the mean time moved, That a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house were immediately ordered into custody. The report was divided into several heads, but all related to the wrong, or rather traitorous negotiation of the peace at Utrecht. We are now far from looking with any abhorrence upon the treaty of Utrecht : and when we learn that the sole mismanagement which their enemies dared to impute to the last ministry of queen Anne regarded that transaction, we do not think them the most depraved of that species of human beings. However, upon the strength of that report, the earl of Oxford, lord Bolingbroke, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Strafford, were impeached of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Among those who shewed opposition to any part of these proceedings, Sir Joseph Jekyll deserves to be mentioned with emphatical respect. He was a firm and zealous whig, and so high in trust with his party, that he was a member of the secret committee. He interfered in behalf of the accused noblemen. It had ever, he said, been his principle to do justice to every body, from the highest to the lowest ; and it was the duty of an honest man never to act by the spirit of party : that he hoped he might pretend to some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom, and would not scruple to declare his opinion that the charges in question did not amount to high treason. With regard to the duke of Ormond, whose family had so long been signalized for the noblest services to the king and nation, and whose courage, generosity, and humanity, had endeared his character to all who knew him ; the honest Sir Joseph said, that if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble peer, who had in the course of many years exerted his great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country ; and as the statute of Edward III., on which the charge of high treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, that the house ought not, in his opinion,



opinion, to take advantage of that rigorous statute to destroy him ; but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours. All remonstrances, however, were lost upon the ministers. Mr. Walpole even treated Sir Joseph Jekyll with contumely ; and the impeachments were carried as it were by acclamation.

Bolingbroke had retired to the continent some time previous to these transactions ; and the duke of Ormond now thought proper to withdraw himself from the chance of imprisonment or destruction. The earl of Oxford was arraigned at the bar of the house of lords, and ordered to confinement in the Tower, though he was much indisposed with the gravel ; and though Dr. Mead declared, that if he should be sent there his life would be endangered. A great multitude of people attended him to his prison, crying, “ High church ! Ormond and Oxford for ever ! ” Bills were brought into parliament to summon the duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke to surrender themselves by the 10th of September, or in default thereof to attain them of high treason ; which passed both houses, and received the royal assent. When articles of impeachment were presented against the earl of Strafford, he made a speech in his own defence, and complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He requested, however, that at least a competent time might be allowed him to answer the articles of accusation, and that he might have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of secrecy or remained in the hands of government, to be used as occasion should require in his justification. Immediately the request was opposed by the leaders of the persecuting party ; and in a British house of peers in the eighteenth century, a man on trial for life, honour, and fortune, would have been denied the means of justification, had not the earl of Illay, in whose breast, though of the same party, all regard to justice seems not to have been extinguished, pronounced a sentence which staggered the firmness of the prevailing malignity. In all civilized nations, he said, no court, except the inquisition, had ever denied the persons arraigned any thing conducive to their exculpation ; and it would be strange if the house of peers of Great Britain should, in this case, do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were famed throughout Europe.

It was the nature of things that such usage as this should rouse the spirits of all who favoured the persecuted party, that it should provoke opposition, and suggest such measures of revenge as appeared likely to ensure success. A union of many tories with the jacobites was effected, which otherwise would never have taken place ; and

the assistance of the pretender was thought desirable to punish the authors of their present sufferings. By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. But notwithstanding the provocation which a great part of the English, who were tories, had received from the present rulers, the principles which had made them active in expelling James from the throne, restrained them from measures to bring back his son, and the rebellion made but small progress in the southern part of the island. It was extinguished with no great effort in the north, and all the most remarkable prisoners were carried pinioned to London, and lodged in Newgate and the Tower. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, Wintoun, and the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn, were impeached; and bills of attainder were passed against the marquis of Tullibardine, the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and lord John Drummond. The impeached lords pleaded guilty to the charges exhibited against them, except Wintoun, who petitioned for delay; and they received sentence of death on the 9th of February. The countess of Nithsdale and lady Nairn threw themselves at the king's feet as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands; but their tears and entreaties were of no avail. The countess of Derwentwater with her sister, accompanied by the dutchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's into the king's bedchamber, and invoked his clemency in the same manner, and with the same effect. She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the house of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, where they begged the intercession of the house; but no regard was paid to their petition. Orders were dispatched for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the viscount of Kenmuir, immediately: the others were respited to the 7th day of March. Nithsdale made his escape in woman's apparel, conveyed to him by his own mother. The other two were executed on Tower-hill the 24th day of February; and the most prejudiced of the spectators could hardly refrain their tears. Derwentwater was an amiable youth; brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane: Kenmuir a virtuous man; calm, resolute, sensible, and resigned. The earl of Wintoun on the 15th of March was tried and condemned. And on the 12th of May the city presented an address of congratulation on the happy termination of all those difficulties; to which a gracious and suitable answer was returned.

The next measure of the ministers is one of too general and important a nature  
not



not to form a necessary part of the history of the capital. The period of termination of the present parliament was approaching: but the state of the nation was by no means such as the ministers wished on the occasion of a general election. Their desperate gratification of their selfish passions had raised the disgust and indignation of all moderate men; and compassion for the fate of the noblemen who had shewn so much dignified resolution in their sufferings, had turned the favour of many who were but little capable or little inclined to decide the question of right and justice between the parties. From the knowledge which the ministers possessed of the temper of the country, they dreaded to hazard an election, and devised an effectual method to avoid the evil. They resolved to continue the parliament which they had, and which they knew, from experience, to be one so convenient. On the 10th day of April the duke of Devonshire made a speech in the house of lords, and advanced the objections which had been devised and collected against triennial parliaments. These objections were the following: That triennial elections served to keep up party divisions, and to raise and foment feuds in private families; that they produced expenses ruinous to the candidates; and that they gave occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes. His grace added, that it highly became the dignity of the august assembly which he had the honour to address to apply a remedy to these evils. He enlarged upon the precarious state of the nation as an urgent motive for the immediate application of an effectual remedy; and he recommended as that remedy the extension of the duration of parliaments from three to seven years. He was seconded by all the chiefs of the ministerial party, and opposed by the earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Paulet, who urged many weighty reasons against the proposal. In the name of shame or of modesty, they said, what title could the present ministers have to recommend dangerous and despotical measures for the calming of party animosities, when their whole conduct had been directed to exasperate those animosities to the utmost, and to strike indelibly the impressions of them upon the minds of their distracted countrymen? That it was the conduct of parliaments, not the election of them, which was best calculated to make a united and contented people; that if the slow return of elections deadened the vivacity with which people entered into political concerns, it only procured a safer opportunity to ministry to carry on vicious designs, a danger of a much more terrible kind than the skirmishes of political parties. As to the expense of elections, it was a humiliating and portentous confession, not so much on account of the purses of the candidates, as of the dearest rights of the nation; but if the purses of the candidates were so mercifully con-

dered in this proposal, where was the security offered to the rights of the nation, which yet should seem in justice to require as tender a concern from the ministers? The cabals and intrigues of foreign princes were a plea in favour of septennial parliaments too ridiculous to deserve any notice; as if any such cabals had ever attempted to influence our elections; as if it were not more easy for such foreign intrigues to influence the members after they were elected, than the numerous and scattered electors of the whole kingdom; or as if members who purchased their places for seven years were not likely to be as easily influenced by such intrigues, as those who purchased them for three. As to the advancing of the troubled state of the country as a reason for the speedy remedy of the existing evils of elections, the present time was always the best for the remedy of evils; but it was observable that ministers made two very different uses of the troubled state of a country, according to the object which they wished to gain: at one time they advanced it as a reason for the most violent and dangerous innovations; at another time, for resisting all innovations, even the most gentle and salutary. The objectors insisted that the power did not belong to parliament to extend the period of its duration, and that it had no more right to make that duration seven than seventy years, or perpetual, or to enact its own abolition: that at least, if this act passed, it behoved the parliament to be dissolved, that the nation might have an opportunity of electing their representatives afresh upon this new foundation, which entirely altered the condition on which the members had been originally returned: and that the most formidable of all powers to the constitution and liberties of this country, the power of corrupting the representatives of the people, would be more than doubled by this innovation. These topics formed a good debate; but they had very little influence on the votes either of this or of the lower house. The bill was passed in both by a great majority, though twenty peers had the virtue or the obstinacy to enter a protest.

The ministers having now gratified themselves on their enemies, and firmly established their power, began at last to abate in their resentments. One tumultuous rally more, however, indicated the sentiments which, though about to expire, were not yet torpid in the populace of London. To quell the mobs of disaffected persons, who were found to raise disturbances on days of public rejoicing, an association had been formed of a number of the friends of the government, who dispersed themselves in groups in different parts of the town, in ale-houses selected for that purpose, which were called mug-houses, from the name of the vessels in which the liquor used on these occasions was sold. The execution of the jacobite lords having con-



siderably excited the mutinous propensities of the people, they one day took offence at one of these places of rendezvous, the house of one Read in Salisbury-court, Fleet-street. Read shot one of the rioters, a small-coal man ; on which the rest, with the assistance of the Bridewell boys, broke into the house, and rifled it. The sheriffs repaired to the place, caused the proclamation against riots to be read ; but no obedience being paid to it, a party of horse-guards were sent ; five of the most active of the rioters were seized, tried upon the statute, and were punished. They were hanged before the house. Read on the other side was prosecuted for the murder of Vaughan, but with very different issue of his trial. He was acquitted, and received 400*l.* from the treasury as an indemnity for his losses and troubles. Shortly after this, the rebellion being utterly suppressed, the opponents of the ministry completely subdued, and they beginning violently to disagree among themselves, an act of grace was passed, from which, however, several persons were excepted.

A petition from the magistrates of London obtained relief from a considerable burden which lay upon the governors of all corporate towns. This was an obligation to sign, under a penalty, a declaration against the solemn league and covenant, at their admission into their offices. An act passed at the restoration had established this silly test, which though universally neglected continued still in force, and all magistrates were exposed to the penalty of it. The repeal was now granted in an act entitled, For quieting and establishing Corporations. The lighting of the city was regulated anew ; and it was ordained, “ that all housekeepers, whose house-  
 “ door or gateway fronts or lies next unto any street, lane, or public passage or  
 “ place of the said city, or liberties thereof, shall, in every dark night, that is,  
 “ every night between the second night after each full moon and the seventh night  
 “ after each new moon, set or hang out one or more lights, with sufficient cotton  
 “ wicks, that shall continue to burn from six o’clock at night till eleven o’clock of  
 “ the same night, on penalty of 1*s.* ; and that under the like penalty, the occupiers  
 “ of houses in any court that faces any public place or passage, shall alternately  
 “ hang or set such a light on the outside of such doors or gates as shall be next the  
 “ said public place or passage ; unless the party offending is not charged to the poor,  
 “ and whose house shall not be of the rent of 10*l.* per annum. Penalties to be  
 “ levied by distress and sale of the offender’s goods by warrants from the mayor.”

The year 1718 furnishes us with only one event in the history of the capital, the destruction by fire of the custom-house, and the consequent erection of the present

edifice on the same foundation. Ships of 350 tons can lie before it and discharge their cargo; and here the goods and even natives of almost all countries come to pay their tribute to the support of Great Britain. There was a custom-house here built as early as the year 1385, by John Churchman, one of the sheriffs of London: but at that period, and long after, the customs were collected in different parts of the city, and in a very irregular manner. A discovery of the loss sustained by the revenue, occasioned an act about the year 1559, to compel goods to be landed at this place fixed on by the commissioners of the revenue, and an appropriate building was erected. Before the custom-house was established here, the principal place for receiving the duties was at Billingsgate. In the reign of Ethelred, about the year 979, a small vessel was made to pay *ad Bilynggesgate*  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  as a toll; a greater, bearing sails,  $1d.$ ; a keel or hulk,  $4d.$ ; a ship laden with wood, one piece for toll; and a boat with fish, one halfpenny; or a larger,  $1d.$  In 1268, the date of the earliest accounts which we have of the custom-house receipts, the half year's duties for foreign merchandise in the city of London came only to  $75l. 6s. 10d.$  During the course of a century, however, they rose very materially; in 1331 they are stated at  $8,000l.$  a year. In 1354 the duty on imports was only  $580l. 6s. 8d.$ ; on exports, chiefly wool and felts,  $81,624l. 1s. 1d.$  In the reign of queen Elizabeth, the customs were farmed to Sir Thomas Smith, first at  $14,000l.$  a year, afterwards at  $42,000l.$ , and lastly at  $50,000l.$  In 1613, by the peaceful reign of James, the customs in the port of London amounted to  $109,572l. 18s. 4d.$ ; and those in the out-ports raised the sum total to  $148,075l. 7s. 8d.$  In the year 1641, just before the civil disturbances broke out, the customs brought in  $500,000l.$  a year: in 1666, in consequence of these disturbances, they suffered a decrease of  $110,000l.$  They soon, however, recovered their ancient prosperity; and from 1671 to 1688 they were at a medium  $555,752l.$  In 1709, toward the end of queen Anne's wars, a mighty change had taken place; they produced no less than  $2,319,320l.$  It is to be observed, however, that a state of war, chiefly owing to our naval superiority, increases the import and export trade of this country, and above all of the port of London, sometimes even to the detriment of the other sources of our national wealth. Materials fail for deducing the history of the customs any farther, till long after the period about which we are now employed.

Next year complaint of misapplication of the money of the city was brought to the house of lords. In the year 1711, aldermen had been elected for two of the city



city wards ; the contest had been very violent, and the lord mayor had returned the two candidates in whose favour the poll, according to his judgment, had decided. The neglected candidates applied to the court of common-council, in which they knew that they had friends. The common-council granted them an order to prosecute their successful rivals, with money to be paid out of the chamber of London. Of this prosecution the new aldermen complained to the house of lords, who appointed a committee to inquire into the expenses which that, and the suits of the other elections since that time, had occasioned. The report of this committee stated, that these expenses, since the time of the election in question, amounted for four wards to 2,827*l.* 10*s.*, and that not one of the suits carried on with so much money had ever been determined in favour of the prosecutors. The report being read, and the subject debated, the peers came to the following resolution: " That it is the opinion  
" of this house, that the common-councils of London, having issued great sums of  
" money out of the chamber of London, in maintaining several suits of law between  
" citizen and citizen, relating to controverted elections, have abused their trust,  
" and been guilty of great partiality and of gross mismanagement of the city treasure,  
" and a violation of the freedom of elections in the city."

In the year 1720 this country suffered no extraordinary loss of inhabitants or of property, the two circumstances which occasion in their increase or decrease the prosperity or adversity of a country, and yet this year has been generally considered as one of the most calamitous which this country ever experienced. The irregular transfer of property from some individuals to others by the transactions of the South Sea company was the cause of this calamity ; and a project of the ministers for the payment of the national debt was the foundation of these transactions. Every minister who has any considerable time been in office has attempted a project for that purpose, and every one of them has left the debt greater than he received it. The Bank, the South Sea company, and the East India company, had all advanced sums of money to government for the privilege of increasing their capital to a certain amount by the purchase or the acceptance of government debts. With a view to obtain a greater sum of the same kind, the ministers advanced, as a scheme toward the redemption of the national debt, the transferring of it all into the hands of a particular company, by granting them power to enlarge their capital to the same amount. The debt consisted of more than thirty millions, and the power of extending a capital to a sum so enormous was a prodigious temptation. The Bank and the South Sea  
company

company were competitors for the privilege: and the ministers, who seem to have been courageous men, were not in the least afraid of danger from transferring into the hands of the directors of a privileged company, the power derived from the management of a capital of thirty millions. The Bank offered their terms, but the South Sea company outbid them; and the bargain was concluded on the following conditions: That the company be allowed to extend their capital by taking in or purchasing all the debts of the nation incurred before the year 1716, amounting to the sum of 31,664,551*l.* 1*s.* 1*½d.*; that for the liberty of taking in the debts paying common interest, commonly called the redeemable debts, they should pay to the use of the public the sum of 4,156,306*l.*; and for the debts paid by annuities, commonly called the irredeemable debts, four years and a half's purchase for all the annuities which the proprietors should choose to resign, and one year's purchase for all the annuities which should not be resigned. The whole amounted, supposing all the annuities to be subscribed, to the sum of 7,723,809*l.* It is wonderful that insuperable doubts were not entertained of the power of any company to fulfil this contract; and that regard to the dangers incurred either by the company, or the proprietors of the debts, did not deter the ministers from the rash prosecution of a transaction so much out of proportion to all ordinary ones. The ministers would not or could not see any such dangers. A bill was prepared to carry the project into execution; and in the mean time the company talked of engrossing likewise all the public debts incorporated into the capitals of the Bank and the East India company, or belonging to the exchequer, and of thus becoming the sole creditors of the nation. It is probable that fear of the displeasure of these powerful companies was the chief cause of preventing this measure, which was believed at the time so likely to happen, that the report raised the stock of the company to 126*l.* per cent.

The bill, when brought into parliament, did not pass without opposition, and several pernicious consequences were very justly anticipated, although neither the nature nor magnitude of the danger seems to have been very distinctly understood. The scheme, it was said, would countenance the mischievous practice of stock-jobbing; it was calculated to enrich a few by the losses of many; it would give such power to the company as might endanger the liberties of the nation, since by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most, if not all, the elections of the members of the house of commons. In the mean time the opinion of the power



and consequence of a company possessing so enormous a capital, raised in the people the highest conceptions of the advantages to be obtained by sharing in that capital, and a very eager competition began, for whatever part of it came into the market; so that it rose to 400/. per cent. before the bill was passed. This furnished a new argument against the bill to its opposers, as so exorbitant a rise furnished a dangerous temptation to many people to withdraw their capital from the regular gains of industry, so advantageous to the nation, to speculations in money, which were useless, if not pernicious to the country, and in the highest degree dangerous to the unwary individuals who engaged in them; and as by this rise upwards of 30,000,000/. would be collected from the people, of which only one fourth would go to the discharge of the national debt, the rest into the pockets of the company, or its principal members.

The bill passed without amendment or division, and on the 7th day of April received the royal assent. The company were authorized to take in all the redeemable debts by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors, and all the irredeemable debts by purchase or subscription, at such rates as should be agreed upon between the company and the proprietors, but without any power of compelling these proprietors to subscribe or sell, if it should be contrary to their inclination. The irredeemable debts were estimated at the same amount as the redeemable, and rendered redeemable likewise; and for the whole an interest of 5/. per cent. was to be given to the company till Midsummer in the year 1727, after which four per cent. was to be the interest allowed.

On the 12th of April the directors opened books for the sale of 2,000,000/. of their stock, which they disposed of at 300/. per cent., receiving just three for one. The sum was quickly subscribed, payable at nine payments within twelve months. They agreed that the dividends, or profits allowed to the proprietors of stock, should at Midsummer next be 10/. per cent., which should be allowed even to the last subscription, and to every other which should be made into their stock till that time. This had so great an effect in raising the demand, that on the 28th of the same month they thought proper to open their books for a subscription for another million of stock, which, with the assistance of the treacherous condition of three years to make the payment in, they sold at 400/. per cent.

The next step of the company was to offer terms of purchase to the proprietors of the annuities. They proposed to make part of the payments in bonds and money;

money, but the greater part in the stock of the company, according to the following rates and proportions :

The long annuities, and those called 14*l.* per cents., were estimated at thirty-two years' purchase, consequently every 100*l.* per annum was to be purchased by 3,200*l.* This 3,200*l.* the company proposed to make up in the following manner : For every 100*l.* per annum long annuities, they allowed 700*l.* of the company's stock, which they estimated at 375*l.* per cent., and which thus amounted to 2,625*l.* What remained of the full purchase, namely, 575*l.*, they offered to pay in bonds and money. For every 98*l.* of the 14*l.* per cents, they offered 700*l.* of stock at 375*l.* per cent., and completed the thirty-two years purchase by bonds and money. The 9*l.* per cent. annuities were estimated at seventeen years purchase, every 90*l.* of which were to be bought by 350*l.* of the company's stock at 375*l.* per cent., the rest by bonds and money. For every 100*l.* per annum of the benefits of the lottery of 1710, reckoned at seventeen years' purchase, were offered 400*l.* of the company's stock at the same value, the rest in bonds and money ; and for every 98*l.* of the blanks of the same lottery at seventeen years' purchase, were offered 350*l.* of the same stock, and the remainder in bonds and money.

Many of the annuitants murmured severely at the high rate at which the stock of the company was offered them in the purchase of their annuities, by which, instead of thirty-two years' purchase, only eight and a quarter was in reality granted them ; and several who had left their orders for subscription again withdrew them. However, the arts of the managers, and the credulity of the people, still enhancing the price of the stock, so that it reached 500*l.* per cent. before the time limited for subscribing expired, every one contended with his neighbour who should enter his subscription first : and it was computed that by the end of the period assigned, two thirds of all the debts were subscribed. Still the popular persuasion of the magnificence of the company went on, and the stock rose. At last, even those who had at first been suspicious of the prospects which the company presented, were carried away by the tide of prosperity and of opinion ; and the most sober-minded and moderate men began to blame themselves for neglecting an opportunity of becoming rich, which had proved its solidity by raising thousands to opulence. The conversation and the thoughts of the people seemed to be withdrawn from every thing but the value of South Sea stock. Every species of trade was abandoned, that both capital and attention might be employed in the more lucrative concerns of  
the



the South Sea company. Numbers of landed proprietors sold their estates, to place the money in this more profitable employment. Those who had no other resource borrowed money wherever they could find it: and multitudes every day flocked to the scene of business, where the force of their hopes communicated such an expression to their countenance, and such a hurry and confusion to their movements, as is described with amazement by cotemporary writers. In the mean time, those who had bought in early, and whose gains were now so great, thought of securing what they had made by selling out, and were eager to purchase land by the money they had withdrawn. Having obtained their fortunes lightly, they were ready to offer uncommon sums for the land which they wanted; and this was an additional temptation to the ancient proprietors to part with it.

When affairs were in this high state of prosperity, the directors of the company offered four millions more of their stock to sale, for which they required 1000/. per cent. In less than a fortnight, it was not only all subscribed, but bore a premium in the market of 200/. per cent. Then they came to a resolution of receiving subscriptions for all the remaining annuities, for which purpose books were immediately opened, and in a few days they published the following terms of purchase: For every 100/. per annum of the long annuities (excepting those denominated 14/. per cents) they gave 400/. of the company's stock, reckoned at 800/. per cent., and amounting accordingly to 3,200/., and 400/. in bonds and money, which was thirty-six years' purchase. They made up thirty-six years' purchase of the 14/. per cents, after this manner: they allowed for every 98/. per annum 420/. of the company's stock at 800/. per cent., and 168/. in bonds and money. For every 90/. per annum of the 9/. per cents, they gave 200/. of the company's stock at the same rate, making seventeen years and seven ninths purchase. They gave seventeen years and a half's purchase for the benefits of the lottery of 1710, for every 100/. per annum of which they allowed 150/. in bonds and money, and paid the rest with their own stock at 800/. per cent. For the blanks of the lottery at the same purchase they allowed only 35/. in bonds and money, the rest in company's stock: and all the redeemable debts, both at 4/. and 5/. per cent., they took in at 105/. per cent., giving stock of the company at 800/. per cent.

Many of the annuitants had flocked with great eagerness as soon as the resolution to receive subscriptions was known, and before these terms were published, to leave their orders for subscription, expecting the same terms with the former subscribers;

and they were violently dissatisfied, when they found that terms only half as good were to be granted them. Numbers of them repaired to the South Sea house to withdraw their orders; but delays, and even refusals, were interposed; when by their incessant applications and injurious reflections they considerably affected the credit of the company; and stock, when the company opened their books, had fallen to 820/. This so provoked the presumptuous directors, that they ordered the books immediately to be shut; and next day they made others be opened for the sale of a million of their stock at 1000/. per cent., payable at five terms in two years. This subscription was quickly filled, nay bore a premium the same afternoon of 40/. per cent. However, the mighty fabric of South Sea prosperity began from this time to give signs of the want of stability. Fluctuation succeeded to the steady direction upwards which the price of stock had hitherto held; and strong measures were taken by the directors to preserve it at its height. They lent large sums of money at 4/. per cent. upon the security of the company's stock reckoned at 400/. per cent., to enable the subscribers, who would otherwise be obliged to sell, to make good the payments on their subscriptions; by which means they locked up from the market all that part of the company's stock which was thus pledged as security, and by the relief which they afforded to the borrowers, saved them from the necessity of carrying to market whatever other part of that stock they might own. As an additional fuel to the extravagant hopes of the adventurers, the court of directors issued a declaration that the next dividend should be 30/. per cent., and that for each of the ensuing twelve years it should be not less than 50/. per cent.

The frenzy raised by the South Sea company was so general, that scarcely any use was proposed to be made of money but embarking it in some joint stock concern. During the flow of the tide of this epidemic passion, Bank stock rose to 260/. per cent., and East India stock to 445/.; African, York-buildings, and various others, in a similar, and even greater proportion. Private persons too, thinking it hard that these great companies should reap the whole profit of the general delusion, opened a multitude of proposals; and the inferior people, who were debarred from the great contracts in South Sea stock, but who were not less inflamed with the general passion than their superiors, eagerly ran into the projects. Petitions for letters patent for upwards of 150 joint stock companies were presented to the lords justices. The professed purpose of these was to carry on some manufacture or branch of traffic, or to execute some public work. Seven of them were for different  
branches



branches of fishery, one was for sowing hemp and flax, another for carrying on a salt-work, another for insuring and improving children's fortunes, one for encouraging the breed of horses, one for discovering gold mines, one for curing the grand pox. Some of them were so ridiculous, that it is difficult to conceive that they could have been proposed for any other purpose but to satirize the general infatuation; such were the companies for curing the gout and stone, for transmuting quicksilver into a malleable metal, for insurance against the pox, for an air-pump for the brain, for making butter from beech-trees, for assuring of maidenheads, for japanning of shoes, &c. And yet that even these should be seriously proposed will not appear incredible, when we have mentioned a single instance more. After invention seemed to be exhausted for titles, a proposal was offered to the public, "For carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is." The projector proposed to make his capital half a million; he required two guineas as a premium for liberty to subscribe, and he promised 100/. per cent. per annum for all the money which should be advanced. At the end of the month, he said, the particulars of the project would be disclosed, when the money subscribed was to be paid in. Upon this scheme no less than a thousand subscriptions were entered in one forenoon, each subscriber paying his two guineas for the permission; and the projector disappeared with the money in the afternoon. It is said that the shares of even the lowest of these projects advanced above cent. per cent., most above 400/. per cent., and some to twenty times the original subscription. The amount of all the money subscribed to them has been stated, though this is probably a considerable exaggeration, at 300,000,000/., exclusive of all which was advanced to the larger companies, computed too low at as much more.

The South Sea company became jealous of the success of these inferior associations, especially after their own stock began to fluctuate, and they applied their interest effectually to procure the suppression of them. Petitions from 150 of these companies, some of which we have named, to obtain patents and charters, were rejected by the lords justices. Many of them notwithstanding still continuing to do business, an order by the lords commissioners was published in the London Gazette, ordering the attorney-general to bring writs of *scire facias* against the charters of the York-buildings company, the Lustring company, and some others, which had illegally opened public subscriptions; and to prosecute, with the utmost severity, all private persons engaged in such transactions. This measure had the desired

effect with regard to the interfering companies ; it stopped the business of all, and destroyed the existence of many : but it failed in its other intended effect, that of raising the stock of the South Sea company. Whether the rapid and easy destruction of so many of the airy schemes opened men's eyes to see the delusive nature of them all, or whether the accidental panic raised by this event, was sufficient to shake a fabric which was only supported by another epidemic passion, in this case still less rational, South Sea stock within a month from this date, sunk more than one half, and on the 20th of September was only 410/. Something important was now necessary to be done ; a court of directors came to the resolution of altering the terms on which the last subscriptions had been received, of reducing stock from 800/. to 400/. to the subscribers of the public debts, and from 1000/. to 400/. to the sharers in the third and fourth money subscriptions. Even these conditions were far from giving satisfaction to the adventurers, and stock threatened to fall still farther, when the company brought about a transaction which considerably restored their character. They persuaded the Bank, their ancient rival, to take payment in their stock at 400/. per cent. for 3,775,000/. of redeemable debt, which was to be transferred from the Bank to the company. The most zealous efforts of the ministers were employed to accomplish this contract, denominated the Bank contract, which Mr. Robert Walpole managed, and wrote the minute of agreement with his own hand. The surmise of this transaction, though the Bank afterwards refused to make it good, once more elevated the South Sea stock to 675/. But the bubble (so these schemes began to be denominated) was now broke ; and the rapid elevation which South Sea stock experienced is only matched by the violence of its fall. On the 29th of September it sunk to 175/., and the bonds of the company were at 25/. per cent. discount. The monied men were thrown into the utmost disorder ; the Bank, and still more the private bankers, were harassed for cash ; and many of them who had lent large sums on the security of South Sea stock, were obliged to stop payment. A scene of distress uncommonly great was exhibited. All ranks of persons were sufferers ; noble families, merchants of the highest credit, clergymen, lawyers, were reduced from opulence to beggary, some of whom withdrew to remote parts of the world to escape the eyes of those who had seen them in their better days ; and others died broken-hearted, unable to support the degradation and hardships of poverty. The clamours of the people were so loud and alarming, as to prevail upon the ministry to send suddenly to Germany to press the king's return.



return. He brought the matter directly before parliament by his speech at the opening of that assembly on the 8th day of December. The preservation of public credit required strong and judicious measures. The commons resolved, that eighteen millions of the South Sea stock should be engrossed into the capital of the Bank and East India company by equal portions; and this resolution passed into an act, on certain conditions, to which the companies consented, but was never carried into execution. Another act was passed for preventing the removal of the persons or properties of all the persons principally concerned in the management of the company's affairs, till the end of the next session of parliament: and a committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South Sea act. The lords proceeded with equal ardour. The sub and deputy governors, the directors and officers of the company, were examined at the bar of the house. A bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, in the East India company, or in the Bank of England. Three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries. Knight, the treasurer of the company, who had been intrusted with all the secrets, withdrew from the kingdom, and a proclamation was issued for apprehending him. In the mean time the committee of the commons informed the house, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which they would in due time lay before the house, but in the mean time thought it necessary to secure the persons and papers of some of the directors and principal officers. It now appeared what high-placed and honourably titled persons had attempted to share in the profits of the South Sea directors, by taking a willing share in their frauds; and many members of both houses of parliament, and some of the highest of his majesty's ministers, were found partners in the national robbery. Sir Theodore Janfen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the house of commons, and apprehended; and Mr. Aislaby resigned his employments of chancellor of the exchequer and lord of the treasury. The committee of secrecy discovered, that 574,000*l.* had been distributed to the persons in chief influence about court and in parliament, to facilitate the passing of the bill; and that the greater part of this sum had gone to the earl of Sunderland, to Mr. Craggs, senior, to the dutchess of Kendal, the countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. Secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislaby, chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the treasury, was charged with having large quantities

quantities of stock and subscriptions ; but desired an opportunity of clearing himself : he was acquitted by three voices, so large a proportion of the house of commons believed him guilty. Fifty thousand pounds in stock had been taken by Knight for the use of the earl of Sunderland ; the whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence, and parliament pronounced him innocent ; the nation thought proper to be of a different opinion. Mr. Aislaby was expelled the house, and committed to the Tower ; and the death of Mr. Craggs anticipated a similar condemnation. The fortunes of all the persons principally concerned were confiscated in behalf of the sufferers. After proposing to appropriate to the public first seven millions, and then only two of the stock belonging to the company in its corporate capacity, parliament at last gave up the whole to be added to the stock belonging to the proprietors ; and after much noise, and confusion, and distress, credit and commerce returned to their ancient state.

It universally happens, that any considerable derangement in the state of property in a nation is accompanied with a correspondent derangement in the state of morals. Such representations are handed down to us of the torrent of profligacy which broke out at this time, as compel us to believe that vice was somewhat more audacious and powerful than usual. A number of persons finding themselves raised to excess of opulence, whose birth, education, or qualities could never have entitled them to look above the most ordinary situations of life, were transported by the novelty of their situation into extremity of licentiousness. While the bubbles lasted, the adventurers, intoxicated with the hopes of indefinite gains, began to spend in proportion to their expectations ; and the nation having become in business a set of desperate gamesters, by natural course conducted their lives in a great measure according to the plan of gamesters, the renunciation of all principle, moral or religious, and the seizure of every indulgence which can be crowded into the present hour, without any regard to what shall happen in the next. The earl of Nottingham complained in the house of lords of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality ; and a bill was introduced for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness ; but more calculated to restrain the liberty of nonconformists than to suppress vice, and it was therefore very properly thrown out. The earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion ; and should the house declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be chosen



chosen a cardinal, as he had rather sit in the conclave than with their lordships upon those terms.—An association for the purposes of wickedness was even reported to be formed, under the title of the Hell-fire Club. Doubts have indeed been entertained, whether so infamous a fraternity ever existed. However, on this report, a proclamation was issued against blasphemous and scandalous clubs, in which the king declared his determination to shew every mark of his displeasure to all who should even lie under the suspicion of such destructive practices; and he ordered the officers of his household to make strict inquiry whether any of his servants were concerned in these impieties.

The attention of the city now returned to more ordinary matters. They presented a congratulatory address to the king upon the delivery of the princess of Wales of a son; and his majesty's reply contained a particular allusion to the distresses occasioned by the South Sea company, and expressions of the deepest interest in the prosperity of the city. A sort of commercial treaty was concluded with Spain, with some slight alteration of the conditions established by the treaty of Utrecht. But a tumult of the silk-weavers was an object which interested more the great majority of the citizens. The increasing use of Indian calicoes and other printed cloths, is said to have given offence to these manufacturers; and it was the disposition of the times to look with particular odium upon every thing which superseded the labour of any number of the citizens, whether it was a thing salutary or detrimental. The silk manufacture was at this time highly prosperous; its increase since the revolution was of the value of 700,000*l.* yearly, before which period wrought silks to the amount of 500,000*l.* a year used to be imported from France: and it was now thought wise to endeavour to prevent the decay of that trade, though by prohibiting another which might prove far more advantageous:—so well have senates and courts in general understood the nature of commerce, and so wisely have they superintended its interests. A bill was brought into parliament for the relief of the silk-weavers: but parliament, it seems, could think of no other mode of providing for the weavers, but by compelling the people to make use of their work, whether they could find another commodity more cheap and agreeable, or not. The patience of the weavers too seems to have been small. Some circumstances deferring the bill a little time in parliament, they apprehended the rejection of it, assembled tumultuously in crowds about the parliament-house, tore the gowns off all the women whom they saw wearing calico, threatened to burn the East India

India house ; and it was thought necessary to draw out the horse and foot guards, and trained bands, to quell them. The bill was in due time passed, and absolutely prohibited the wear of printed Indian calicoes, on the penalty for each offence of 5*l.* to be paid by the wearer, and 20*l.* by the seller. The prevailing taste of the times, however, soon got the better of this act.

The tranquillity of the city was disturbed by an alarm respecting the plague. That horrid disaster was at this time afflicting the southern parts of France, and particularly the city of Marseilles, and violent and just apprehensions were entertained of its introduction into this country. A proclamation was published, forbidding all persons from any part of France, between the Bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, to come into England without certificates of health. The streets of London were ordered to be paved and kept clean ; and an act of parliament was passed, establishing the necessity of quarantine, appointing pest-houses to be built, and giving power to remove thither by force all persons infected, ordering trenches or lines to be drawn round any city, town, or place infected, in order to cut off all communication, directing sufficient guards to be appointed for preventing escapes, and ordaining for all persons eluding the observance of quarantine, punishment as felons convict. The city of London disapproved of these regulations. The interruption given to commerce by the appointment of quarantine was disagreeable to them ; the measures of prevention were very strong ; and several of them being copied from France, they were looked upon with particular jealousy : accordingly the citizens presented a petition to the house of lords, representing the regulations of the act as injurious to their trade, inconsistent with their rights as a corporation, and with the lenity belonging to a free government. The lords rejected this petition. However, so much of the act was repealed as related to removing infected persons to pest-houses, and drawing lines round any infected town or city.

The extension of the town on the west side rendered a new supply of water for that quarter necessary ; and an act of parliament was passed, establishing a company for the performance of this service. The water was brought from the Thames at Chelsea, where was a creek in the river ; it was conveyed by the force of a steam-engine to a reservoir in Hyde-park, and from thence distributed to the different parts of the town which it was intended to supply.

The nation was again disturbed by the alarm of plots and conspiracies, of the formation of which the king hinted some intimation in his speech in the month



of March, at the dismissal of parliament; and in the month of May he was said to have received full information from the duke of Orleans of a dangerous conspiracy being actually formed to place the pretender on the throne of Britain. No demonstration at least of the persuasion of imminent danger was omitted on this occasion. A camp was formed in Hyde-park. All military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant-general Macartney was dispatched to Ireland to bring over some troops from that kingdom. Some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland. The States of Holland were ordered to have their auxiliary or guarantee troops in readiness to be embarked; and an officer was sent to the court of France with a private commission. With a view to sound or to confirm the good dispositions of the citizens of London, one of his majesty's leading ministers, lord Townsend, wrote a letter to the chief magistrate, communicating information of the conspiracy; at the same time, however, declaring the certainty that no foreign power whatever would support or countenance it; and his majesty's hopes, that from his timely intelligence, and active measures, the wicked machinations of his enemies would be easily turned to their own confusion. The letter concluded with expressing the confidence of his majesty, that no effort would be wanting on the part of the city to ensure peace and good order at so important a conjuncture. The address of the city in return contained every expression of loyalty and affection which the court could require; the warmest thanks for the honour done the city by his majesty's gracious communication, congratulations on the success of his negotiations, which left him so little to fear from the malice of his impotent enemies, high compliments on the virtues and happy effects of his government, expressions of the utmost abhorrence toward the authors of all designs against it, and assurances of the most zealous efforts of the magistrates and city to preserve public peace, and to make his reign easy and happy. After this the court proceeded to pretty violent operations. The bishop of Rochester, the accomplished Atterbury, was seized, examined before the privy-council, and committed to the Tower. The same conduct was followed with several other noblemen and gentlemen. After the bishop had been a fortnight in confinement, Sir Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying that, in consideration of the ill state of his health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, bailed, or discharged; but this was overruled. A bill was brought into the house of lords for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, the bulwark of

personal liberty in the nation, for a whole year. The length of the term startled a great number even of the boldest. But Mr. Robert Walpole had ready an alarming story of a design to seize the Bank and Exchequer, and to proclaim the pretender on the Royal Exchange; and excited such terrors, that both houses approved of the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. The king laid before parliament a paper, purporting to be a declaration of the pretender, addressed to the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states, in which he gravely proposed, that if king George would relinquish to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return bestow upon him the title of king, and invite all other states to confirm it. This the parliament treated with great indignation. A Mr. Sayer, a young gentleman of the Temple, convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, was executed at Tyburn, and his head fixed up at Temple-bar. A bill was brought into the house of commons for the trial of bishop Atterbury, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed, that there was no evidence against him but malicious rumours and affected suspicions. He was brought to his trial in the house of lords on the 9th of May. After hearing all that could be alleged against him, several of the lords did not hesitate to declare, that, instead of having evidence sufficient for condemnation, they had not ground even for suspicion of any criminality in the prelate. Lord Bathurst said, That if such extraordinary proceedings were encouraged or suffered, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do but to retire into as secret a corner as possible, and, by their silence and obscurity, endeavour to elude those occasions of crimination which a thousand passages in the life of the most patriotic public man might be tortured to afford;—that cardinal Mazarin boasted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances, attested by witnesses, deprive him of his life at his pleasure. And turning to the bench of bishops, whose rancour against the bishop assisted in his fall, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons bore against the learned and ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the delusion of some Indian savages, who believed that they inherited not only the spoils, but the abilities, of any great enemy whom they killed in battle. The opposite party were not so desirous to maintain the debate as to put the question, knowing that their numbers did not depend upon their arguments. The bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death in case he should return; and the same punishment was decreed



decreed against all who should correspond with him during his exile. The causes which induced Walpole and his colleagues to ruin this great man, after their resentments seemed to be gratified, and the memory of their former severities to be nearly obliterated, have never been fully understood. One thing is certain, that his great abilities and eloquence in the house were a most formidable object to Walpole, whom he detested. However, some of the greatest and most virtuous men of the nation, avowedly followed him with their admiration and regret. Among these was the celebrated Mr. Pope, with whom he had lived for many years in the most intimate friendship; and whose last letter to him, on quitting the kingdom, is one of the most affecting and valuable of all the compositions of that eminent writer.

An event highly interesting to humanity comes next to be mentioned; the introduction into England of inoculation for the small-pox, by which so many lives are preserved. The eminent benefactor, to whom Europe is indebted for the knowledge of this important discovery, is said to have been lady Mary Wortley Montague, who became acquainted with the practice during her residence in Constantinople with her husband, the ambassador, and communicated it to her countrymen. The practice received early and high encouragement in this country; and the operation was successfully performed on prince Frederic, the two princesses Amelia and Caroline, the duke of Bedford and his sisters, and many other persons of distinction.

The final suppression of places of pretended privilege for securing debtors against the pursuit of their creditors, was now effected. In the year 1696 an act had been passed for this purpose, which had answered its intention with regard to all these sanctuaries, except that in Suffolk-place or the Mint in Southwark, where debtors had continued to be protected, and where the greatest abuses took place. An act was now passed, which rendered it felony to obstruct the execution of any writ, rule, or order of any court of law or equity, or any other legal instrument, in that place; and the sheriff of Surrey was empowered to raise the *posse comitatus* to take any debtor out of it by force. This regulation was effectual for the cure of the evil.

Another regulation was at this time established by parliament, which regarded the contentions arising between the citizens about their interfering interests in rebuilding their houses. In the erection of houses there is a number of circumstances to adjust between the immediate neighbours, such as party-walls, and other particulars of joint necessity or use, which well-disposed people can always settle without disturbance; but which to troublesome persons afford sufficient materials for wrangling

and opposition. And these occasions were so frequent and vexatious in the city as to require a particular act to obviate the evil. It was enacted that if any person shall neglect or refuse to build his share of a party-wall, after due notice has been given him, his next neighbour may do it for him, and oblige him to pay the expenses; and it was enacted, that the water falling from the tops of houses, balconies and pent-houses, shall be conveyed into channels or kennels by pipes in the front or sides of the houses, under pain of 20*l.* forfeiture.

Contentions in other matters gave occasion to new regulations of a still more important nature. In the election of sheriffs of this year, the lord mayor and aldermen supported one set of candidates, and the sheriffs in office supported another. On the closing of the poll the sheriffs returned the names of Sir John Williams and Mr. Lockwood; notwithstanding which the lord mayor and aldermen declared Sir Richard Hopkins and Mr. Feast to be duly elected; and dissolving the common-hall, they prevented the sheriffs from any farther proceedings. Feast and Williams too raised a contest, opposing one another in the election of an alderman for Cripple-gate ward. The contest was decided by the court of aldermen in favour of Williams, which displeased, it seems, the rabble of the ward, and they commenced a scene of outrage, but were opposed, and their ringleaders committed to Newgate. These disturbances suggested the propriety of settling with more precision the rights and modes of city elections; and a bill, promoted by the mayor and aldermen, was brought into parliament. The citizens disapproved of the bill, and opposed it; and the court of common-council presented formal thanks to Francis Child, Richard Lockwood, and John Barnes, for their efforts against it in parliament; and a deputation of four aldermen and eight commoners waited upon them to pay the compliment. So great an authority encouraged and created opposition. Printed summonses were dispersed, inviting the citizens to assemble at Guildhall on an appointed day, to consider the merits of the depending bill. But the lord mayor and aldermen made the gate of Guildhall be shut, and sent information of the proceeding to the ministers; upon which the guards at St. James's, Leicester-house, and Somerset-house were doubled. And one just and honourable step was taken; the heads of the bill were printed and published, that the citizens, from a thorough knowledge of what was intended, might convince themselves of its propriety. The article of chief importance in the bill, was that by which the votes of a majority of the lord mayor and aldermen were made necessary to confirm the elections by the common-council.



council. By this were these magistrates invested with a complete negative upon the proceedings of the common-council ; and a sort of a double court, first of the lord mayor and aldermen, and then of the common-councilmen, was constituted to act in the same apartment, on the same business, and at the same time ; a species of irregularity, of which it is wonderful that the inconvenience was not foreseen, and which soon demonstrated the necessity of an alteration. A petition against the bill, as injurious to the rights and liberties of the citizens, was presented from a great number of them to the house of lords. At the third reading, a motion was made for asking the opinions of the judges, whether the bill did not affect the rights confirmed to the citizens by 2 W. and M. c. viii. which reversed the judgment on the *quo warranto*. After a debate it was resolved that this opinion should not be asked ; and the bill passed into a law, which, with the exception of the article above alluded to, still directs the business of elections.

Two very small transactions succeed to our attention ; the addition of 100 to the number of sedan chairs licensed ; and a dinner of the magistrates at St. James's palace. A separate treaty of peace and amity having been entered into between Germany and Spain, a rumour was spread that it contained a secret article for the recovery of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and for asserting the pretender's claim to the English crown. On this the citizens addressed the king with expressions of the warmest affection and assurances of strenuous support ; for which his majesty not only returned his thanks, but, as a further expression of his cordial good-will, invited to the entertainment which we have mentioned above, the lord mayor, aldermen, and the whole body of the common-council. The officers of state entertained the company, and every appearance was manifested of mutual satisfaction and friendship.

On the 3d day of June 1727, the king embarked for Hanover, from which he never returned. He was taken ill on the road, and died at Osnaburgh on the 11th of the same month.

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## GEORGE II.

THE news of the king's death reached England on the 14th of June. But the lawful and acknowledged successor being of mature age and understanding, the change was simple and easy. The prince of Wales was next day proclaimed king with

with the usual forms and ceremonies, and with every token of satisfaction among the people. On the day succeeding, loyal and affectionate addresses were presented from the city of London to the new king and queen; and at a common-council held October the 6th, it was resolved to invite their majesties, with the duke of Cumberland, and the three eldest princesses, to honour the next lord mayor's day with their presence at Guildhall. It was resolved too on the same occasion, to request permission to place the pictures of the king and queen in Guildhall; and both petitions were graciously complied with. The royal family on the day of the city festival viewed the procession in Cheapside, and afterwards graced by their presence both the dinner and the ball. The occasion, however, was reported to have suggested a daring project to some ruffians, who proposed to rob the queen as she returned home. But as they wished, it seems, to accomplish more than one enterprise at so favourable an opportunity, and attacked alderman Heathcote on his return from the house of commons, the queen passed unnoticed while the villains were thus engaged. It must, however, be confessed, that the probability of the story is but small, notwithstanding the general credit which it obtained.

The business of the city went on for some time without any memorable occurrence, except a petition from the magistrates to the house of commons, representing the hardship of the extraordinary tax on coals paid by the city of London: it was not however attended to. And nothing else worthy to be mentioned occurs till the 28th of December next year, when his majesty's eldest son, prince Frederick, who had hitherto resided always in Hanover, arrived at St. James's. He was waited upon with a complimentary address from the city by the lord mayor and aldermen; and without loss of time he was created prince of Wales, and took his place at the council-board.

The next circumstance requiring notice is the disclosure of a scene which does no honour to those who had previously enjoyed the places of authority and power in the nation. The barbarities and abuses committed in the prisons of the metropolis, had become too clamant for their sound to be confined even by the walls of a dungeon. The evil had not risen all at once to its present height: and the negligence or criminality by which it had been allowed to grow up, is one of the accusations against the powerful junto who then governed, and who long governed the affairs of the nation. The evil had been long and bitterly complained of both in private and in public. It had been exposed in the plainest colours by the press,



and stigmatized with all the power of wit and eloquence upon the stage ; and even now the remedy came, not from the hands from which it ought to have come, those to which the reins of the state were intrusted, but from a private member of parliament, Mr. Oglethorpe, who moved in the house of commons for an examination into the nefarious practices which were reported to be prevalent in the prisons of London. The necessity of the inquiry was too generally and too strongly believed, for any man to dare to oppose it ; and Mr. Oglethorpe was nominated chairman of a committee appointed to manage the business. They visited the Fleet prison in a body ; and found the dismal reports which had been in circulation but too well confirmed. They discovered not merely instances of hard and improper usage against human beings, broken down, and submitted to the mercy of their fellow-creatures ; but an ancient and organized system of extortion, fraud, and cruelty. The prisoners were mercilessly stripped of every thing which belonged to them, to satisfy the rapacious avarice of their keepers ; and then they were exposed to the most barbarous treatment, to make them solicit their friends for something more to purchase a remission of these sufferings. The committee found Sir William Rich, baronet, who had been committed for a debt, loaded with irons, only because he had given some slight offence to Bambridge the warden. Many instances of barbarity equally wanton were contained in the report, upon the reading of which the house unanimously passed the following resolution : “ That Thomas Bambridge, “ acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape, had “ been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, of great extortions, and the “ highest crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office ; and that he had “ loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed, prisoners for debt under his “ charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation “ and contempt of the laws of the kingdom.”—A resolution equally severe, and for crimes of equal magnitude, was passed against John Higgins, esquire, who had been warden of the same prison. An address was presented to the king desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to prosecute these persons and their accomplices. And the house would have fulfilled its duty, if it had resolved to impeach that attorney-general, and all the other officers and magistrates, whose business it was to watch and prevent these enormities. The two wardens were committed to Newgate : a bill was brought in for disabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden ; and another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet, and

for more effectually preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison.

A number of small regulations, chiefly respecting the police of the city, composed the business of the greater part of next year, the ordinary affairs of the citizens proceeding in their accustomed train. The grand jury of the county of Middlesex, whether from a peculiar delicacy in the moral sentiments of the members, or an unusual grossness in the offences of the times, presented to the court of king's bench, as nuisances, two places of resort, the one for the higher, the other for the lower order of society. The former was the fashionable diversion of masquerades, which the jury considered as a place contrived to promote and accommodate debauchery; and they presented the contriver and director of masquerades in the king's theatre in the Haymarket to be punished according to law. The other object of the indignation of the grand jury was the shops, in which a spirituous liquor called Geneva was sold. These the jury represented as the haunts of the vilest of both sexes among the meanest of the people, where they lost their time, ruined their health, practised every species of debauchery, and when inflamed with pernicious spirits, and stimulated by want, were hurried on to the greatest villanies, now become more frequent in the nation than at any preceding period. They prayed likewise the court that the laws might be executed against beggars, and that they might be prevented from exercising their occupation in the streets, as by their number and clamours they had become an intolerable nuisance, burden, and disgrace to the metropolis and its environs. No motive prevented the legislators from complying with the wishes of the grand jurors respecting the places of debauchery for the lower orders. A tax was accordingly imposed upon the obnoxious liquor, such as might at least discourage, if not destroy, its consumption. Masquerades were however considered as either too innocent, or too agreeable, to receive any interruption; and after being places of most fashionable resort for many years, they have fallen of their own accord into comparative neglect, probably from the practices which they favoured having found more convenient means of being carried on. The abuses which had arisen among the watermen, wherry-men, and lightermen rowing on the river Thames, chiefly respecting their mode of employing apprentices unfit to be trusted, demanded redress. An act accordingly was obtained, which appointed, among other regulations, that no waterman's apprentice, between Gravesend and Windsor, is to be trusted with the sole care of a boat, until he be sixteen years of age, being a  
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waterman's son, and until he be seventeen years of age, if he is a landfman's son, under penalty of 10s. on the master. The increase too of London in all directions required additional accommodations for religious worship. The hamlet of Spital-fields was so enlarged by the prosperity of the silk manufactory, that it was thought necessary to form it into a parish, which was named Christ Church. The enlargement of the hamlet of Wapping Stepney required a regulation of the same kind, and it was called the parish of St. George in the East. About the same time the hamlet of Limehouse was made independent by the name of the parish of St. Anne's, Limehouse. The old parish church of Deptford, by reason of the dock-yard, had become too small to contain the inhabitants; the town was accordingly divided into two parishes, that nearest to London being the new one, and called St. Paul's, Deptford. The parish of St. George's, Bloomsbury, was at the same time taken out of St. Giles's, and the church built by Nicholas Hawksmoor, the magnificent porch of which, joined to its plain body and extraordinary steeple, constitutes it in general estimation a master-piece of absurdity. The neighbourhood was at this period the residence of the principal nobility, whose places were afterwards occupied by the gentlemen of the long robe. To the same year is referred the foundation of a great and useful edifice, the hospital of St. Bartholomew, for the reception of the sick poor. This noble institution took its origin from the piety of Rahere, who obtained a piece of ground on a waste spot from his master, and erected on it an hospital for a master, brethren, and sisters; "for the entertainment of poor distressed people till they get well, and of distressed women big with child, till they were delivered and able to go abroad; and for the support, till they attained the age of seven years, of all the children, whose mothers died in the house." It was given to the neighbouring priory, who had the care of it, was continued after the priory was dissolved, and its power to receive patients greatly increased by the erection of the present spacious edifice. The extent of this charity is shewn, by stating that the number of in-patients in the hospital during a year is generally little under 5000, and the number of out-patients little under 10,000. One of the most eminent benefactors of this hospital was Dr. Radcliff, who bequeathed to it 500l. a year for the improvement of the diet, and 100l. a year for buying of linen. It was toward the end of this year that an application was made by several merchants and others to redeem the fund and trade of the East India company, the period of whose exclusive privilege was about to expire, and to lay open that important branch of

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commerce, on certain conditions, to all the subjects of Great Britain. The proposal was, however, rejected, and the exclusive trade to India again vested in the company to the year 1766, for certain pecuniary considerations.

In the year 1730, the only event which affected the interests of the city so much as to deserve a place in its history, is the bill brought into parliament to prevent the subjects of Great Britain from advancing money to any foreign prince or state, without license from the king under his privy seal. The pretext for this proposal was a danger represented as threatening the peace of Europe from the ambition and power of the emperor, who wanted loans, it was said, from the subjects of Great Britain to raise troops for this odious purpose. The chief clause of the bill was to empower the king to prohibit by his proclamation all such transactions, the attorney-general to compel the discovery of them upon oath, and the court of exchequer, in default of answer, to decree a limited sum against the individual refusing. A number of gentlemen, supposed to be the best acquainted with the nature and interests of trade, vehemently opposed this measure. Of this number were Mr. Daniel Pulteney, Sir John Barnard, and Sir William Wyndham, who represented the restraint as an injury to the trade of the nation, as tending to render Holland the mart of money to the nations of the continent, to hurt many of the states our allies, who were served with the money of the British merchants, and to enable the minister to pocket twenty, thirty, or forty thousand pounds a year, by the sale of licenses, which would be given to the highest bidder for loans to our enemies, when they would be refused for loans to the best of our friends. Sir John Barnard went so far as to declare the bill a violation of our fundamental laws, a breach of our dearest liberties, and a very terrible hardship upon mankind. But it was supported by the whole force of ministerial influence, and carried into a law. Toward the end of this year, a tide of very unusual height in the river Thames alarmed the inhabitants within its reach, and occasioned no little damage by inundating cellars and warehouses filled with goods.

In the year 1731 a very particular account is preserved of the imports and exports of the city of London, of which the former amounted to eighty-five different species of merchandise, and the latter to 105. As a specimen of the latter we shall select the woollen trade, the exports in which consisted of 894 suits of apparel, 2216 pairs of blankets, 3847 dozens of caps, 10,437 dozens of castors and felts, 4822 cloths long and short, 385 coverlets, 48,436 yards of flannel, 1577 garments, 827  
hundred



hundred weight of haberdashery, 7773 dozens of hose, 2319 kerfies and dozens, 1995 perpets, 9640 goads of plains, 713 rugs, 38,915 pieces of stuffs and baize. The other exports were of different kinds of provisions and grain, East India goods, linen, thread, sail-cloth, lead, tin, the product of our manufactures in iron, copper, and brass, &c. Of goods from the American plantations there were exported 15,787,155 pounds avoirdupois of tobacco, and 6,545,952 pounds of sugar. The imports consisted of goods from our colonies in the eastern and western hemispheres, of naval stores, furs and peltry, iron, wine, wool, &c. It is remarkable that it was not till this year that the proceedings at law in England were carried on in the vernacular but in the Latin language, the inconveniences of which in creating delay and obscurity, both voluntary and involuntary, were remarkably great: and yet the bill which proposed to alter this absurd practice met with powerful opposition. It was contended that such an alteration would render useless the ancient records, and introduce confusion into the proceedings of justice. The bill however passed through both houses, and received the royal assent.

It is worth mentioning, that in the following year the handsome edifice designed for the royal stables, commonly known by the name of the Mews, was erected. The name is derived from the ancient use of the buildings on the same site, that of containing the king's falcons, which had been the case from the time at least of Richard II. In the reign of Henry VIII. the king's horses began to be kept here. In 1534 an accident by fire destroyed the building. It was rebuilt in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary; and a finer erection now supplied the place of the old. A singular instance of suicide distinguished the same year. Richard Smith, a book-binder, was confined for debt within the liberties of the king's bench. He was one morning found hanging in his bedchamber, with his wife in the same situation at about a yard distance from him; and in a separate apartment their child lay dead in a cradle. This wretched pair left a paper behind them, signed by both, and remarkable for the propriety with which it was written, and the strange and calm resolution which it displayed. They withdrew themselves, they said, from the wretchedness of poverty; they appealed to their neighbours for the industry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood; they justified the murder of their child by saying it was more friendly to take her with them than to leave her destitute to the world; they professed their belief in God, their trust in his goodness, and resignation to his disposal. This misguided pair had been distinguished for their industry;

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honesty, and mutual affection. They left, in a short letter to their landlord, a request of his kindness to their dog and cat, and they even left money to pay the porter who should carry these papers to the person to whom they were addressed.

In the act for rebuilding the city after the great fire, the creek from the Thames, which entered immediately below Bridewell, and reached as far as the bottom of Holborn-hill, was ordered to be sunk till it became navigable, and the profits arising from the navigation of the said channel, were appropriated to the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London. This creek received into it the little river Fleet, from which it took its name, Turnmill brook, and another small stream, called Oldbourn, which gave its name to the great street Holborn. The tide flowed as high as Holborn-bridge, and the channel was cleared in consequence of the above-mentioned act at a great expense. The magistrates now represented that the profits of the navigation by no means answered that expense, that part of the said channel, from Fleet-bridge to Holborn-bridge, instead of being useful to trade, as was intended, was not only filled up with mud, and become useless, but had for some years past been a common nuisance, and several persons had lately lost their lives by falling into it; that the expense of cleansing or repairing it would be much greater than the profits or any advantage to be derived from it. They therefore prayed that so much of the act of Charles II. as related to the said channel should be repealed, and power given them to fill up part of the said channel from Fleet-bridge to Holborn-bridge, and to convert the ground to such uses as they shall think convenient. A bill was brought in and passed, vesting the fee simple of the ditch and ground in the citizens of London, with power to fill up the channel, but providing that proper drains should be made through it, and that no houses or sheds should be erected on it exceeding fifteen feet in height. The ditch was accordingly arched over with a double arch, from Holborn-bridge to Fleet-bridge, and the space converted into a market. It was carefully paved; a double row of buildings, conforming in height to the act, was carried along the middle, to accommodate with shops the owners of the different species of goods carried to the market; and in the centre was placed a neat turret with a clock in it. Such is the history of Fleet-market, which was opened on the 30th of September 1737, and has continued one of the chief places of supply for the articles of the table in the metropolis ever since. In the same year arose that important edifice St. George's hospital, founded by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of Westminster, for the reception



of the diseased poor in that part of the metropolis. It was placed on the site of the house of a nobleman, who expressed his opinion of his situation by the following curious inscription on the front :

“ It is my delight to be

“ Both in town and country.”

This is the nobleman whom Pope so exactly characterized in the well-known line,

“ The sober Lanesborough dancing in the gout ;”

who having demanded an audience from queen Anne after the death of her husband, George prince of Denmark, advised her majesty to dispel her grief by applying to that exercise. The subscriptions in behalf of the hospital in the year 1786, were 2239*l.* 5*s.* ; and in 1791, 2262*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* : but the expense of the charity exceeding the supply, it was threatened with little less than ruin, when it was relieved by the bounty of a third of the profits of the musical entertainments of the Abbey. Between the year 1733, when it was first opened, and the year 1790, this hospital discharged from it not fewer than 173,217 patients.

The famous excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole now engrossed the attention of the public, and raised a flame among the people which could hardly have been exceeded by an avowed attempt to subvert the fundamental laws which guard the liberties of the nation. Previous to this period, home-brewed liquors, spirits, malt, and some other articles, had been subjected to a duty of this kind, and the experience how productive, and how exempt from evasion these duties were, suggested to the minister a design to reduce some commodities which were otherwise taxed under this species of impost. Intimation of this design got abroad ; and it was immediately rumoured that a general excise was to be established, and all the taxes upon consumable commodities to be levied according to this scheme. It is a misfortune, which hitherto has been found inseparable from the conduct of human affairs, that when one body of men have set themselves to oppose another, they oppose with equal virulence whatever comes proposed by these others, whether it be good or whether it be bad. Some of the most enlightened and accomplished men of the nation hated and despised Sir Robert Walpole, and every measure of his they must needs regard as wickedly contrived, and of pernicious tendency. The nature of excise taxation was not understood ; to the eyes of ignorance accordingly it was easily made a terrible bugbear. Some of the circumstances which attended it, and  
which

which were already experienced, as the visits of the tax-gatherers, were peculiarly odious; and it was an easy matter to make the people believe that the extension of this impost to any considerable proportion of the commodities of life, was the same thing as the destruction of every comfort which they enjoyed. The clamour that was raised made the minister confine his scheme very much at the first proposal; and tobacco was the only commodity which he pretended to include. The frauds committed to evade the duties on this article, and the injury which the revenue sustained, rendered, he said, a change of system in the collection of these duties highly necessary, and the scheme which he proposed was the following:—To allow the original three farthings per pound charged upon tobacco to be still levied at the custom-house upon importation as formerly, but all the additional duty to be raised according to the method of excise; for this purpose, all tobacco imported to be lodged, as soon as entered at the custom-house, in warehouses provided for its reception, to the doors of which both the owners of the tobacco and the officers of the revenue should be furnished with keys, that neither might enter without the other; upon removal of the tobacco from this warehouse in consequence of sale, to charge upon it an additional duty of 4*d.* per pound, if meant for home consumption; and to allow a drawback of the three farthings at the custom-house if intended for exportation. One of the most earnest and violent debates which was ever produced in the house of commons took place on this occasion. The minister maintained that his scheme would aid the revenue, and not only be no additional trouble to the merchant, but ease him considerably of that which he at present bore. On the other hand, Sir John Barnard, alderman Perry, Mr. Heathcote, Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and others, contended, that it multiplied the number of tax-gatherers and dependants of the crown, and that it exposed the subjects to so much vexation and oppression from the visits and insolence of these tools of the men in power as no free people could or should submit to; that the establishment of an excise was at once the death of trade and of liberty, and the people could not be too eager in trying to defeat a scheme destructive of every thing dear to them. During the whole time of the debate every avenue to the house was crowded with people of all descriptions; the project was really looked upon as pregnant with almost every possible evil, and the minister became afraid to urge it. He was supported by a majority in the house, but he let the measure drop by nominating a distant day for the second reading of the bill. This miscarriage was celebrated with  
public



public rejoicings in London and Westminster, and the minister was burnt in effigy by the populace.

After this ferment subsided, the business of the city proceeded with too much tranquillity, and too much in the ordinary train, to afford many materials to the historian. A computation was made about this time, which if nearly correct proves the state of the country now to be not a little altered from what it was at that juncture. Eight hundred thousand quarters of wheat were said to be exported in the compass of one year, which brought into the nation not less than a million sterling; and a historian of the capital regarding this as a proof of enormous improvements in manufactures and agriculture, ascribes it all to the beneficial operation of the bounty on the exportation of corn. It is not easy to conjecture what he would have said had he been informed that during the last forty years this country has not supplied itself with corn, notwithstanding the beneficial operation of the bounty on its exportation, though our manufactures and agriculture have been improving more rapidly than at any period before. The marriage of the princess royal to the prince of Orange afforded materials to the conversation of the people; and a customary address of congratulation on the occasion was presented to the king by the corporation of London.

An affair of some magnitude, which had attracted the attention of the citizens for some time, was in the year 1734 finally settled. The excesses committed by the pawn-brokers and other money-dealers, in extortion upon the necessities of those compelled to have recourse to them, had long been grievously complained of, and a remedy certainly was greatly wanted. In the year 1708 a number of persons proposed to erect themselves into a corporation to rescue the necessitous out of the hands of these plunderers, to lend money to the needy but industrious poor at moderate interest upon small pledges, and to persons in better situations upon proper securities. Application was made for a charter to constitute them a body politic; and in the mean time a capital was subscribed of 30,000*l*. This, however, being found insufficient to answer fully the ends of the institution, several gentlemen of fortune about the year 1719 engaged in it, though the charter had never been confirmed by act of parliament. Their conditions for loans were 10*l*. per cent., one half being computed as interest, the other as a remuneration for the expenses of the corporation. In 1725 they obtained liberty from the crown to extend their capital, and shortly after applied for an additional permission. The utility and credit of the corporation were not suspected,

suspected, when in October 1731 George Robinson, the cashier, member of parliament for Marlow, and John Thompson the warehouse-keeper, disappeared in one day. The proprietors were naturally alarmed, and a committee was appointed to investigate the state of their affairs. They reported that a capital of 487,895*l.* had disappeared, the whole of their money and effects not amounting in value to more than 34,150*l.* Upon this the proprietors petitioned parliament to inquire into the conduct of the managers, and to grant them such relief as the case should appear to require. A secret committee was accordingly formed, who soon discovered proof of the most infamous fraud; in which not merely Robinson and Thompson were concerned, but several others of high rank and station. The nature of the institution, which pretended to be, and was denominated, a Charitable Corporation, compared with the situation in life of the delinquents, raised high the public indignation against them. No less than three of these infamous cheats were members of parliament, Robinson, Sir Robert Sutton, and Sir Archibald Grant. They were expelled the house of commons; and an act was passed to restrain them and other offenders, from alienating their effects, or leaving the kingdom. In the mean time intelligence was communicated to the committee by a letter, that Thompson was seized and secured in Rome. But the merit of this service being ascribed to the pretender, and to his affection for the English people, the letter was ordered to be burnt at the Royal Exchange by the common hangman. In 1733 parliament granted a lottery for the relief of the sufferers, which was now distributed to them, and amounted to 9*s.* 9*d.* in the pound: and the corporation was sunk for ever. Two other members of parliament were about this time expelled the house for fraudulent transactions; and men of reflection began to be seriously alarmed at the proofs exhibited in the very highest orders of the community, not of venality merely, and the total desertion of the principles of honour, but even of common honesty.

The practice of stock-jobbing, as it is called, or fictitious bargains for stock to be delivered at a future day, the seller neither possessing any stock, nor the buyer expecting to receive it, but to give or receive the difference between the value of the stock at the time of purchase and the time of delivery, had long been regarded with no little indignation. And as some large fortunes had been made by this traffic, which presented strong seducements, the business was at this time driven to no little excess. An act of parliament intended to suppress it was passed, which entitled any person selling stock against a future day to recover damages of the purchaser failing



failing to pay, and to sell the stock to any other person. It enabled the buyer likewise to recover damages of any one failing to deliver the stock which he had pretended to sell. And fines were enacted of 500*l.* upon the person pretending to sell stock of which he was not possessed, and 100*l.* upon the broker who managed the transaction. The inefficacy of this law was so complete, that it scarcely imposed even a restraint upon the practice. The transactions are indeed rendered illegal, but they are not on that account rendered more unfaithful. Now indeed even the utility of the law may be called in question; as it is certain that no large proportion of capital is necessary for the business of Change-alley, or could be withdrawn from commerce by it when even in its highest reputation; and as the progress of the knowledge of commerce was certain to demonstrate in time that the regular profits of trade were worth infinitely more in prospect than the gains of stock-jobbing. The traffic of Change-alley is now accordingly a mere trifle, compared with the other business of the city, is scarcely attended to by the men of regular business, and has even in a great measure lost its influence, which was once great, over the state of the funds. To prohibit all sales of stock except for immediate delivery, seems to be the only effectual method of curing the evil, which being a mere species of gaming, is pernicious as far as it goes, but not half so pernicious as lotteries, which are supported by all the powers in the state.

In this period of profound peace, both at home and abroad, the general prosperity of the city, and its rapid advancement in riches, are the chief objects which it presents to be noticed by the historian. The extent and success of the commercial proceedings of England were now advanced to a degree superior to what any nation had ever exhibited: and as both the improvement of industry and the advancement of luxury have a tendency to draw men together into cities, London was not only increased by a prodigious accession of trading and labouring inhabitants, but became every day more and more the residence of the idle and opulent, who no where else could so well find the amusements which beguiled their time, or the objects which gratified their senses. The rules too which respected both the corporate government and the police of the metropolis being brought to a considerable degree of perfection, at least of systematic consistency, few regulations of any importance occurred now to be introduced; they are matters of inferior moment chiefly, which for some time therefore fall to be recorded, and we shall mention them with all the brevity possible.

The precinct of Blackfriars having been included in the jurisdiction of the monas-



tery, had even after the subversion of popery and dissolution of the monastery, still claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the city. It is wonderful how this pretension was overlooked so long. The cause however was now taken up, in the case of one Watſon, who opened a ſhop for druggits and ſhalloons in that part of the city, without being a freeman of London. It was tried by a ſpecial jury of perſons not freemen, in the court of king's bench, and decided in favour of the city. From that time it has been managed as a precinct of the ward of Farringdon Within, and ſends two members to the court of common-council. The lord mayor and aldermen preſented congratulatory addreſſes to the king and queen upon the marriage of the prince of Wales to the princeſs of Saxe Gotha, as alſo to their royal highneſſes themſelves; and a court of common-council, which had been called, upon the ſolicitation of the citizens, did the ſame. The prince was a favourite in the city. He had already accepted the freedom of the company of Sadlers, and afterwards the freedom of the city was in due form preſented to him. It is ſingular how late it was before any ſatisfactory plan of lighting the ſtreets in London was found out. At this period one of the worſt methods poſſible was employed, which was to ſell the aſſeſſment on the citizens for defraying this expenſe, to certain contractors, who agreed to pay 600*l.* and to light the ſtreets. So much inconvenience aroſe from the very defective manner in which they performed this office, that it was thought neceſſary to apply to parliament for powers to light the ſtreets in a more effectual manner. Even this new regulation was found to answer the purpoſe very imperfectly, and did not long remain unaltered. Another improvement was at this time effected, aſſuredly not too early, the repeal of the laws againſt witchcraft and conjuration. Theſe had indeed lain dormant for ſome time, and according to the ſlovenly legiſlation of the country, diſuſe was permitted to be the aboliſher of this as well as other uſeleſs and pernicious articles of the code. But a fooliſh jury, in a county in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, having made an attempt to put theſe old laws in execution, ſuggeſted the neceſſity of an actual repeal. The late enactments for preventing the conſumption of Geneva among the lower orders proving unſucceſſful, and drunkenneſs, with all its attendant vices, appearing even to gain ground among them, new regulations were accounted requiſite. Licenſes were made neceſſary for the retailing of ſpirits, with a view to place the buſineſs in the hands of more reſpectable perſons than the mean and profligate creatures who now exerciſed it, and uſed every art to ſeduce the lower people to abuſe themſelves by



by their intoxicating drug. Such disgusting inscriptions as the following were not unfrequent on their houses and sign-boards: " Drunk for a penny, dead drunk for " twopence, and straw for nothing." And the scenes within are said to have corresponded very exactly with the inscriptions without. Whoever should sell spirits in less quantity than a gallon without a proper license, were rendered liable to a penalty.

Circumstances of the same minute importance succeed to those which we have just described. The bakers, disliking the mode in which the assize of bread was fixed, presented a petition against it to parliament, when a committee was formed to inquire into the complaint, and certain means of rectification were appointed. The quakers too, in whose favour the legislature had so often exerted lenity, represented their scruples of conscience against the payment of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues; and prayed relief from the prosecutions which they suffered on that account. Parliament again seemed disposed to indulgence in their behalf; and a bill was brought in to afford them relief. The clergy, however, imagined their interests to be affected, and prayed to be heard by counsel against it; and though it passed the lower house, it was thrown out by the lords. A new act was likewise passed for putting the night-watch of the city on a better footing. The powers of the common-council were enlarged; they were authorized to appoint such a number of beadles and watchmen for the several wards of the city and liberties, as they should judge necessary; to order the arming of these guardians, with the time during which they should watch; to appoint their hire; to fix the number of constables who should do duty in each ward; and to assess the inhabitants, for defraying the expense, by the alderman and common-councilmen in each ward. The same act appointed that this rate should be paid quarterly, that whoever should neglect or refuse to pay when required, or desire to be excused, should be disqualified to vote at elections in London; and it described the different orders of persons on whom the assessment should fall: it gave powers likewise to order the making and repairing in a good and sufficient manner the pavement before shops and houses, at the expense of the owners, to be levied by distress.

An affair affecting more general and higher interests next occurred. The violence with which the minister was attacked in parliament, was equalled, if not surpassed, by the violence with which he was attacked without doors: and not only the press but the stage abounded with the severest invectives and satires on his conduct. The

phlegmatic indifference with which this man bore reproach has been represented as a distinguishing feature in his character. But his love of revenge, when he durst indulge it, is no less completely proved by the most remarkable passages in his administration. It was not really without pain that he received the shafts of eloquence and ridicule. He paid money liberally for writers to defend him; but whether from the badness of his cause or of his choice, his adversaries had sadly the advantage. At this time a manager of one of the playhouses communicated to him a manuscript farce entitled, "The Golden Rump," full of indecent, and perhaps punishable abuse against the government; and the minister thought this an opportunity when he might venture to shut one of the avenues through which crimination descended upon him. He produced the piece in the house of commons; railed against the insolence, malice, immorality, and sedition, which had of late been vented in theatrical performances; urged the necessity of a restraint upon this licentiousness; and moved for a bill to limit the number of playhouses, and to render necessary the approbation and license of the lord-chamberlain for all performances to be brought upon the stage. It is certain that the amusements of the people require superintendence, and many beneficial effects might be produced upon their minds were these amusements properly contrived and conducted. But unquestionably the method of improving the stage was not to subject the performances intended for it to the arbitrary decision of an individual, always dependant, often ignorant, and sometimes prejudiced. It is besides an abridgment of the liberty of an order of the subjects which ought not to have been submitted to. If the character of an individual, if the government, if morality or religion are injured in these performances, there are laws for the protection of all these objects, and the punishment of offenders: and if these laws be effectual in all other cases, it does not appear easy to prove that they would not be effectual in that of stage performances. The bill was vigorously opposed in parliament, in which transaction lord Chesterfield greatly distinguished himself both by the enlightened principles of freedom and the eloquence which he displayed. That improper things would be brought upon the stage, were all previous control withdrawn (they are not always withheld while it exists), is not to be doubted. But it is as little to be doubted that we should have performances a little more spirited, were all the passions of the writers more at liberty to display themselves; and with the vigilant superintendence of the laws no one would have occasion to fear this liberty but the guilty.



The queen died on the 20th of November 1737, of a mortification in her bowels ; a princess of good understanding, and a model of conjugal virtue.

No less a transaction than the building of the Mansion-house next claims our attention. Hitherto the chief magistrate, during the period of his administration, had been supplied with a residence in one of the most convenient halls belonging to the companies. This came, however, at last to be considered as an accommodation not befitting the president of the first corporation in the kingdom. The situation, after some deliberation, selected for this official mansion, was the place of Stock's-market, which had been just removed to Fleet-ditch, lately covered. In February 1738, the ground began to be cleared for this great and magnificent palace, which though not a masterpiece of taste, would certainly lose much of its heavy appearance, were it possible to be seen at the proper distance. This indeed is an accusation most justly belonging to London throughout, in which scarcely one noble edifice is to be found, which is not choked up with adjacent buildings ; and severe offence is given to every man of taste in his progress through the city.

Now began the complaints which in a little time produced the war with Spain. By the treaty of Utrecht a right had been reserved to the English of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy, and of gathering salt in the island of Tortuga : and under cover of these transactions the English had contrived to carry on a very considerable contraband trade with the Spanish Main. This of course occasioned offence to the jealous policy of Spain, and she gave instructions to the ships appointed to guard her American coasts to search the English vessels for contraband commodities. The lofty spirit of the English sailors, and the unwarranted severities exercised by the gloomy Spaniards, made this a species of intercourse which could not go on. The merchants in England loudly complained ; memorials were presented to the court of Spain ; they promised inquiries ; and the injurious practices continued. Alderman Perry presented a petition concerning this subject to the house of commons ; several others followed ; warm debates were produced ; the business was referred to a committee of the whole house, and an order was made to admit the petitioners to be heard by themselves, or by counsel. Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the king, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the house. This address, modified by some alterations of the minister, was presented, and a favourable answer returned.

A few circumstances intervened before any further proceedings in this affair.

On the 24th of May 1738, in Norfolk-house in St. James's-square, the princess of Wales was delivered of a son, destined so long to enjoy the throne of Great Britain, under the title of George III. Addresses were presented to the king, first by the lord mayor and aldermen, and again by the court of common-council, in which the mayor and aldermen were included. And after the publication of the young prince's baptism, the lord mayor and aldermen, attended with all the officers of the city and of the common-council, waited on their royal highnesses with an affectionate and dutiful address. Effectual measures were taken for the erection of an hospital of a new destination in the city, that of receiving **deserted young children**. The miserable lot of many creatures of this description, either **perishing**, or from the total want of discipline and education growing up to be **pests of society**, had long interested the feelings of several humane persons : and many schemes had been canvassed in conversation for relieving their miseries, and training them up to be industrious and useful citizens. The project however had rested here, partly from the want of energy in those who patronized it, and partly from the plausible objections of less enlightened, or less humane persons, who represented it as tending to encourage the irregular commerce of the sexes. The difficulty, however, of rearing the fruits of unlawful love is probably seldom the most powerful restraint ; and both humanity and policy loudly demand that just provision should be made for the nurture both of the body and of the mind of every child produced within the bounds of the state. A private individual, whose station and fortune should appear little adequate to so great an undertaking, has the merit of being the author of the Foundling-hospital in London. This deserving citizen was Thomas Coram, the captain of a trading vessel, who solicited with such industry the patronage of people of wealth and distinction, that he obtained a fund for commencing the operations, and procured a royal charter, dated October 17, 1738, for the erection of an hospital for foundlings. A house in Hatton-garden was hired for immediate use ; and the first stone of the hospital was laid in Lamb's-conduit-fields, at the bottom of Red-lion-street, Holborn, September 16, 1742. The first wing of the building was finished in October 1745, when the children were removed to it. The charity is supported by voluntary contributions, though it has occasionally been assisted by parliament : but it still remains a feeble establishment.

The business with Spain again engaged the attention of the people. At the opening of the next session of parliament, the king in his speech to both houses informed them



them that a convention was entered into with the king of Spain for the settlement of all disputes. The minister magnified this convention in terms of violent panegyric ; but as he did not disclose the particulars, the motion for an address of approbation was opposed. The convention stipulated certain payments to be made by the one government and the other, as indemnification to the subjects of either for the losses which they had occasioned to one another ; and appointed two plenipotentiaries, who were to meet at Madrid, and to settle all the subjects in dispute between the two countries. The conditions, when published, caused violent dissatisfaction. The common-council of London, and many of the other commercial towns, presented petitions to parliament, craving its opposition to the measure, and praying to be heard by counsel on the merits of their objections. Extraordinary interest was excited about the discussion, for which both parties mustered their whole force ; and on the day appointed for it in the house of commons more than 400 members had taken their seats before eight o'clock in the morning. The debate was long, obstinate, and violent. So furious was the prejudice against the convention, that all the power and art of the ministry carried the question only by 262 voices against 235 ; and out of these 262 steady partisans, it is stated that 234 were placemen, whose annual payment from government amounted to 212,956*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The leaders of the opposition followed up their defeat by retiring from parliament, which, as they had the passions of the people on their side, contributed to complete the unpopularity of the minister. A measure equally invidious and ineffectual is said to have been employed by the ministerial party to ridicule the interference of the city of London in state affairs. They got lists printed of all the common-council, with an account subjoined of the professions which they followed, and the companies to which they belonged, the whole being concluded with a quotation of the 27th, 31st, and two following verses of the 38th chapter of Ecclesiasticus. And these papers were distributed in all the avenues to the houses of parliament. A ministry must have been terribly reduced in spirit and honour, as well as strength, which could have recourse to such an expedient as this. The business of a statesman is now too well understood for any one to believe that the head of a man high born is alone capable of it. Good sense, and honesty, and fairness, are the best qualifications for success both in public and in private business ; and the mysteries in either are seldom of an honourable kind. Sir George Champion, the alderman next the chair, and member for Aylesbury, had voted for the convention. He had

always

always been highly respected by the citizens; but so strong were their passions respecting this measure, that they set him aside in their choice of a lord mayor, and returned to the court of aldermen Sir John Salter and Sir Robert Godschal. When the time arrived, the court of Spain refused to pay the money stipulated by the convention, and in the mean time their guardships continued to disturb our merchantmen. Letters of marque and reprisal were therefore granted against the Spaniards; and as the king of Spain published a manifesto excusing his infringement of the convention by the plea of the preparations in Britain for war, that event became inevitable, and was proclaimed accordingly with the usual formalities. In consequence of this event the members who had withdrawn from parliament returned to their places.

At the common hall for the late election of a chief magistrate, Mr. Sheriff Heathcote moved, that instructions might be communicated to the city members to employ their endeavours for obtaining a repeal of that clause in the act for regulating city elections, which empowered the mayor and aldermen to impose a negative on the proceedings of the common-council. But the lord mayor used his influence to prevent the question at this time from being put, and promised that the request should soon be considered in a more proper place.

In the debates concerning the Spanish depredations, admiral Vernon had been a very troublesome censor of the ministers, by the loudness and bluntness of his accusations. Among other things, to prove the facility of injuring the Spaniards, he had asserted that the city of Porto Bello on the isthmus of Darien might be taken with six ships, and that he himself would undertake to do so. The declaration was rash, for in all reasonable estimation such a force was not adequate. However, the assertion was re-echoed by all the opposers of the ministry; and at last with a sort of malignity not perfectly consistent with the fidelity due to the state, the ministers set Vernon at the head of the force which he named, partly to remove so vexatious an adversary, and partly to entrap him in his own words, and shame their antagonists by the failure of the expedition. Suddenly, however, a vessel dispatched by Vernon arrived with intelligence of his having effected his object, of his having taken the place, and demolished the fortifications. The exploit was magnified beyond all proportion to its value. The nation exulted. Both houses of parliament joined in an address to the king on the great success of his arms. The city



of London presented another; and admiral Vernon was presented with the freedom of the city in a golden box.

The extraordinary severity of the weather was this winter a great calamity to the poor of London. The navigation of the Thames was stopped by the frost: tents and booths were erected on it for the entertainment of the populace. Multitudes of people who earn their subsistence upon the water were thrown out of employment. Coals, of which the severity of the cold rendered the necessity more indispensable, became almost impossible to be procured; and every article of life, of which the conveyance to the city is facilitated by water carriage, rose to an exorbitant price. Even water was sold in the streets, the conduits and pipes being almost all frozen up. As usual, however, in London, the sufferings of the poor called forth prodigies of charity in the rich; and much misery was alleviated, though much still remained.

The city paid the customary compliments to the king and to the princess Mary, on the marriage of her royal highness to the prince of Hesse. And they presented an address of thanks to their representatives in parliament for the support which they had given to a bill for reducing and limiting the number of placemen in the house of commons.

Disturbances arose about the election of a lord mayor. Sir George Champion was again set aside; and Sir Robert Godschal, and George Heathcote, Esq., the aldermen next in seniority, returned. The court of aldermen, by an unusual procedure, nominated the younger, Mr. Heathcote. Willing to avoid so odious a distinction, Heathcote declined the office; which excited strong contests in the court of common-council, part insisting that he should be compelled to serve; others, who prevailed, contending for his permission to decline. A new election of two aldermen took place, when Godschal was again returned, together with Humphry Parsons, Esq., who had served the office of mayor already in 1731. Godschal was again set aside by the court of aldermen, and Parsons chosen. Having intimated his willingness to obey the nomination, and a motion being made in the court of common-council for thanks to him, an amendment was proposed, which gave rise to great disputation: a majority of the aldermen being against this amendment, proposed to put their negative as aldermen upon it, and so end the matter. But Sir John Barnard, with those of the aldermen who had voted for Godschal, and a great part of the commoners, protested against the claim of the aldermen to vote separately, and oppose their negative to the

framing of a question; and they retired from the assembly. The remaining few then returned thanks to Sir John Salter, the mayor in office, for his wife and impartial conduct in his magistracy, and to the mayor elect for his accepting the office a second time. The installation of this gentleman was the first occasion on which the lord mayor of London was drawn in a coach of state by six horses. The question about the privilege of the aldermen was not dropt. It was debated with great vehemence on the 11th of November, and finally determined in the negative by a majority in the court both of common-council and of aldermen.

The lord mayor died during his office, an accident which had not happened since the year 1688. By virtue of a precept from the *locum tenens* and the court of aldermen, a court of hustings was held for electing a mayor for the remainder of the year. Sir Robert Godschal was again returned, together with Sir John Barnard, the latter of whom was chosen, but declined the office, which he had served before. Daniel Lambert, together with Godschal, was next returned, and the court of aldermen accepted Lambert. He could not be sworn into his office by the barons of exchequer, as usual, because they were out of town; but agreeably to an ancient custom he was sworn by the constable of the Tower in a booth erected on Tower-hill; a circumstance which had not happened since the great plague, when the courts of law were held at Oxford.

The city about this time interested itself deeply in the proceedings of parliament. A new one had been called, and the livery immediately after the election of their representatives, who were Lambert, Barnard, Godschal, and Heathcote, delivered to them a set of instructions, recommending opposition to a standing army and the excise laws; their endeavours for a repeal of the act for septennial parliaments; and for obtaining an act to reduce and limit the number of placemen in the house of commons; recommending too a strict examination according to the ancient duty of a member of parliament, of the public expenditure, and of all applications for supplies; and their utmost diligence to procure some restriction of the exorbitant powers pretended to reside in the court of aldermen, particularly that of opposing the formation of every question which can be proposed to the common-council of the city. Some very improper proceedings took place at the election for Westminster. The conduct of the high bailiff gave offence, and three justices of the peace, under pretence of preventing riots, sent for a party of soldiers, contrary to law. These transactions the grand jury of Westminster presented to the court of king's bench,



as a restraint on the freedom of elections, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. The matter was taken up with that seriousness which it deserved. The high bailiff was taken into custody. The officer who ordered the soldiers to march, and the justices who signed the letter upon which he acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the house of commons. The members elected received instructions similar to those delivered to the representatives of the city.

An alteration of considerable importance was this year introduced into the government of the city, when all the aldermen were constituted justices of the peace. By the first charter of Charles I. the mayor, recorder, such of the aldermen as had served the office of mayor, and the senior three of the rest, were made justices: but the extension of the city required the present regulation, which was established by a charter from the king.

The popularity of the minister being completely exhausted, it followed of course that the people should be as little pleased with his conduct of the war, as they had been with his opposition to it. The most violent complaints were presented from London, and most of the other trading towns in the kingdom, of the depredations committed by the Spaniards on our trade. These strengthened both the declamations and the ranks of his antagonists, and he became so harassed, that at last he resigned his employments. His fall was celebrated in the city with great rejoicings. Several resolutions for the protection of trade were formed in the house of commons; and the lord mayor of London and Sir John Barnard were ordered to prepare a bill for the better protecting and securing the navigation of the kingdom in time of war. This bill however was stopt in the house of lords. Another bill was promoted by the city members for the repeal of septennial parliaments. The persons were now in power who had patronised this measure with their utmost influence against the last minister. They now opposed it with equal zeal. The most distinguished of these apostates were Pulteney and Sandys. A paper was drawn up at a court of common-council, and presented to the representatives of the city, in which they complained of some who under pretensions of integrity and zeal for their country, stole the confidence of their fellow-citizens only to have an opportunity of betraying their interests. Complaints too were introduced of dropping the committee of inquiry into the conduct of the late ministers, of embezzlement of the public treasure, of defrauding the troops, and of parliamentary corruption; and these grievances were recom-

mended to the serious consideration of the gentlemen to whom the paper was addressed.

There had been a very rapid change in the lords mayor of late. Sir Robert Godschal, who, on account of his satisfactory conduct in parliament, had at last been raised to the chief magistracy, died while in office. Heathcote, who generously refused to supersede Godschal, succeeded him; and on the 29th of October 1742, the right honourable Robert Willmot was sworn into the office at Westminster. It had been a general opinion, that it was necessary to be free of one of the twelve senior companies to become lord mayor. On the opinion of counsel, however, that no law existed to establish this necessity, Willmot was elected without this qualification. But it is necessary that the lord mayor be so qualified, to entitle him to act as president of the Irish committee.

A point of considerable consequence in the government of the city was determined this year in the court of common pleas. A member of the weavers' company was by his brethren called upon the livery, but not being free of the city, a dispute arose whether or not he was eligible to that situation. By the verdict of the court the freedom of the city was declared not necessary to qualify a candidate for the livery.

One fact only occurs to be mentioned in the year 1743. By an inquiry into the number of inhabitants in the suburbs of London on the side of Bethnal-green, they were found to consist of 15,000, and were contained in 1800 houses. It was therefore judged necessary to accommodate them with a place for religious worship. The district was accordingly detached from the parish of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, and erected into a separate parish by the name of St. Matthew's, Bethnal-green.

A misunderstanding had prevailed for some time between the two courts of France and Great Britain; and a rupture was apprehended, with more uneasiness on account of the advantage which might be taken of the claims of the pretender. On the 14th of February 1744, his majesty informed both houses of parliament that he had received certain intelligence of the arrival of the pretender's eldest son in France, and of preparations making in that country to invade the British dominions. The addresses of the two houses contained the strongest assurances of attachment and support. That too presented by the city shewed equal zeal, and was received with particular favour, his majesty on this occasion conferring the honour of knighthood



on Robert Westley, lord mayor ; Simon Umlin, recorder ; Daniel Albert and Robert Willimot, aldermen ; Robert Ladbroke and William Calvert, sheriffs. Similar addressees were presented from the clergy, dissenting ministers, and quakers, both universities, the principal towns, and almost all the corporations and communities in Great Britain. The old measures of security adopted on alarms of a similar kind were the wisest, it seems, which could be thought of. A proclamation was published for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors, commanding all papists, and even persons only reputed so, to depart from the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of them ; for confining all such persons to a distance of five miles from their habitations ; and for putting in execution the laws against riots and rioters. The Habeas Corpus act was suspended for six months ; several persons of distinction were apprehended on account of treasonable practices : and a new address was presented from parliament, exhorting his majesty to augment his forces by sea and land. The opposite steps which the two courts of England and France had taken in the affairs of the continent now rendered a declaration of hostilities unavoidable. War was accordingly proclaimed against Great Britain at Paris, on the 20th of March. On the 21st the duke of Newcastle, prime minister, sent for the lord mayor, aldermen, and representatives of the city, to inform them of this event, that due notice of it might be communicated to the merchants and traders. And on the 31st of the same month the proclamation was issued here with the usual formalities.

The rapid influx of riches occasioned at this time so great a change in the style of living as seems to have struck many people with great alarm of the pernicious effects of luxury ; and scenes of odious and destructive pleasure were, there is no doubt, more frequent at this than at any preceding period. The zeal, therefore, is respectable and meritorious with which the grand jury of Middlesex, the constitutional censor of the city, recommended to the notice of the courts of justice such haunts for unlawful practices and pleasures as were most notorious. They presented as places of luxury, idleness, and ill fame, tending to corrupt the morals of the people, two gaming-houses near Covent-garden, kept by the ladies Mordington and Castle ; Sadler's-wells near the New river head ; the New-wells in Goodman's-fields ; the New-wells near the London Spaw, in Clerkenwell ; and a place called Hallam's theatre in Mayfair. " At a time," said the jury, " when we are engaged in an  
 " expensive war, and so much overburdened with taxes of all sorts, both parlia-  
 " mentary

“mentary and parochial, that it is as much as a prudent man can do, without a taste  
 “to extravagant and illegal pleasures, to support himself and family according to  
 “his degree and station in life, under the most regular economy, so extravagant is  
 “the luxury, that, unless some stop be, by authority much superior to ours, soon  
 “put to it, we fear the progress thereof in this county will soon prove of such an  
 “evil tendency, as by its example may in time lead to the ruin and destruction not  
 “only of this county in particular, but of this happy and flourishing nation in  
 “general.” The accounts indeed which we have of the licentiousness of the  
 populace at this time, who broke out into several riots in the course of this year,  
 confirm not a little the representation, and justify the fears of the grand jury. That  
 it was a period, too, infamous beyond the ordinary degree for robbery and other  
 criminal outrages, is proved by a proceeding of the lord mayor and aldermen, who  
 preferred to the king a petition “for a speedy, vigorous, and exemplary execution  
 “of the laws upon the persons of offenders, as they should fall into the hands of  
 “justice.” And in consequence of this application, a proclamation was published,  
 offering 100*l.* beside all other rewards, for apprehending robbers and murderers.

In the summer of this year the remains of Anson's Squadron returned to England  
 from their celebrated voyage round the world. And the treasure which they brought  
 home, taken from the Spanish galeon, and consisting of 298 chests of silver, 18 of  
 gold, and 20 barrels of gold-dust, was triumphantly carried through London on  
 the 4th of July. It was conveyed in thirty-two waggons decorated with the  
 Spanish colours; it was guarded by the captors, conducted by their officers, a band  
 of martial music preceding, and was lodged in the Tower. Toward the beginning  
 of the winter new regulations for better lighting the streets were devised, with a  
 view to prevent so frequent a commission of robberies. But as they were soon  
 altered, we cannot spare room to detail them.

The art of healing and the art of shaving, which had originally been considered  
 as very nearly related, and of which the professors had been incorporated together  
 in almost all the countries of Europe, had made such different progress in the acqui-  
 sition of dignity, that the one became ashamed of being united with the other. At  
 a general meeting accordingly of the company in London on the 22d of February  
 1745, the surgeons and the barbers came to a mutual resolution to divide. An act  
 of parliament was obtained for this purpose, and to constitute each of the parties a  
 separate body. The barbers, however, being the superior party in numbers, retained  
 the



the property of their hall in Monkwell-street, and made an order that the surgeons should pay them 100 guineas annually so long as they should continue to make use of it. The surgeons soon after built a convenient hall for themselves in the Old Bailey.

On the 5th of September 1745, the lord mayor received a letter, in his majesty's name, from the duke of Newcastle, informing him that a son of the pretender had landed in Scotland, and was making head against the family on the throne, and the present happy establishment of things. With a view of creating disturbance in Britain, and weakening its efforts in the European war which was carrying on, the court of France had, by large promises, encouraged this inexperienced young man to hope for a successful issue of a new effort to regain the lost dominions of his ancestors. He was obliged however to embark in his undertaking with only a few individuals, his personal followers, and arms for a small number of men. The news, however, of the existence of such an enemy in the island roused the curiosity, and even the fears of the capital, and called forth the strongest declarations of attachment to the reigning monarch and his family. Addresses were presented from the lord mayor and aldermen, from the court of common-council, from the lieutenancy, from the merchants, from the clergy of the diocese of London, from the dissenting ministers, and, in short, from almost every public body of men, not only in the metropolis but the kingdom. The union of men of all descriptions and parties was complete in favour of their sovereign, and those principles, of which he and his family had mounted the throne as the guardians. The merchants of London agreed for the security of public credit, and that they might throw no interruption in the way of national business, to give and receive paper money, as usual, in all their transactions; and they resolved at the same time to raise two regiments at their own expense. Orders were sent to the magistrates of London and Westminster to put in readiness the trained-bands and militia. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in the metropolis; and of these one was an association composed of gentlemen of the law, who at a meeting in the Middle Temple hall agreed to form themselves into a regiment, to be commanded by the lord chief justice Willes, and to be denominated "The associated regiment of the law, for the defence of the royal family, and the preservation of the constitution in church and state." Many other young men of fortune, many of the most considerable citizens, merchants, and tradesmen, trained themselves to the use of arms, and remained prepared to  
yield

yield their services if necessary. Nor was this all. At a court of common-council it was unanimously agreed to subscribe 1000*l.* out of the chamber of London toward the support and encouragement of the soldiers who should be employed during the winter in suppressing the rebellion. The companies of stationers, coopers, drapers, goldsmiths, and other fraternities, paid sums into the chamber of London on the same account; and the lord chief justice Lee, the master of the rolls, and the judges, subscribed 1200*l.* The committee of the Guildhall subscription contracted for 12,000 pairs of breeches, 12,000 shirts, 10,000 woollen nightcaps, 10,000 pairs of woollen stockings, 1000 blankets, 12,000 pair of woollen gloves, and 9000 pair of woollen spatterdashies, to be immediately employed for the use of the army. So violent was the general enthusiasm, that even the quakers reconciled it to their pacific tenets to furnish warm woollen waistcoats for the soldiers to wear under their uniforms while they were in the field during winter. The king reviewed the London trained-bands, and on the unexpected news of the defeat of Sir John Cope, and the advancement of the rebel army, a camp was ordered to be formed on Finchley-common, where the king resolved to take the field in person to cover the metropolis. The utmost ardour prevailed in the city. The volunteers were incorporated into a regiment. The weavers in Spitalfields put themselves in a military posture, and their example was followed by several other communities. Even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependants for the service of government. In the meantime the rebel army had made an alarming approach toward the capital. But the apprehensions which this occasioned were small, compared with those which were excited by reports of an invasion ready to take place from Calais and Dunkirk. The catholics and jacobites at the same time put forth all appearances of their strength and intentions, and considerably augmented the causes of alarm. The success of the young adventurer, however, was of short duration. France never seriously intended him any assistance; England was not in a disposition to afford him many partisans; he himself was not possessed of that grandeur of understanding and enterprise which was necessary to combine and overawe the discordant chiefs on whom he depended; and the enthusiasm of his rude and undisciplined troops from the mountains of Scotland, was easily extinguished by a protracted and harassing warfare. In consequence of the retreat of the rebel army before the duke of Cumberland, a court of common-council on the 23d of January 1746, unanimously resolved to present his royal highness with the freedom of the city in a box of gold; and on  
the



the news of the defeat of the pretender, and the total disperſion of his army in the moors of Culloden, addreſſes of congratulation from the parliament and the city opened the way to multitudes from different places; and the houſe of commons, in gratitude to the duke of Cumberland, added 25,000*l.* per annum to his former revenue. Sir Richard Hoare, too, who had been lord mayor, received the particular thanks of the court of common-council and the court of lieutenancy, for his faithful, patriotic, and diligent conduct in his office during this dangerous year. The chief thing which now remained was the execution of the rebels who were apprehended. Seventeen officers were hanged, drawn, and quartered on Kennington-common. And the death of many other adherents ſignalized this laſt deſperate ſtruggle of the hapleſs race of ſo many kings to regain what their anceſtors had poſſeſſed by undoubted right for ſo many years. The moſt eminent perſonages who were brought to trial on this occaſion were the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, with lord Balmerino. Certain favourable circumſtances in the caſe of lord Cromartie induced the king to ſpare his life. The other two were beheaded on Tower-hill with great ſolemnity, and before an immenſe crowd of ſpectators; who pitied the unfortunate principles which led them to their crime, reſpected the compoſure and dignity with which they met their fate, and melted into tears at their not undeſerved, but ſtill lamentable fall. One execution, which ſcarcely appears to have been neceſſary, does no honour to the clemency of the times. Charles Ratcliffe, titular earl of Derwentwater, and brother of that earl who was beheaded on Tower-hill in 1715, was taken in a French ſhip. He had been condemned for the ſame crime with his brother, but made his eſcape from Newgate, and had now lived thirty years in a foreign country. Nothing more was neceſſary than to prove the identity of his perſon, which was done at the bar of the king's bench, and he was ordered for execution. On the 8th of December a ſcaffold was erected on Little Tower-hill, which about eight in the morning was ſurrounded with two troops of life-guards, one troop of horſe-grenadier guards, and a battalion of foot-guards. About ten, the block, covered with black, a cuſhion, and two ſacks of ſaw-duſt, were brought up; the block was fixed; and in a little time after, the coffin, covered with black velvet, and entirely plain, was likewiſe placed upon the ſcaffold. The unfortunate gentleman was brought out at the eaſt gate of the Tower, in a landau, ſurrounded by a party of foot-guards with their bayonets fixed. He proceeded a certain way up Tower-hill, and was received by the ſheriffs. Here he alighted from the landau,

and seeing some gentlemen whom he knew, he smiled and saluted them. Coming to the side of the mourning coach prepared for him, he asked the officer, who stood to wait, if he was to go in there; and being answered in the affirmative, he said, *It is well*, and stepped in directly. Being come upon the scaffold, he inquired for the executioner, and taking a quantity of gold out of his pocket, gave it him, saying, “ I am but a poor man; there ’s ten guineas for you. If I had more, I “ would give it you; and I desire you to do your execution so as to put me to the “ least misery you can.” He kneeled down, and with his hands clasped together, said a short prayer twice. He pulled off his coat and waistcoat, and untied the collar of his shirt, which he attempted to tuck down, but not being able to reach the sufficient distance, he desired the executioner to do it for him. He took leave of the sheriffs, placed his head upon the block, and desiring the executioner to strike deep enough, he added, “ When I spread my hands thus, do you take my head off.” In less than half a minute he gave the fatal signal, when the executioner with one stroke severed his head from his body, thirty years, within three days, after his escape out of Newgate. He had spent his time abroad in Italy and France, where he had married lady Newburgh, relict of Levingston lord Newburgh, a Scots nobleman, and by her had a son, who was taken along with him, and confined some time in the Tower. The execution of one other person, of an uncommon character, terminated the bloodshed on this occasion. This was Simon Frazer, lord Lovat: but his behaviour had been too equivocal, or rather too dishonest, to deserve that deep commiseration which attended the earl of Derwentwater to his fall.

We now return to the ordinary affairs of the city. In 1746 an hospital was founded by subscription between London and Islington, for relieving poor people afflicted with the small-pox, and for inoculation. This was the first public institution for that salutary operation in Europe, and is a proof how generally the practice was now diffused in this country. It consisted of three houses; one in Old-street, designed to prepare patients for inoculation; one in Frog-lane, for receiving them when the disease appeared; and a third in Lower-street, Islington, for patients suffering under the disease in the natural way. The city of London, from a most unworthy principle of monopoly, petitioned against two attempts which were made in the year 1747, for the naturalization of foreign protestants, and by means of them and others the object was defeated each time. In the month of May of the same year, a perpetuity passed the great seal, incorporating the

bishop



bishop of London, &c. into one body politic, for the relief of poor clergymen's widows and children, within the diocese of London, and to hold in mortmain lands of the annual value of 1500*l*. Parliament being dissolved on the 18th of June, the 30th of that month was appointed for the election of representatives for the city. This election occasioned a rather violent contest, one set of candidates being supported by the corporation, and another by the merchants. A poll, which lasted eight days, decided in favour of Sir John Barnard, Sir William Calvert, Slingsby Bethell, and Stephen Theodore Janssen.

The duty of sixpence on the chaldron of coals, granted to the city of London to enable them to pay 4*l*. per cent. on all the monies belonging to the orphans' fund, to which they had fallen so deeply in arrear, was to expire, according to the act, in 1750, when the revenues of the city were appointed to stand charged with the payment of that interest, and with 6000*l*. annually in addition to the 8000*l*. a year which had been paid from these revenues since the passing of the act. The common-council, on the 22d of October, had taken measures for raising 2000*l*. on the personal estates of the citizens from Midsummer 1747 to Midsummer 1748, and on the 26th of December they agreed to petition parliament for a continuance of the duty on coals for thirty-five years longer. They set forth the inability of the revenues of the city to furnish the sums with which these revenues were charged to the orphans' fund, unless they obtained such a relief; and they stated a reason for this deficiency, at which we are apt to be surpris'd; it was, they said, owing to the great fall in the rents of houses in the city of London. They desired 3000*l*. of the returns of the duty on coals to be now given to the mercers' company for the payment of annuities and other debts; the remainder to be applied toward the orphans' fund, as formerly. They stated that a large surplus remained on the fund appointed to pay the 4*l*. per cent. interest on the debts due to the orphans; and this they requested to be permitted to apply to the extinction of the debt. A bill was brought in and passed according to the tenour of this petition: and the chamberlain of London was ordered to lay every year before both houses of parliament, the annual accounts of the fund from Midsummer to Midsummer. Soon after, a loan of 25,000*l*. was raised by the common-council at 3*l*. 6*s*. per cent., with which they discharged 21,735*l*. 17*s*. 9*d*. due to the fund from the city: and 2000*l*. annually continued to be raised by the corporation conformably to the terms of the above act.

The rules which were appointed after the great fire to be observed in the building

of houses for preventing the propagation of fires, were salutary, and no calamity of that nature, excepting very small ones, had been experienced since that period. On the 25th of March, however, in the year 1748, a fire happened, of which the damage was important. It first appeared early in the morning in the house of one Elridge, a peruke-maker, in Exchange-alley; and it is uncertain whether it was occasioned by the carelessness of a boy of Elridge, or that of a girl belonging to a fruit and oyster stall adjoining to his house. It burst forth with great impetuosity, and spread itself three different ways. The whole of Mr. Elridge's family were destroyed. A gentleman who lodged in the house leaping out of the window, broke his leg, and died soon after. Every effort was used to extinguish the flames, not fewer than fifty engines being employed, all in general well supplied with water. Still the conflagration extended. By order of the magistrates, the Royal Exchange was opened to receive the goods from the houses in danger: and the lord mayor watched in person to protect them from depredation. Before noon, near a hundred houses were computed to be consumed, twenty of which fronted Cornhill; the rest were in Birchin-lane, Exchange-alley, George-yard, and other places in the neighbourhood. The wind being S. S. W. people were delivered from apprehensions about the houses of the bankers in Lombard-street, and no public office suffered except the London Assurance; even of this there was time to remove the effects, and the loss of the company consisted chiefly in the house. On the 29th day of the month, to facilitate the rebuilding of the city, the court of common-council agreed to permit as many builders, not freemen, as should be found necessary, to assist in this urgent operation: and a subscription was opened for the relief of such of the sufferers by this accident as should be found objects of charity. The fire was found to extend itself chiefly by means of the roofs of the houses, sufficient care not having been taken to raise the party walls high enough to prevent the communication of fire from the rafters of the one house to the rafters of the other.

A transaction of considerable importance occupied the attention of the court of common-council soon after this accident. They repealed all former acts, orders, and ordinances, relating to the nomination and election of sheriffs of the city of London; and passed an act establishing a new system of regulations for that important business.



The settlement of preliminaries of a general peace at Aix-la-Chapelle gave occasion to the usual ceremonies of proclamation; and the conclusion of the definitive treaty,



to bonfires, illuminations, and other testimonies of joy. A splendid display of fireworks, after six months preparation, was exhibited in the Green-park. It was preceded by a grand overture of warlike music, composed by Handel for the occasion, and by a royal salute of 107 pieces of brass ordnance. These exhibitions at this time are said to have been uncommonly magnificent in France and Holland as well as in England, all parties being heartily wearied of the fruitless contest. The English, however, who are never pleased with the terms of any peace, were far from being satisfied with the conditions of this. The agreement, in particular, by which the ministers consented to send two noblemen to France, as hostages for the restitution of Cape Breton, and other conquests in the East and West Indies, excited high indignation; and the accusations were loud of the imbecility and meanness of spirit which submitted to such humiliating conditions.

The city presented a bill to parliament for power to levy on the estates of the citizens the 2000*l.* payable to the orphans' fund; which was enacted. A new resolution was formed to prosecute hawkers. The lord mayor received a letter from alderman Heathcote, desiring leave to resign his gown: "The general corruption of  
" the age I have the misfortune to live in," said the alderman, "and the frequent  
" detestable instances of apostacy from every principle of honour, integrity, and  
" public spirit of many of my countrymen, both of my own and a superior rank,  
" having fully convinced me that the endeavours of the few determined to live and  
" die honest men, are fruitless and vain." Every testimony of respect was exhibited toward the alderman, by his brethren of the court of common-council; and a vote of thanks to him was soon after passed, for his independent and public-spirited behaviour during his magistracy.

The surprising credulity of the inhabitants of London, and particularly of the higher part of them, was never better ridiculed than by the following contrivance. About the middle of January 1749, this advertisement appeared in all the newspapers: "At the New Theatre in the Haymarket, on Monday next, the 16th  
" instant, to be seen a person who performs the several most surprising things  
" following; viz. First, he takes a common walking-cane from any of the spec-  
" tators, and thereon plays the music of every instrument now in use, and likewise  
" sings to surprising perfection. Secondly, he presents you with a common wine  
" bottle, which any of the spectators may first examine; this bottle is placed on a  
" table in the middle of the stage, and he (without any equivocation) goes into it  
" in

“ in sight of all the spectators, and sings in it; during his stay in the bottle, any  
 “ person may handle it, and see plainly that it does not exceed a common tavern  
 “ bottle. Those on the stage, or in the boxes, may come in masked habits, if  
 “ agreeable to them; and the performer, if desired, will inform them who they are.  
 “ Stage 7*s.* 6*d.*; boxes 5*s.*; pit 3*s.*; gallery 2*s.* To begin at half an hour after six  
 “ o’clock.— Tickets to be had at the theatre. \* \* \* The performance continues  
 “ about two hours and a half—N. B. If any gentlemen or ladies, after the above  
 “ performance (either singly or in company, either in or out of mask), are desirous  
 “ of seeing a representation of any deceased person, such as husband or wife, sister  
 “ or brother, or any intimate friend of either sex (upon making a gratuity to the  
 “ performer), shall be gratified by seeing and conversing with them for some minutes  
 “ as if alive: likewise, if desired, he will tell you your most secret thoughts in  
 “ your past life; and give you a full view of persons who have injured you, whether  
 “ dead or alive. For those gentlemen and ladies who are desirous of seeing this last  
 “ part, there is a private room provided. These performances have been seen by  
 “ most of the crowned heads of Asia, Africa, and Europe, and never appeared  
 “ public any where but once; but will wait of any at their houses, and perform  
 “ as above for 5*l.* each time.— There will be a proper guard to keep the house  
 “ in due decorum.” On the day appointed the house was crowded with persons of  
 both sexes, of the first rank and fashion. About seven the theatre was lighted, but  
 no performer appearing, nor even a single musician to amuse the audience, they  
 began to lose their good-humour: cat-calls, loud vociferations, and beating with sticks,  
 soon testified their impatience. At last a person came from behind the scenes, and  
 bowing, said, that if the performer did not appear, the money should be returned.  
 Upon this a wag cried out from the pit, that if the ladies and gentlemen would give  
 double prices, the conjuror would get into a pint bottle. At the same time a young  
 gentleman in one of the boxes laying hold of a lighted candle, threw it upon the  
 stage. This served as a signal for a general attack. Part of the company immediately  
 set upon the furniture of the house, while the rest endeavoured, if possible, to make  
 their escape with the loss of hats, cloaks, wigs, and swords. The mob rushed in  
 to seize the vacant places, tore up the benches, broke to pieces the scenes, pulled  
 down the boxes, in short, completely dismantled the theatre, carried the materials  
 into the street, and made a large bonfire of them, the curtain being hoisted on a pole  
 by way of a flag. A party of guards had been sent for, but only came time enough



to be spectators of the devastation. The contrivance which produced this ludicrous assemblage is said to have been owing to the duke of Montague, and intended to ridicule the puerile credulity of the higher and other ranks in the metropolis. A multitude of fatirical advertisements and paragraphs appeared in the public prints in reference to the occasion, of which we give the following as a specimen :

“ When conjurors the quality can bubble,  
“ And get their gold with very little trouble,  
“ By putting giddy lies in public papers,—  
“ As jumping in quart bottles, such-like vapours ;  
“ And further yet, if we the matter strain,  
“ Would pipe a tune upon a walking-cane :  
“ Nay, more surprising tricks ; he 'd swear he 'd shew  
“ Grannams who died a hundred years ago :—  
“ 'T is whimsical enough, what think ye, Sirs ?  
“ The quality can ne'er be conjurors—  
“ The de'il a bit ; no, let me speak in brief :  
“ The audience fools ; the conjuror 's a thief.”

After a contested election of sheriffs in the year 1749, Stephen Theodore Janssen and William Whitaker were successful ; the former of whom merited and obtained a great degree of credit by one act of his magistracy. A young sailor, named Bosavern Penloz, had been convicted of a riot, and other outrages, at a house of ill fame in the Strand, where he and his companions had been ill-used. He was condemned to death. His sentence was generally regarded as too severe. It excited among the sailors in particular the highest indignation : and it was strongly apprehended that they would make an attempt to rescue, as they supposed, their injured companion. A party of foot-guards was accordingly dispatched to attend at Holborn-bars, and to guard the prisoner to Tyburn. The sheriff Janssen conceiving that few cases required the presence of military men for the preservation of the peace, and that the introduction of them on slight and unnecessary occasions was an insult to the principles of liberty, and fatal to their existence, provided himself with an unusual number of peace officers, dismissed with civility the soldiers, and conducted the sailor, with fifteen other criminals, to the place of execution, where they suffered without any interference of the mob. A number of sailors armed attended the execution, and began to be tumultuous ; and had they been exasperated by imperious behaviour, mischief would undoubtedly have ensued. The sheriff acted, not indeed in a lordly, but in a wise manner. He submitted to soothe the sailors. They were questioned

questioned gently, what they wanted? And it appearing that this was only to preserve the body from the surgeons, they were completely quieted by assurances that their desire should be gratified.

A privilege had been anciently granted to the city of London, of some importance at the time of the grant; this was an immunity of the goods of the citizens from all toll throughout the kingdom. The franchise had now long remained in disuse. According to the usual practice, however, of this country, no act of revocation had taken place; and this year a member of the common-council, of the name of Holland, asserted his claim to the exemption, obtained from the lord mayor a certificate declaring his right; and some years afterwards he procured a verdict in the court of king's bench against the collector of tolls in Smithfield, during the time of Bartholomew fair, on fifteen issues, with costs of suit; no person appearing on the other side. A useful institution was obtained about the same time in the erection of courts of conscience for the recovery of small debts. One was established in Southwark; one in Westminster, for that city, and the dutchy of Lancaster adjoining; and a third for the Tower hamlets.

On the 8th of February 1750, a shock of an earthquake, which alarmed the inhabitants, was experienced in London. Considerable commotion is reported to have been felt in the houses, but the falling of a few chimnies is all the damage of which we have any accounts. On the same day of the next month the alarms of the people were renewed, and enhanced by a shock of the same nature, which is represented as more violent than the former, though the effects were exactly similar. Several circumstances demonstrate the agitation and fears excited by these phenomena. The bishop of London published a pastoral admonition, representing the intemperance and impiety of the times, and calling upon the people to take warning, and repent of their sins. For this unusual service the lord mayor and aldermen voted their thanks to the prelate, and two days afterwards delivered them by the common crier. The most extraordinary circumstance yet remains. A soldier of the life-guards, of crazed intellects, supposed himself endowed with the gift of prophecy, and pronounced that as the second earthquake had happened exactly four weeks after the first, a third would happen four weeks after the second, which would entirely destroy the city. It is singular to relate that this frantic declaration gained general credit. As the day approached, the fears of the people increased. Nor was the folly confined to the lower orders, in whom it is more excusable. As superstition in alarming circumstances



circumstances is often found to assail most strongly those who are devoid of all regard to religion, the higher classes were thrown into no less commotion by expectation of the predicted disaster, than the meanest and grossest of the vulgar. On the evening preceding the dreaded day, the confusion and dismay exhibited in the city were astonishing. Incredible numbers of persons left their houses, and spent the night in terror and suspense in the fields, or lay in boats on the river. The roads were crowded with carriages of people of fashion, hurrying from the scene of expected ruin. Every lodging was occupied even in Windsor, and to the same distance in every other direction around the city: and many were said to have sat during the night in their coaches in Hyde-park. The day, however, passed without the expected convulsion, and the frightened people returned to their houses. Still, however, strong apprehensions were entertained lest the prophecy should respect not the recurrence of four weeks, but of the same day of the month; and on that day too, which was the 8th, the fears of many people were sufficiently strong to induce them to quit the city. The poor prophet, after the failure of his predictions, was sent to a mad-house: and it is difficult to forbear an obvious jest on this occasion; that half the city of London deserved the same care little less than the fanatical foldier.

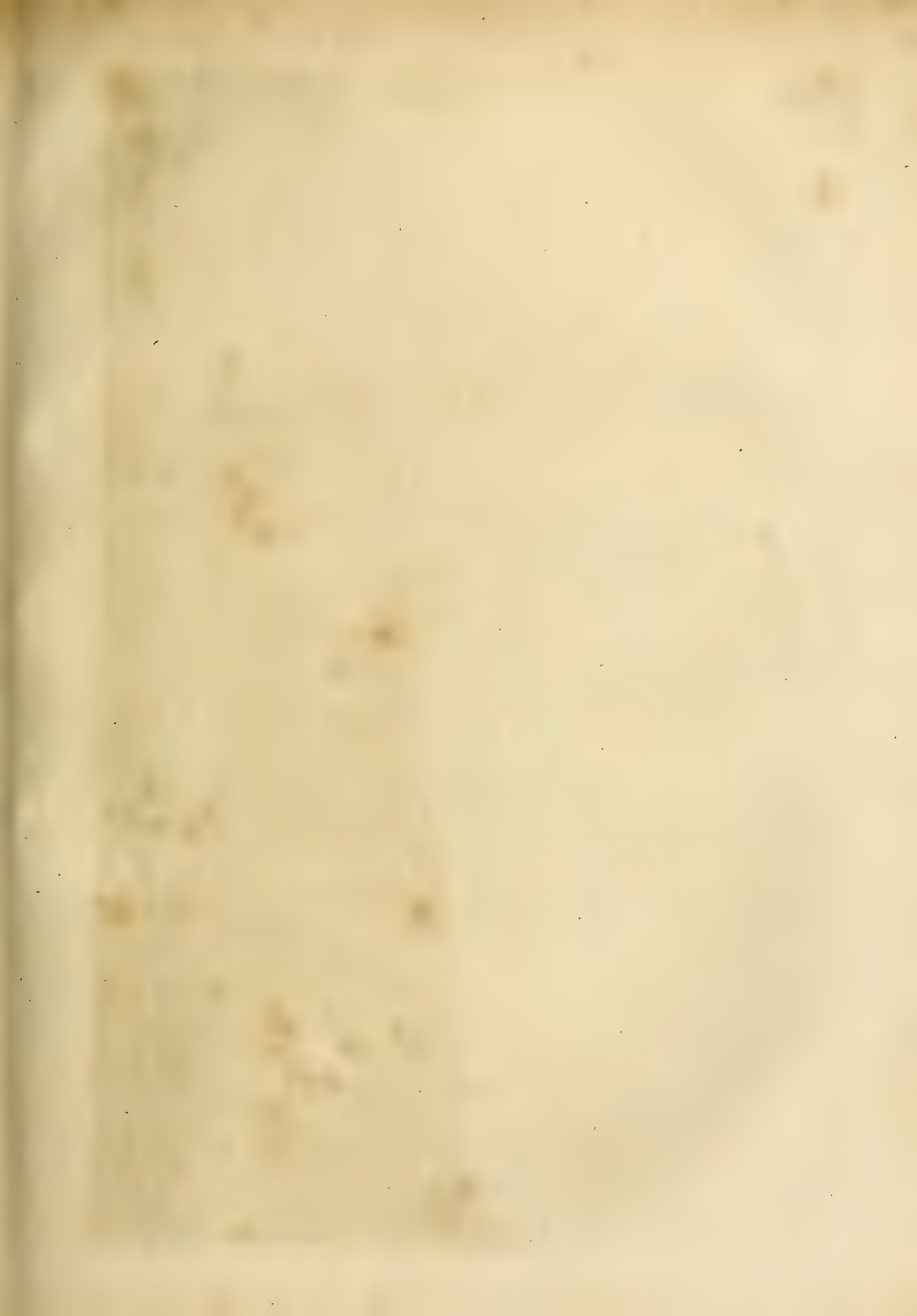
Abominable for a long time, in every respect, was the management of the prisons in the metropolis. Cleanliness, and the supply of fresh air, were neglected to such a degree, that a putrid disorder, called the jail-fever, raged in them almost continually. A number of idle and dissolute persons being, as usual, let loose upon the public from the army and navy, by the peace, had greatly increased the number of malefactors. The superior quantity of persons confined in the prison communicated an unusual degree of activity and virulence to the pestilential disorder experienced in Newgate; and the prisoners brought forth to trial at the Old Bailey carried the infection into the court along with them. Few of the persons who were present escaped the disease; and it proved fatal to Sir Samuel Pennant, the lord mayor; Sir Daniel Lambert, alderman; baron Clerk, of the exchequer; judge Abney, of the court of common pleas; Mr. Cox, under-sheriff; to most of the Middlesex jury, and to several of the spectators. Experience of the danger to which persons of such dignity were subject from the putridness of the prison, called to the circumstance that attention which the misery of the prisoners was unable to obtain; and a variety of regulations were established to correct the evil. A

historian of the metropolis adds on this occasion, “ that when some ill-treated ox  
“ shall happen to toss an alderman of London, member of parliament, or peer of  
“ the realm, over his head, we may hope to have our persons secured from these  
“ enraged animals, and our humanity relieved from seeing the shocking brutality  
“ with which they are so continually and wantonly treated in all the streets of the  
“ metropolis.”

The neglect of the riches with which nature has stored our extensive coasts, had long excited the indignation of thinking men, before any steps were taken to avail ourselves of these advantages. The wealth, however, derived by the Dutch from the fish caught on our coasts excited the envy of government : but they have never yet discovered the effectual mode of promoting this species of industry, the chief source of Dutch prosperity ; and it is still comparatively a neglected province of British traffic. At this time it was thought a wise regulation to erect a chartered and privileged company for the encouragement of the fishery. To confer the greater dignity on the object, the prince of Wales accepted the office of governor of the new company, and repaired in state to fishmongers’ hall to receive the charter. He was received by the president, the vice-president, and other persons of the greatest dignity belonging to the society ; by the master, and court of assistants of the fishmongers’ company ; and waited on by them all into the parlour. The charter was read ; and his royal highness wished success to the scheme. He was requested to accept the freedom of the fishmongers’ company, and graciously complied. The table was then spread with a plentiful supply of pickled herrings caught on the coasts of Shetland, of which the prince patriotically and largely partook. The rest of the company followed his example ; and a number of ladies and gentlemen, who were present to observe the ceremony, profited no doubt by the spectacle.

The invidious privileges of freemen, which are a source of injustice and discontent wherever they are established, were continually creating trouble in London ; and though many regulations at different times had been contrived to obviate the difficulties, they were still recurring. The master freemen, for whose advantage the privileges were originally established, finding by the changes of time these privileges turn against them, the journeymen freemen taking advantage of the smallness of their numbers to raise the price of their labour, began very generally to follow the practice of employing foreign journeymen, that is, journeymen not free of the corporation. As the law stood, this was direct injustice to the journeymen belonging







VIEW of WESTMINSTER BRIDGE.

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to the corporation. These complained, and so loudly, that they were obliged to be heard. A committee of aldermen and commoners was appointed to examine into the merits of the case; and from their report, an act of the court of common-council was passed, which authorized the occasional employment, under certain restrictions, of journeymen not belonging to the corporation. This was a restriction of the privileges of the corporation as far as regarded the journeymen, but an extension of them with respect to the masters: and this was exactly according to the spirit which originally gave birth to corporations and their privileges.

Toward the end of this year was concluded a great and useful undertaking, the building of a bridge across the Thames from Westminster to Lambeth. The act of parliament for this important object was passed so long ago as the year 1736. The first stone was laid on January the 24th, 1739, by Henry earl of Pembroke, a gentleman distinguished for his taste in architecture; and the last in November 1747. Three years afterwards, on the 17th of November 1750, at midnight, the bridge was opened by a procession of gentlemen, attended by a vast concourse of people; while martial music and the report of artillery heightened the pomp of the ceremony. The vast multitudes of people whom the leisure of Sunday brought next day to gratify their curiosity rendered Westminster entirely a moving scene. The architect intrusted with this magnificent work was a gentleman named Labelye, a native of Switzerland. For laying the foundation of the piers, a place was scooped in the river, till it was judged deep and solid enough to prevent all chance of sinking by the weight of the pier to be placed on it: a wooden box, rendered water-proof, was formed of the size of the pier to be built, with sides higher than high water mark; this frame, called a caisson, floating on the river, was fixed exactly above the place intended for the pier by means of piles driven into the bed of the river: the men worked within this case, which sunk gradually by the weight of the materials imposed upon it, till it reached the bottom of the place prepared for its reception: as soon as the work was raised above the water, the sides of the caisson were taken asunder, and the pier left standing on the bottom as a foundation. As the chief defect of this mode of founding the piers consisted in the danger of their sinking, so the fears of this accident were not altogether without foundation. One of the piers sunk a considerable way, when the work was nearly completed. Immediately the commissioners ordered the arch on the side where this misfortune had happened, to be taken down. The pier was loaded with an immense weight of iron cannon,

and forced till all the settlement possible was accomplished; after which the arch was rebuilt, and exhibited every mark of perfect security. The arches were built with singular care. The soffit of each was turned, and built quite through with large blocks of Portland stone, the same as in the fronts. Over this first arch was built a second of Purbeck stone, four or five times thicker on the reins than over the key. This second arch, together with the load of incumbent materials, was disposed to balance in such a manner the whole compound arch between two of the piers, that each of those arches should stand independent of the rest, and unaffected by any accident which should befall them. A drain too was contrived between the upper and under arches, to carry off any water and filth which might penetrate from above, and lodge between them. The form of the arch is semicircular, and the appearance of the whole is plain, and expressive of strength, without being inelegant. The number of the arches is thirteen, beside a small one at each end. The width of the central arch is seventy-six feet, the rest decreasing regularly by four feet on each side. The whole length of the bridge is 1223 feet; its width is thirty feet for the carriage-way, and seven on each side for the foot-ways. Fault has been found with the great height of the balustrades, which obstruct the sight of the numerous interesting objects both above the bridge and below. A semi-octangular recess, furnished with benches, is placed on each pier, supported by buttresses rising from the foundations, which form the angular extremities of the piers below; and six of these recesses, viz. the two middle, and the two extreme ones at each end, are covered over head with semi-domes. At the sides of each abutment there are large flights of steps down to the river, for the embarking and landing of goods and passengers.

The death of the prince of Wales, deeply regretted by the nation; an addition made to the salary of the recorder; the resignation of the city chamberlain, and the contested election of a successor; were the events which engaged the attention of the citizens at the beginning of the year 1751. Certain proceedings in parliament were the great objects of curiosity and interest during the remainder. Some real abuses had been practised under the privileges of naturalization granted to foreigners. Persons from abroad, it was found, repaired hither to obtain acts of this description in their favour, only with a view to avoid the payment of aliens' duties on the goods which they might import from foreign parts. They returned immediately to their own country, bore no part of the taxes of the state, and not being amenable to the laws



laws of this kingdom, often introduced into it the goods of aliens under their own names, without any danger of the penalties for such transactions to which the natives are subject. During the passage, accordingly, of a bill in parliament for the naturalization of John Meyboehm, a considerable number of the merchants of London presented their complaints against these practices, and prayed for such reformation as the wisdom of parliament should approve. The petition was thought to merit regard, and the benefits of naturalization were confined to the period during which foreigners should reside within the kingdom, and subjected to other limitations. The next subject introduced into parliament, which engaged the attention of the public, was the rectification of the calendar, or what in common language is denominated the change of the style. It is well known that by the vulgar mode of computing the year, it differs a few minutes from the time in which the sun makes his revolution to the same point in the ecliptic; and these minutes in the lapse of some centuries had accumulated to the amount of eleven days. So far accordingly did the vulgar calculation disagree with the state of the heavenly bodies. It was a shame that such an error should remain unrectified among enlightened nations. It is an additional shame to England, that all the nations of Europe corrected this error before her: but an aversion to alter established usages, however absurd, is one of the particulars by which Englishmen are distinguished. A more effectual motive than absurdity however, serious inconvenience, began to recommend the improvement; as in the transactions with foreign countries, both of the merchants and of the government, the disagreement of dates created confusion and trouble. In enacting the change by a formal deed of the legislature, precautions were taken against the inconvenience which might arise from altering the dates of contracts, terms of payments, or from similar causes; and the annual ceremony of swearing in and admitting the lord mayor at Guildhall, was by the same act appointed to be for the future on the 8th of November; and the solemnity of swearing him in at the court of exchequer in Westminster to be on the 9th.

The warmth of the contest in the election of representatives for Westminster, and some persuasion of unfairness, had occasioned the demand of a scrutiny on the part of the antiministerial and unsuccessful candidate. When this was finished, and turned out favourable to the opposite side, the most unfair and dishonest conduct was said to have been discovered in the high bailiff of Westminster, the presiding magistrate; and the friends of the disappointed candidate clamoured, reproached, menaced,

menaced, and loudly affirmed that ministerial influence had been used in the most scandalous manner. They proceeded to more serious expressions of resentment than angry declamations. They presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining of the partiality and injustice of the said high bailiff, in consequence of which the election and return of a member for Westminster was undue and void. This petition was ordered to lie upon the table, and the house declined to enter into any investigation of it. Then a motion was made, that Leigh the high bailiff should attend the house immediately, that he himself might inform them what he had done in discharge of their orders respecting this election. Leigh having been informed for what purpose he should be wanted, was waiting in the lobby. He recriminated his accusers; and said he had been obstructed in the discharge of his duty, and ill used by Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for the disappointed candidate; by the honourable Alexander Murray, brother to lord Elbank; and by one Gibson an upholsterer. Though the complaints of the opposition candidates and electors were neglected, those of the high bailiff, who was on the right side, were not. A motion was made, that those persons whom he accused should be brought to the bar of the house. This was earnestly opposed by several of the members, as a flagrant instance of extreme partiality, as a stretch of power which the house could not legally exert, since no regular complaint had been preferred against the persons in question. They farther argued, that as a complaint had been in due form lodged against the high bailiff, it was the indispensable duty of the house to examine into the merits of this in the first place: but to leave this altogether unconsidered, and to commence an action against the accusers, respecting whom no complaint had been offered, was injustice sufficient to cover any body of men with shame: that such conduct was justly liable to an additional degree of disgraceful interpretation, as it would incapacitate the persons affected, from giving their evidence on the merits of the election; as their offences too, if they had been guilty of any, would have full opportunity of being proved, when the election came to be discussed. To the bar, however, they were brought; where Crowle making apology and submission, was reprimanded on his knees, and dismissed. Mr. Murray, being charged with having uttered some threatening and affrontive expressions, was ordered into the custody of the serjeant at arms for some days, during which the house adjourned the consideration of his affair. This step also was represented by some of the members as an act of oppression, as a prejudging of the question before it was examined. They stated  
that



that no person, in cases of breach of privilege, was ever taken into custody, until after he had been fully heard in his own defence: that the present offence, even if it were proved, consisted only in words: that in one of the highest offences which can be committed by words, that of denying the king's right to the crown, or renouncing the Trinity, the information must be brought in three or four days after the words are spoken; they must be proved to have been spoken maliciously, directly, and advisedly; and the prosecution must commence in three months after the information: but that in the present case no complaint had been preferred or information made, until eight months after the words had been spoken; that then too the person who gave the information was a person accused, against whom the parties thus charged might be the principal evidences. While Mr. Murray was committed to the serjeant at arms, Gibson was sent prisoner to Newgate: but soon after, sending an humble petition expressing his sorrow for having displeased the honourable house, he was brought to the bar, reprimanded on his knees, and dismissed. In the mean time the cause of Murray was brought to trial. Several witnesses were produced, who deposed that they had seen him at the time of the election endeavouring to excite a riot against the high bailiff. By the votes of a majority of the house, after a violent debate he was adjudged to be committed close prisoner to Newgate, and ordered to be brought to the bar of the house, to receive this sentence on his knees. He accordingly appeared: but when he was ordered by the speaker to kneel, regarding the order as unjust, and compliance as unworthy of his character, he would not. The house was immediately up in flames. He was removed from the bar. They voted his resistance to be a most insolent, audacious, and dangerous contempt of the authority and privileges of the commons; and ordered that he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate, be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and the access of any person denied to him without the leave of the house. Lastly, they appointed a committee to consider what measures, in relation to this instance of contempt, it was proper for them to take. So zealous were the members for the honour of the house! However, the petitioners against the high bailiff and the Westminster election, despairing of any regard to their cause from that honour, withdrew their petition; and in the mean time Murray was seized with a dangerous illness in the prison. His physician being examined, gave it as his opinion that he was infected with the jail-distemper; and his relations made application to parliament that he might be removed to a more convenient situation. At this he was violently offended; and  
when

when informed that he might be removed into the custody of the serjeant at arms, he refused to comply. He remained in Newgate accordingly, secluded even from his brother and sister, to the end of the session, when the power of the house to confine him terminated of course. On the first firing of the guns for the king's going to prorogue the parliament, his friends repaired to the prison to receive him. On the second firing for his majesty's return, he stepped into a coach, accompanied by lord Carpenter and Sir George Vandeput, in whose cause he had suffered. The sheriffs of London and other gentlemen, attended in separate carriages, and formed a sort of procession. A flag was carried before him, inscribed with the words *Murray and Liberty*: and thus he proceeded amid the shouts of a vast concourse of people from the prison to his brother's house. The stain on the dignity of the house of commons, however, was not yet, it seems, sufficiently wiped away. No sooner did the next session commence than the recommitment to Newgate of the unfortunate stainer was agitated. It was voted too: but he, being not disposed to endure the same hardships which he experienced last year, took an opportunity of withdrawing himself from the country. This did not satisfy the commons. They were zealous enough to present an address to the king, desiring that his royal proclamation might be issued for apprehending the said Alexander Murray, and promising a reward to any one who should accomplish the service. With this request his majesty intimated his most gracious compliance. Nor was this the only address with which they thought it necessary to present the sovereign respecting this affair. Upon the release of Murray, a pamphlet had been published, describing his case, and animadverting with great acrimony both on the conduct of the returning officer and the proceedings of the commons. On this production the house fell with the utmost fury and indignation. They voted it to be a performance of the most pernicious intention and tendency: and presented an address to the king, desiring that he would be graciously pleased to command his attorney-general to prosecute the authors or author, the printers or printer, and the publishers or publisher, of the said scandalous libel, that they might be brought to condign punishment. The whole weight of the crown and of the commons was employed to crush a poor individual. His cause was tried before the lord chief justice: but a jury of freeborn Englishmen, citizens of London, were his judges; they acquitted him, and refused to call the pamphlet a false libel, though it had been so pronounced by one of the branches of the legislature.



The death of the lord mayor during his office in 1752, created some business in electing a successor to him both as chief magistrate, and as alderman of Billingsgate ward. Two acts of parliament likewise, of some consequence with respect to the police of London, were passed this year; the one for licensing pawnbrokers, and for the more effectually preventing the receiving of stolen goods; the other for preventing thefts and robberies, by which places of entertainment, dancing, and music, in London, Westminster, and within twenty miles of the capital, were suppressed and prohibited, unless the proprietors of them could obtain licenses from the justices of the peace, who received powers for this purpose. Nothing could be more necessary than some salutary correction of the evils against which this act was directed. The suburbs of the metropolis are said to have abounded at this time with an incredible number of public-houses, which continually resounded with the noise of riot and intemperance: they were the haunts of idleness, fraud, and rapine, and the seminaries of drunkenness, debauchery, extravagance, and every vice incident to human nature. However, a wiser and juster mode of regulating even these places might have been found, than committing them to the arbitrary discretion of justices of the peace, and submitting the livelihood and fortune of any members of the community to the good will or malice of an individual. This regulation was so much the more abominable at this time, as the greater part of the justices in London were men of bad characters, mean, needy, profligate, who exercised their office with a rapacious and fordid injustice.

A story occurs to be related at the beginning of the year 1753, which seized a portion of attention, apparently very much out of proportion to the cause. In the Daily Advertiser of January the 4th, appeared the following advertisement: "Lost, a girl about eighteen years of age, dressed in a purple masquerade stuff gown, a white handkerchief and apron, a black quilted petticoat, a green under-coat, black shoes, blue stockings, a white shaving hat, with green ribands, and had a very *fresh* colour. She was lost on Monday last near Houndsditch, and has not been heard of since. Whoever informs Mrs. Canning, a scowerer, at Aldermanbury-Postern, concerning her, shall be handsomely rewarded for their trouble." Upon inquiring into the circumstances of the case, it was found, that the girl having on new year's day obtained leave of the family, where she served, to make a holyday, had gone to see an uncle and aunt who lived at Saltpetre-bank, near Rosemary-lane; that they accompanied her home on the same evening as far as Houndsditch; and

that she had never afterwards been heard of. The character of the girl was reported to have been good. She had lived ten weeks as servant to one Lyon, a carpenter, in the neighbourhood of her mother, immediately before she had disappeared. The advertisement was repeated on the 6th, with the addition of her name, and that she had been heard to shriek out in a hackney-coach in Bishopsgate-street. Her mother, it seems, was of a devotional turn of mind; and had prayers offered up for her daughter in Wesley's Tabernacle, and in other meeting-houses and churches, "That her return might be speedy; and that she might not be led into temptation, but delivered from all evil." A fortune-teller, too, was consulted, who gave Mrs. Canning assurance that she would soon see her daughter again; and that she was then under the keeping of an old black woman. On the evening of the 29th of the same month, while Mrs. Canning and her family were at prayers, imploring Heaven for the return of her daughter, she entered, but very different in her appearance now and when she first was missed. She was pale, meagre, almost naked, and exhibited every mark of wretchedness. The disappearing of the girl had excited much curiosity in the neighbourhood, and the advertisements had spread the story through the city. People flocked into the house as soon as the news of her return were communicated, and were eager to inquire into the circumstances of her absence, and the causes of her changed appearance. They were moved with extreme compassion toward the girl, and indignation toward the authors of her ill usage, when she related, that she had been attacked under the wall of Bedlam by two men, who pulled off her cap, gown, and apron, gagged her, threatened to cut her throat if she cried out, and forcibly carried her along Moorfields, where one of the men gave her a blow on the right temple, which threw her into a fit, she being subject to that distemper. She farther stated, that when her senses returned, she found the men pulling her along a road; that they conducted her to a house which they reached by four in the morning; that here an old woman cut off her stays, confined her in a room, and fed her on stale crusts of bread and water to reduce her to prostitution and thieving, as she had done several others in the house; but that at last she had found means to break through a window almost naked, and come home. The interest excited by this story was too energetic to confine its expression to words. As the poverty of the mother disabled her from discovering and prosecuting the perpetrators of those alarming barbarities, a subscription was immediately raised for that purpose. The girl reported, that through the crevices of the boards of the place where she

was



was confined, she saw the Hertford stage-coach pass. It was determined accordingly that the house stood on the Hertford road ; and a house of ill-fame kept by a woman commonly known by the name of Mother Wells, between Enfield-wash and Waltham-crofs, was immediately suspected. The girl was carried before alderman Chitty at Guildhall, and swore to the particulars of the story which she had related ; in consequence of which the alderman granted a warrant to apprehend Mother Wells. The girl, accompanied by the proper officers, and a great party of those who had espoused her cause, repaired to Enfield-wash to examine the house accused. They were all persuaded of the truth of the girl's story ; but some of them could not help remarking that the situation and other circumstances of the room supposed to be that of her confinement, did not at all correspond with the particulars of her deposition before the magistrate. Partiality, however, to the girl, and prejudice to the house, overruled all scruples. She singled out from eight persons in the house an old gipsy woman, named Mary Squires, of a very unfavourable physiognomy, as the person who had cut off her stays, and been the agent in her other ill usage. Squires and Wells were committed for trial at the Old Bailey ; Squires for robbing Elizabeth Canning of her stays, and putting her in fear of her life, and Wells for harbouring and concealing Squires. One witness only confirmed the evidence of Canning, a young woman, who lived with Wells. On the other side, two witnesses of credit from Abbotbury, in Dorsetshire, swore that Squires, who was a well-known character, was there at the time of the alleged robbery ; and another witness from Coombe near Salisbury, deposed that he saw her at that place on January the 14th : several inconsistencies too appeared in the depositions of the girl and her friends. Not only, however, was the popular prejudice sufficient to supply all deficiency in the evidence, but several of the witnesses for Squires were intimidated from entering the court, and those who did, ran the risk of their lives from the fury of the populace. Squires was capitally convicted, and Wells ordered to be branded, and imprisoned for six months. The imaginations, however, of a number of persons were struck with the imperfection of the evidence against these wretched women, and they began to condemn the sentence. Immediately a party was formed in favour of them as violent as that in favour of Canning. The whole city was divided between these parties, which exhibited as much ardour and animosity against each other, as if they had been divided concerning the greatest national interest. The doubts, however, excited of the guilt of the condemned gipsy obtained for her a respite, and after-

wards a pardon. Sir Crisp Gascoigne, who succeeded since the trial to the office of first magistrate, exerted himself with that diligence and courage which became his office, to discover the truth. He obtained additional evidence from Abbotsbury of the *alibi* of the convict; he discovered some indirect practices of Canning and her friends; and Mary Alfop, the girl who at the trial had sworn in favour of Canning's evidence, appeared before him, and recanted her whole deposition. He laid a clear statement of the facts before the public in an address to the livery of London. Indictments for perjury were now preferred on both sides. The witnesses for the gipsy were tried and acquitted; but Canning absconded. To prevent, however, an outlawry, she surrendered herself; and was on trial convicted of perjury, and sentenced to once month's imprisonment, and transportation for seven years. Her condemnation did not alter the favourable sentiments of her friends. Those who carried on the prosecution against her were insulted to the hazard of their lives; nay, advertisements were published, soliciting subscriptions *to alleviate her distresses*, as it was expressed. While in Newgate, she was supplied with every convenience, and even delicacy, from the houses of her partisans in the neighbourhood; she was transported in a private ship furnished with every article wanting for her accommodation; and she was furnished with such recommendations as secured her a very agreeable reception in New England, to which she was sent. This fact, contemptible as it is in itself, is a striking proof of the difficulty of ascertaining truth in the conduct of human affairs. From such instances as this, conclusions have been drawn of the total weakness of all historical evidence: and when it is seen, in what complete obscurity so mean a transaction as this could be involved, with every power of scrutiny enjoyed and exercised, it is difficult to forbear thinking that the great transactions of mankind are seldom exhibited to the world exactly as they happened. It is impossible to say whether Elizabeth Canning was an impostor or an injured woman.

A division respecting circumstances of a higher order gave additional exercise to the discordant principles of the citizens. This was created by a bill introduced into parliament to permit the naturalization of Jews. The principles of liberality and true policy had now made considerable advancement in this country; and it was thought, that if every well-behaved citizen ought to receive equal protection and encouragement from the state, the Jews ought not to be deprived of it. The bill was countenanced by the ministry; and as its tendency was to create a great accession



to the monied interest, and a great increase of their influence in that interest, their patronage was ascribed more generally to this motive, than to their zeal for the principles of liberal policy and legislation. The common-council of London, from motives equally suspicious, raised opposition. They drew up a petition to the house of commons. Another petition was presented in favour of the bill, signed by a great number of merchants, traders, shipwrights, and others. Those who favoured the bill said, that it would draw persons of wealth into this from other countries, and increase its trade and prosperity. Those who wanted to defeat the measure, represented it as tending to increase the vile race of brokers, usurers, and other cheats, to thrust our own industrious people out of employment, and to disgrace and contaminate the nation by the floods of wretches of the meanest and most infamous characters, who would thus be poured into it, and mixed with the inhabitants. The bad character of the Jewish people, if it was so, was a real argument against the adoption of the measure: but that which had most influence, and was most insisted upon, was of a different kind. Such an act (to use the language of the opposers) was flying in the face of prophecy, which declared that the Jews should remain a scattered people: it even, according to them, put the church of England, and indeed Christianity itself in this country, into immediate and great danger; as the rich Jews might thus purchase land, and of course advowsons, and by their multiplication and arts obtain a pernicious influence both in the legislature and church. These topics, enforced with industry, inflamed the minds of the people. However, the minister forced through the bill; but not wisely; when he knew the extent and power of the prejudice against it. He was of course compelled, and with a worse grace than he might have dropped the bill at first, to repeal the act a short time after.

Among the corruptions which gradually creep into every thing, and render necessary continual acts of prevention and redress, were, at this time, those of the marriage ceremony. The practices of mean and profligate clergymen were often most disgusting, and attended with the worst of consequences. The Fleet prison, in particular, was a grand scene of this odious traffic; where clergymen of ruined characters, and imprisoned for debt, exercised this part of their clerical function. In walking along before this place, you were often accosted with the question, "Sir, will you be pleased to walk in and be married?" And your eye was frequently attracted by the sign of a male and female hand conjoined, with the words,

*Marriages*

*Marriages performed within*, written beneath. A squalid figure invited you in; and the parson waited for your reception, in look, form, and attire, expressive of every thing profligate and wretched. A dram of gin, or a roll of tobacco, was an acceptable fee, if nothing higher could be obtained. The shocking indecency of this practice, even if it had not led thoughtless persons, in the hour of frolic or intoxication, or even of weakness, to form inconvenient or ruinous connexions, was sufficient to demand its perfect destruction. The law was accordingly passed, which at present regulates the matrimonial ceremony, but of which the wisdom may very fairly be doubted. If by the power which it throws into the hands of parents it has not a tendency to instate mercenary and sordid calculations in the room of mutual affection in this important contract, or often to produce a criminal connexion on account of the difficulties placed in the way of the lawful; it has had one effect at least of most extensive and lamentable mischief. The expense which it rendered necessary for the marriage ceremony first began, and has greatly contributed to increase, the system among the lower orders, of cohabiting together without marriage. The quantities of people who, in the metropolis, associate together in this manner for life, in open contradiction of the laws, is a disgrace to the execution of the laws, and a most powerful mean of corruption and misery among the lower orders.

An institution worthy of a great and enlightened people was founded, and its affairs systematized, at this period. The taste and public spirit of an individual was, in the first instance, the cause of the national monument to which we allude. Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated physician and naturalist, had spent a long life and a large fortune, in collecting with great industry specimens in natural history, antiques, manuscripts, and various curiosities. At his death in 1752 he directed that this collection, together with his books, should be consigned to the public upon paying 20,000*l.* to his executors. Parliament cordially and liberally seconded his generous views. A hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by a lottery, were voted for the purchase and establishment of this collection, and a board of trustees was appointed for its management, consisting of the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the great officers of the crown, the secretaries of state, the speaker of the house of commons, of some others to be appointed by the preceding, and of lord Cadogan and Hans Stanley, who married Sir Hans Sloane's daughters. The two last-named trustees were to be succeeded at their decease by two others chosen by themselves,



themselves, or the Sloanean family : and two representatives elected in this manner were at all times to distinguish the family of the original donor. At the same time the king, with a spirit truly royal, concurred with the parliament, in resigning the royal library which had been collected by his predecessors from the time of Henry VII., and full of curious manuscripts and rare printed books, to the same institution. In this donation was included the famous Cotton library and its appendix, together with major Edwards' fine collection of books, and 7000*l.* in reversion which he bequeathed to it. The trustees of this library and their successors to be appointed by the Cottonian family, were added to the general board of management, in the same manner as those representing the family of Sir Hans Sloane. Nor was this the last instance of generosity which contributed to the establishment of the British Museum. The heirs of the late lord Oxford generously offered his grand collection of manuscripts, which is said to have cost above 100,000*l.* for a tenth part of that sum. The act of parliament accordingly empowered the trustees already named to purchase this magnificent treasure, and to place it in the same repository with the Cotton library ; and it appointed the duke of Portland, the earl of Oxford, and their successors, to be perpetual trustees for the management of the gift. All these different managers were incorporated as a body politic, by the name of Trustees of the British Museum, to plan and provide a place of reception for this national monument ; to appoint officers, servants, and their several salaries, and make all other necessary statutes and rules for its order, government, and preservation. Private munificence still continued to add to the means of accomplishing the grand design. The two heiresses of the house of Montagu made an offer of the noble mansion which bore the name of the family, in Great Russel-street, Bloomsbury, as a repository for the valuable materials of the British Museum. For this, together with the gardens belonging to it, the trustees paid only 10,000*l.*, and expended between 20 and 30,000*l.* more in arrangements, repairs, and additions. They soon, however, encroached so much upon their funds, that they were obliged to have recourse to parliament for additional support. To this grand repository of science several noble additions have been made since its original erection ; Sir William Hamilton's Etruscan, Grecian, and Roman antiquities ; the curiosities collected in Cook's voyages round the world ; Mr. Garrick's collection of plays ; modern books, being one copy of all those entered at stationers' hall ; and fundry benefactions from Mr. Wortley Montagu, Mr. Hollis, Dr.

Dr. Gifford, Mr. Lethuelier, &c. The great staircase of the Museum is magnificently painted by La Fosse, and some other esteemed productions of Baptiste and Rousseau adorn the different parts of the edifice. On the table of the saloon where the visitors wait, is a fine model of Laocöon and his two sons; and on the ceiling or dome is an assembly of the gods, in which Jupiter is represented casting his thunder-bolts at Phaeton, and the other celestial personages agitated by various passions. It is impossible for us to pretend to give even a sketch of the interesting contents of this magnificent repository. However, there is one curious monument which we cannot forbear to specify. This is no other than the original copy of the Magna Charta, one of the singular curiosities which distinguish the Cottonian collection. The latter part of the history of this curious monument of British story, forms a remarkable contrast with the former. Sir Robert Cotton had the good fortune to rescue it by accident from the shears of a tailor. The visitors of this interesting place are exempted from one circumstance, which equally disgraces the boasted generosity and good taste of the nation, the sordid demands upon their pockets which are made by the keepers of almost every public monument in the kingdom. This is a particular by which Great Britain is most dishonourably distinguished from most of the other nations in Europe. Visitors, however, very generally complain, that though this gross and disgusting practice is prohibited at the British Museum, the other obstacles thrown in the way of obtaining the gratification of their curiosity, are more vexatious than the payment of officers and keepers.

The severe indisposition of Sir Edmund Ironside, the lord mayor elect, occasioned considerable inconvenience, and some unusual arrangements, at the time of his installation. He was represented in the ceremonies of the day by alderman Benn, who acted at the Mansion-house as *locum tenens*, until the 27th of November, when the mayor died. Thomas Rawlinson was elected in his stead; and, it not being term-time, he was sworn into his office on Tower-hill, where a place of temporary accommodation was provided. At the same time were going on in parliament attempts for the repeal of the late act for the naturalization of the Jews. The ministers felt the hatred and indignation excited by it among the people to be greater than they durst venture to bear; and they now promoted the repeal with still more ardour than they had the enactment. In the preamble to the bill was stated



as a means of promoting the naturalization, that persons professing the Jewish religion may, upon application to parliament, be naturalized without receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as the act of the seventeenth of James I. required. The bill was debated with the greatest warmth on both sides, the same arguments were repeated, and Sir John Barnard, the father of the city, and one of its representatives in parliament, spoke to considerable effect.

The arguments, though not sufficient immediately to prevent the progress of the bill, yet prevailed in the next sessions; for the act was repealed on the 26th of November following, to the great satisfaction of the nation at large, and of the citizens of London in particular.

Dr. Archibald Cameron, convicted of joining with the pretender in the late invasion, and suspected of being concerned in an attempt to renew the rebellion in Scotland in the beginning of the year, was executed at Tyburn. He pleaded at the scaffold, that he had acted according to his conscience, and died a steadfast member of the church of England. The thanks of the court of common-council were resolved to be presented to Sir Crisp Gascoyne, the late lord mayor, for his diligent attention to, and faithful discharge of, the duties of his high station; which was accordingly done. A complaint having been made for a long time, that the oaths taken upon entering into various offices of the corporation, were such as conscientious persons could not admit; at a court of common-council held at Guildhall it was ordered that the former oaths should be laid aside, and such others prescribed as were in the power of conscientious persons to discharge. At the same court a bill was passed for raising the sum of 2443*l.* on the inhabitants of the city for the support of the London workhouse.

In the beginning of the year 1754 there appeared a scheme for the better improvement of the city. In order to effect this undertaking, the author proposed a removal of nuisances and inconveniences, and in their place to add elegancies and decorations of utility; but what he chiefly considered as most productive of the greatest advantage, was a plan for erecting a bridge over the river Thames between Fish-street-hill to the Borough and Westminster-bridge. Another plan was also proposed to build a bridge from Blackfriars to the opposite shore; but nothing was done for the present, as the courts referred them to the committees, with instructions to make reports.

On the 30th of April an election came on for representatives for the city to serve

in parliament, when the aldermen, Sir John Barnard, Slingsby Bethell, Sir Richard Glynn, and William Beckford, were put in nomination; but a poll being demanded on the part of Sir Robert Ladbroke and Sir William Calvert, it continued open for six days after; at the close of it, the four former gentlemen were declared to be duly elected. The number of livery that polled at this election was 5931. The contest on this occasion was the greatest ever known, the whole body of the dissenters, and the interest of the ministry, uniting to support Sir William Calvert against the anti-ministerial party, whose prepossession against Sir William, their former favourite, was founded chiefly upon his attachment to the advocates for the naturalization bill.

An important cause was tried this term in the court of king's bench at Guildhall, upon an action brought by a leather-seller in Newgate-street against the collectors of the toll in Smithfield during the time of Bartholomew fair. By the determination of the cause, all London citizens are exempted from paying toll for the future at that fair.

An exemplary act of justice was done by the house of commons this session to a person belonging to a public office, who was detected in an act of fraud and imposition. All precautions to prevent the monopoly of lottery tickets having been, in a most scandalous manner, eluded by various individuals who were entrusted with the charge of delivering the tickets to the contributors, according to the intent of the act, which set forth, that not more than twenty should be sold to any one person, it became necessary to institute an inquiry into the malpractices, and to punish the offenders; who, instead of conforming to the act of the legislature, had engrossed great numbers of tickets, and protected themselves under a false list of feigned names for the purpose; thus injuring the public credit by subscribing for a greater number than they had cash to purchase, so that there was a deficiency in the first payment, which might have produced serious consequences on the public affairs. One individual was brought forward who had amassed an immense fortune by this means, and who was by a committee proved guilty of a breach of trust, and violation of the lottery act; he was for this offence sued in the court of king's bench, and paid a fine of one thousand pounds, for committing frauds, by which he had gained fifty times that sum—an inadequate punishment for so great an enormity.

The session of parliament ended the beginning of April, in which the king enumerated the measures he had taken for the diminution of the public debt, and for the increase of its credit. The parliament was then dissolved. The death of Mr.

Pelham



Pelham this year occasioned a change in the ministry, of which he had been the leader; his loss was lamented universally. The duke of Newcastle was appointed first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded as secretary of state by Sir Thomas Robinson. The elections succeeded according to the wishes of the ministry, and opposition was now reduced to almost a shadow, occasioned chiefly by the death of the late prince of Wales. The tory principles had been by many relinquished, and the body of the people were conciliated to the government.

The citizens of London, towards the latter end of this year, began again to consider of the best means to be adopted, towards building those bridges across the Thames between the western suburbs and the great roads in Surrey. The wards which received the greatest advantages from London-bridge, entered into a direct opposition to the plans proposed by the western wards, which had united in a scheme to build a new bridge from the end of Fleet-ditch, Blackfriars, to the Surrey side, and so improve the trade of the western suburbs, which had fallen greatly into decay. The friends to the Blackfriars-bridge plan opposed the measures for the improvement of London-bridge, although they could not deny the necessity of repairing it, as it was becoming absolutely dangerous. Amidst all these differences of interests and opinions, the common-council resolved to lay the matter before a committee, in order to obtain their opinion. In January 1755 this committee made their report, in which they stated, that "a bridge over the Thames, at the place proposed, would greatly obstruct the current of the river, and be very prejudicial to the commerce of this city." This report was, however, set aside by the promoters of the new bridge, who, in a warm debate on the question, carried a majority of 26. At this common-council a petition was ordered to be presented from the city of London to parliament, for the removal of the Borough-market, which bill passed in this session of parliament, and which prevented for the future any market from being held in the High-street of the borough of Southwark, or any other nuisances which might be deemed an impediment or obstruction. A ferry across the Thames was also at this time established, from the narrow street of St. Ann's parish called Limehouse. The citizens of London having given up their interest and claim to the market in the borough of Southwark, which was now totally abolished, the inhabitants of that borough petitioned parliament to obtain an act for the grant of a market on such ground as should be purchased for that purpose. On the first of May, a dreadful fire broke out in a hay-loft over the stables at Walker's wharf,

west of Hermitage-bridge; the flames communicated rapidly with the warehouses adjoining, and even spread across the street, so as to occasion considerable damage throughout the neighbourhood of Burr-street. At a common-council held in June, a motion was made and carried, to make the gaol of Newgate more commodious, which has since been put into execution. A report was also made, that the city being 25,000*l.* in debt, an order was given for the payment of one third of it. In July, an extraordinary cause was tried in the court of King's Bench before lord chief justice Ryder, at Guildhall, and a special jury, upon an indictment against John Miles, near Bishopsgate, London, an eminent wheelwright, founded upon the statute of the 5th of queen Elizabeth, for using and exercising the trade of a coach-maker and harness-maker, not having served seven years apprenticeship to the same, who, after a trial of four hours, obtained a verdict. Mr. Markham having been chosen by the livery to be one of the sheriffs for the year, he swore that his property did not amount to 15,000*l.* and therefore was not qualified for this office; on which occasion, Mr. Trueman, who was a protestant dissenter, and suspected that they had a design of nominating him, objected to the appointment on those grounds which disqualified him by act of parliament. The king having this summer visited his German dominions, and the ministry having adopted every measure for the benefit of the country, at a time when the French, with their Indian allies, were endeavouring, by daily excesses on the continent of America, to provoke hostilities; the city of London, in an address to his majesty, expressed their satisfaction at these circumstances. To which address, presented by the lord-mayor, aldermen, recorder, and common-councilmen in general, his majesty returned a most gracious answer. In a committee, in November, appointed to consider a motion for the alteration of Newgate, it was resolved that, in order to make the prison more commodious and airy, it would be proper to rebuild it. The common-council also appointed a committee to inquire into the rights of the city, in the five great hospitals of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, Bridewell, Bethlem, and Christ-church in Newgate-street, of which they had supposed they had been deprived. On the 15th of November, the secretary at war sent an order to the court of aldermen, informing them, that as it appeared from the motions of the French that they meditated a design to invade this country, it would be necessary for the militia of the city to hold themselves in readiness to march; upon which it was ordered, that the city militia, consisting of six regiments, should be mustered, and exercised by four companies each day upon the

Artillery-



Artillery-ground. The terror of the enemy's invasion, and the consequences which might ensue from putting the defence of the nation into the hands of foreigners, which measure had been proposed and agreed to by the king and his ministers, induced several members of the house to form a plan for raising a national militia; and they invited the city of London to apply to parliament for that purpose. But the court of common-council differing in opinion from the other court, they negatived the measure; and when it was moved to petition parliament in the following April, that the city militia might be included in the bill for regulating the militia of the kingdom, it was also negatived by a great majority. On the 18th of December, the promoters of the plan for building the new bridge from Blackfriars across the Thames, united all their efforts to carry their point. A motion was made to petition parliament for leave to build a new bridge in the place above-mentioned, which, after various debates, was at length agreed to by a majority of 100 to 66. After the Christmas holidays, Mr. sheriff Whitbread presented the petition to the house of commons, in consequence of which an act was passed with the greatest expedition, allowing the mayor and corporation the power to build the bridge, which was to be so constructed that a free open passage for the waters should remain through the arches of 750 feet at least, within the banks of the river; and no buildings, except the gates and the toll-houses, were to be erected upon it. The corporation was allowed the power to widen and enlarge the streets and passages, and to remove every impediment necessary to the prosecution of their object. It was enacted, that all persons should be enabled to sell, and be indemnified for what they should do by virtue of this act; and where persons refused to treat for the sale of such lands or estates, a jury, impannelled by the sheriff, should inquire into their value, and award the sums to be paid to every person for every such purchase; and when persons cannot be found who have a right to such purchase-money, and there be any impediment to the payment of it, the purchase-money to be paid into the bank for the use of the parties, and to be paid when the mayor and corporation shall direct. All persons not entering their claim or demand on such lands with the town-clerk, or the clerk of the peace of Surrey, within five years, shall forfeit their right and interest for ever. Tenants at will, and lessees for a year, to have six months rent or twelve months notice to quit. The corporation to pay off all mortgages, with six months interest of the principal money, and to treat with the watermen's company about a recompense in lieu of the Sunday's ferry from Blackfriars-stairs to  
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the opposite shores. The corporation was also empowered to fill up the channel of Bridewell-dock, between the Thames and Fleet-bridge, and to take away the bridge over the dock, leading to Bridewell-gate, making sufficient drains and sewers into the Thames. A penalty was also laid upon any hindrance to the free passage of the bridge. A toll was likewise appointed, on the credit of which the mayor and corporation were empowered to raise 30,000*l.* per annum, till 160,000*l.* be raised in the whole, to be applied to the purposes of this act. The bridge was to be properly lighted and watched,

The minister, Sir Thomas Robinson, had not been long in possession of his office of secretary of state, before it was generally perceived, that although a very honest man, and a favourite with the king, yet his abilities were inferior to the duties of his situation, particularly now, as it was probable that the nation was on the eve of engaging in a difficult and expensive war, and entangled with foreign connections, which it would require the talents of a skilful politician to render agreeable to the people. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox had generally united in opposing his measures, and their influence in the house had always prevailed. Sir Thomas, thus opposed, and sensible of his own incapacity, resigned the seals on the 10th of November to his majesty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox. Lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary at war, and Sir George Lyttelton was made chancellor of the exchequer and lord of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Legge, who had declared himself against the new continental system. While the national business was thus proceeding, the whole world was alarmed with a dreadful earthquake, which happened at Lisbon, and which laid that city in ruins. When the intelligence first reached England, it was apprehended that the consequences might injure the public credit; considering the vast interest which the British merchants had in the Portuguese trade; but providentially it was not so considerable as at first was dreaded, as the quarter in which the English lived, and where their warehouses were built, suffered least of any part of the city. The two first shocks of this awful visitation continued near a quarter of an hour, after which the river Tagus rose perpendicularly above twenty feet, and subsided to its natural bed in less than a minute. Great numbers of houses, of which this city then contained about thirty-six thousand, extending in length near six miles in form of a crescent, on the ascent of a hill upon the north shore of the mouth of the river Tagus, nine miles distant from the ocean, were thrown down by the repeated shocks of the earth, with many magnificent churches, and other public buildings.

A terrible



A terrible fire, either accidentally bursting forth, or occasioned by a set of plundering villains who were unawed by the calamity, entirely completed the ruin of this opulent capital. Out of 350,000 inhabitants which Lisbon then contained, 10,000 perished by this tremendous calamity, and the survivors were compelled to seek shelter in the open fields. The British nation, with that humanity for which they have always been so much distinguished, gave the sum of 100,000*l.* for the support of the distressed Portuguese; and although the English at that time were much in want of grain, yet a considerable part of the sum was sent over in corn, rice, and flour, with a large quantity of beef from Ireland. On the 27th of May the king adjourned the parliament till the 18th of June, from thence to the 18th of July, and afterwards it was prorogued.

During the recess some overtures were made from the court of France, by the minister for foreign affairs, to Mr. Fox, secretary of state for England, dated December 21; but so worded as to diffuse some apprehensions among the people concerning the pacific conduct of our ministry, and throwing the whole blame of the war upon Great Britain. In order to take off the disagreeable opinion entertained by the people of the English ministry, who had removed the patriots from their share in the government; who had so managed the parliament, as to confirm the subsidiary treaties for a continental war, and had called in Hessian and Hanoverian forces to defend England; and who were continually alarming the country with reports of a French invasion, in order to obtain large sums of money from the people; Mr. Fox was ordered to send such an answer to the court of France, as to expose to all Europe the falsehood of such imputations, and to appease the people of England. The war being now unavoidable, his majesty commanded the 6th of February 1756 to be observed as a fast; on which occasion the places of worship in and about the metropolis were uncommonly crowded, and evinced a desire in the people to maintain the dignity of the crown, and to punish the French for their temerity and insolence. Orders were issued out by the latter nation for all British subjects to leave the French dominions; and an edict published to invite the French subjects to fit out privateers, promising a premium for every gun and every man, which they might take on board the British ships, with a promise from the king to purchase the privateers at prime cost, should a peace be speedily concluded. Pursuant to orders, the English vessels in the ports of France were seized, and the crews made prisoners.

From the exclusive business of the city lands which had increased before the committee for that purpose, it was determined in a common-council in February, that the said committee of city lands should consist of twelve aldermen and twenty-four commoners, of whom three aldermen and twelve commoners should be removed annually, and the commoners should be taken out of every ward except Lime-street and Bassishaw; which being small, only one should be chosen alternately out of those wards; and the report of this committee of city lands should have precedence of all other business of the court of common-council. A bill for raising 2443*l.* 14*s.* for the support of the London workhouse was read a third time, and passed into an act of the court. On the 19th of February a dreadful fire broke out in the compting-house of Mr. Howell a timber-merchant at Blackfriars stairs; it consumed many adjoining premises, and the deals on board the lighters lying at the wharf taking fire, burnt their moorings, and destroyed, by dropping down with the ebb tide, and passing under the bridge, two ships at Rotherhithe.

Among other taxes proposed by ministers, was a duty on plate, by which the owners of plate were to be made subject to the laws of excise. During the discussion of this bill, the city of London was so much alarmed, that the common-council on the 18th of March petitioned parliament against it, and instructed their representatives to oppose it. Mr. sheriff Whitbread carried the petition to the house.

On the 6th of April, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, waited on his majesty at St. James's with an address; the king having sent a message to parliament, to lay the advices before them relative to the French invasion: the address expressed the abhorrence of the London citizens at the unjust enterprise of the enemy, and resolved to support with their utmost power the royal prerogative. His majesty returned a most gracious answer. An act passed this session for making and widening a road from the east side of the parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal-green, to the east end of Church-street, and to open a road into Shoreditch; and another act passed to enable trustees to repair Old-street road, and to make a road through Worship-street, and through grounds in the parishes of St. Luke and St. Leonard Shoreditch; and an act for the improving, and paving, and regulating the streets of St. Mary la Bonne. At a court held in the city it was resolved, that all estates for the future, which should be let upon lease, should be exposed for sale in a public manner, and be declared to the best bidder, and afterwards to be renewable at the expiration of every fourteen years, in the manner of college leases.



The persons interested in the building of Blackfriars-bridge, as soon as they had gained their point, opposed the plan for repairing and improving London-bridge, and moved in the court of common-council for a petition to parliament against the bill then depending in the house for the repairs of London-bridge. The debate was very warm, and at last was decided by a division of 201 for the petition, and 193 against it. The same committee who drew up the petition for the new bridge, were appointed also to draw up this. The house of commons disregarded the petition, and the act passed without any impediment. By this act for repairing the old bridge, the corporation was empowered to purchase and remove buildings, and render the passage in all respects safe and commodious. It was enacted that there should be a balustrade on each side of the bridge, and a passage of 31 feet open to carriages, seven feet on each side for foot-passengers, with lamps to be kept burning from sun-setting to sun-rising, and a number of watchmen to be appointed to guard by night, and the expense of the lamps and watch to be defrayed by the bridge estate. It was further enacted that the tithes, poor's rate, land-tax, and customary payments due from the houses and other buildings pulled down, which had been reported on the 26th September 1754, to the common-council, to amount annually to the sum of 484*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* should be charged on the bridge-house lands. The act also established an additional toll for horses drawing carriages, &c. to the amount of one penny, and for every horse one halfpenny: it also established a toll for loaded vessels passing through or under the bridge, with certain exceptions; which tolls were to continue till the principal and interest of the money borrowed for the purposes of the act should be repaid. Soon after, these tolls being found both difficult to collect, and a burden upon trade and navigation, parliament granted an aid to carry on the repairs, and set aside the tolls both upon and under the bridge.

Intelligence being received that the French had sent a powerful fleet and army, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, to reduce the island of Minorca, and to attack the English fort and garrison at Port Mahon, our court declared war against the king of France on the 18th May 1756, with great formality, amidst the acclamations and applauses of innumerable crowds of spectators.

A violent storm, which arose from the south-west, was the cause of great injury to many houses and trees, and destroyed many garden-grounds within several miles

of London, not sparing even the craft upon the river, among which ~~it~~ caused great havoc,

In the most alarming times, the voice of the country makes its appeal to the city of London, as in her is centred all its source of power; upon the present occasion, the citizens of that metropolis thought it their duty to address his majesty on the posture of affairs, and in August an address was presented to the king by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, containing strong hints to the disadvantage of the ministry. They expressed their apprehension, that the loss of the fortrefs of St. Philip and island of Minorca, possessions of the utmost consequence to the commerce and naval strength of Great Britain, without any efforts to prevent an attack, after such notice of the enemy's intentions, and when his majesty's navy was so superior to theirs, would be an eternal reproach upon the British name. They expatiated upon the dangers to which the British possessions in America were exposed, by the mismanagement which had attended the defence of those colonies, which were the object of the present war, and the principal source of the wealth and strength of the kingdom. They regretted the want of a constitutional well-regulated militia. They signified their hope that the authors of these losses and disappointments would be detected and punished, and that the large supplies granted, would be applied to the defence of the kingdoms. This example was speedily followed throughout the nation; the borough of Southwark, after assurances of loyalty and promptitude to support his majesty, re-echoed the address of the citizens of London. The king, in answer, assured them, that no steps should be left untaken, to do justice to those who had been negligent of their duty to him and the country, and to support the authority and respect of his government.

Admiral Byng, and other state prisoners, who had been arrested on the ground of neglect of duty, were immediately sent up to London to take their trial. They were the objects of the persecution of the ministry, who had thrown all the blame of want of conduct upon them, in order the better to screen themselves. Admiral West, and lieutenant-general Powke, were ordered to London, where the latter was to take his trial on the grounds of disobeying his majesty's orders, relative to the embarkation of troops to be sent by admiral Byng to reinforce fort St. Philip.

The opposition in the city to the measures of administration was so great, that, in order to express their abhorrence of all their partisans, the nomination of Mr. alderman



alderman Dickenson, who was proposed at the election of a lord-mayor, was objected to, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to return him to the court of aldermen, after seven days poll, with Sir Charles Asgill, knt. because, as a member of the house of commons, he had voted with the ministry for the importation of lawless mercenaries.

The king, in order to prove to his subjects that he could rely on their fidelity and courage, ordered his Hanoverian troops to withdraw from the country, admitted the expediency of a national militia, and placed the duke of Devonshire at the head of the treasury, the right hon. Henry Legge at the head of the exchequer, earl Temple at the head of the admiralty, on the 16th of November; and, on the third day after the sitting of parliament, on the 4th of December, his majesty dismissed Mr. Fox, and delivered the seals to the right hon. William Pitt, whom he appointed secretary of state and prime minister. This circumstance met universal approbation, the measures were changed to the satisfaction of the people, and the king was restored to the confidence of his subjects. To this event we may consider ourselves indebted for the militia-bill, which is looked upon as a barrier of the people's liberty against ministerial power.

A terrible fire broke out on the 8th of January 1757, in the distillery of Mr. Godfrey, in Limehouse; but, after destroying the warehouses and its appendages, was providentially extinguished without further damage. A court of common-council ordered the sum of 200*l.* to be paid to the scriveners' company, to enable them to carry on their prosecution against the attornies of the city of London, for exercising the art of scriveners within the city, without being free of their company. A general dearth of corn being felt all over England, a bill was passed for the relief of the poor, and also to prohibit the exportation. No spirits were allowed to be distilled, and other measures adopted; but it would have been of the most effectual advantage, if the engrossers and hoarders of corn had met with a severe punishment. While this bill was forming, a petition was presented to the house by the brewers of London, Westminster, and Southwark, representing the high price of malt, and praying that measures might be applied to relieve this particular distress. Temporary expedients were adopted.

An inquiry being set on foot into the loss of Minorca, which had excited such universal clamour, admiral Byng was brought forward in order to take his trial, when, after a long hearing, he was found guilty of not doing his utmost endeavours

to destroy the French ships which it was his duty to engage, and of not exerting his utmost power for the relief of St. Philip's castle: as the law for this crime prescribed death, he was adjudged to be shot, but was earnestly recommended to the royal mercy. The admiral received the sentence with the most undaunted courage, relying upon his innocence, and knowing that he was sacrificed as an unjust victim. The officers who composed the court-martial, unanimously subscribed a letter to the board of admiralty, recommending clemency in the strongest terms. The sovereign, however, was taught to believe, that the admiral was a victim necessary to appease the fury of the people. The twelve judges, to whom the sentence was referred, were of opinion that the sentence was legal. The matter was discussed in parliament, but the lords objected to mercy. The unfortunate admiral was thus abandoned, and on the 14th of March 1757, was shot on board the *Monarque*, a third-rate ship of war, at Portsmouth, amidst an infinite number of boats and vessels filled with spectators. He fell with composure and dignity, the victim of ministerial vengeance.

On the 9th of April Mr. Pitt resigned the seals; the ministry, of which he formed the head, being of too weak a composition to remain in office. From their dissensions and various interests they could cement no longer; Mr. Legge followed; but the nation had too much respect for their talents and abilities to conceal their dislike. The city of London took the lead; in April, Mr. Hodges, one of the common-council, moved, that the freedom of the city should be presented in gold boxes to the right hon. William Pitt, and the right hon. Henry Legge, in testimony of the sense which the citizens entertained of their loyal and disinterested conduct. The question passed in the affirmative without a debate, and the freedom was given to them. The two ex-ministers returned a most expressive and grateful answer, and were afterwards invited to accept the freedom of the grocers' company.

From the numerous addresses presented from every part of the kingdom to the sovereign, his majesty restored Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments; and a coalition took place, and healed those divisions which distracted the country.

The committee appointed to repair London-bridge having determined to pull down all the buildings upon the bridge, of every kind, and to lay the two middle arches into one, by taking away the pier between them, and turning an entire new arch to cover the whole, it was necessary to build a temporary one of stout oak timbers in the form of a curve, from that part of London-bridge where the water-works extend, as far as about the fourth arch at the Surrey end. The committee met with fo  
many



many and great inconveniences in the execution of the act granted for that purpose, that it was resolved to pray for fuller power from parliament; the common-council accordingly, in January 1758, presented a petition for a further sum of 15,000*l.* to be paid out of the supplies granted for the year 1758 to the chamber of London, especially as the temporary wooden bridge had been consumed by fire. At the same time the tolls being complained of, and found burdensome to the public, they were allowed to be continued till the 24th of the following June, and no longer. A penalty of death, without benefit of clergy, was also enacted, to any person who should maliciously set the bridge on fire. A bill was also proposed for the purpose of explaining and amending the late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing infamous monopolies of a few engrossing fishmongers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and, in this particular branch of traffic, gave law to above 6000 of their fellow-citizens. Great pains were taken to render the bill effectual; but having passed through the lower house, it expired among the lords.

On the 11th of April, the city of London was much alarmed by a rapid fire which totally destroyed the temporary bridge: it appeared to communicate instantaneously at both ends, by a train of combustibles in the middle, which prevented all means of suppressing it; and although the lord-mayor, in person, attended during the whole conflagration, yet it continued burning till next day. A reward of 200*l.* was offered to any one who would detect the offenders, as it was supposed to be maliciously set on fire, and a pardon was to be granted to any one who would discover the authors of this villany, except the perpetrators themselves. A deposition was taken before Sir Charles Asgill, the lord-mayor, by a person who had observed a lantern in the chapel pier of the bridge, and after that two others, which had no sooner disappeared than the bridge took fire. The communication being thus cut off between London and Southwark, all trade was stopped, except that which could be carried on by water; and, from the falling of the stones and timber into the current, the trade above the bridge was greatly distressed. A common-council being assembled, a new temporary wooden bridge was erected, and that in so short a time, by the skill of the architect, that carriages passed over it in a month's time. This bridge had no sooner been completed, than some evil-disposed persons attempted also to set that on fire, and as proofs were given of their having endeavoured to effect this purpose, two armed men were appointed to watch every night, in a gallery erected at each end of the tem-

porary bridge, and about the centre of the works, with lighted lamps, and a bell to alarm the neighbourhood in case of an attack. This guard continued till the whole temporary bridge was taken down.

The benevolence of the British character had been always nurtured in an extraordinary manner, and at this period had sprung up to a prodigious growth; the different charities which are established over every part of the nation, loudly proclaim the national virtues. The number of hospitals and asylums in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raised by the princely donations of the founder, bear strong testimony to the fact. In the course of this year the public began to enjoy the benefit of several institutions. One which attracted particular attention for its singularity, was formed by Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, who had in his life time built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain sum of money to accumulate at interest, under trustees, till the yearly produce should amount to 210*l.* to be given in marriage-portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, and at the age of twenty-two years. In March the sum was completed, when the trustees summoned the maidens to appear, and six of them were to draw lots for the money, to be paid as a marriage-portion, if they married a man of character, such as the trustees should approve. On the 1st of May the candidates appeared, and one bore away the prize, besides 5*l.* given to defray the expenses of the wedding-day. A new candidate was to come forward every year, when a second chance of the same value was to be given.

A small number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, determined to provide for them a comfortable asylum, where they might take refuge from the receptacles of vice, and accustom themselves to industry and temperance. The plan was formed, and put into execution by means of voluntary subscriptions, and a house opened in Goodman's-fields under the name of the Magdalen Hospital, in the month of August, when fifty penitents were presented. Another charity was also opened for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents.

Several years had elapsed since a society of private persons had been established in London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected by the members, who contributed yearly to the institution. In the course of every year they



they held eight general meetings, in a large room built and furnished at the common expence; besides the ordinary meetings of the week, from the second Wednesday in November, to the last Wednesday in May. The money which had been contributed, after the necessary expenses of the society had been paid, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry; for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dyeing, and mineralogy; for promoting the arts of drawing, engraving, painting, casting, statuary, and sculpture; and for the improvement of manufactures and machines of various descriptions. They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America, and bestowed premiums on the settlers who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, and various other productions of that country. These, and many other improvements, formed the plans of the society.

The London artists had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, the duke of Richmond provided a large apartment in Whitehall, for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving, and furnished it with a collection of busts and antique statues from Rome and Florence. Here any learner had the liberty to draw, or take models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists; and twice a-year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in basso-relievo. Considerable prizes also were bestowed by Mr. Finch and Mr. Townshend upon the two senior bachelors of arts, and the two middle bachelors, in the university of Cambridge, who should compose the best exercises in Latin prose, to be recited in public.

Sir John Barnard, that able magistrate and representative in three septennial parliaments, who had gained the esteem of the citizens of London so much, that they had, many years since, erected a statue under the piazza of the Royal Exchange to perpetuate his memory, and to signalize their gratitude for the many services he had rendered to the city; being now worn out with the infirmities of nature, resigned his gown as alderman of London, when the thanks of the court were presented to him for his honourable discharge of his public duty.

The success of the British arms had now removed the fears of the people. At the intelligence of the conquest of Louisbourg, Cape Breton, and the Isle of St. John, the court regained the national confidence; The city in particular, and its environs,

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were highly gratified, and addressed the king in a full body ; to which his majesty returned a gracious answer. In September a fire burst out in Wapping, by which twenty houses were consumed, and considerable damage done in the neighbourhood. In the same month another fire broke out at Limehouse, but was got under with only the loss of four houses. An extraordinary instance of longevity in a lion occurred this year in the Tower of London : he died, aged 68 years, and had been presented by the states of Barbary to James II.

The establishment of the Marine Society, by voluntary contribution of the citizens and merchants of London, for the purpose of more effectually manning the navy, appeared in so favourable a point of view to the court of common-council, that they ordered 500*l.* to the support of that society. Mr. Bray and Mr. Roberts having been fined 600*l.* each to be excused serving the office of sheriff, not having intended to persist in their contempt of the common hall, by which they had inadvertently incurred the penalty of 200*l.* each, were remitted that fine by the order of the court. The court next took into consideration the petition of the apothecaries residing within the freedom of the city, setting forth the scarcity of journeymen in their profession, and that it was impossible to carry on the business, without license to employ journeymen who had not taken up their freedom of that city ; which scarcity they attributed to the number of apothecaries who had gone on board his majesty's fleets. It was resolved that the apothecaries of and in the city of London were permitted to employ foreigners as journeymen to the end of the war, and for twelve months after that period.

In the beginning of the year 1759, the court of London was overwhelmed with the news of the death of the princess dowager of Orange and Nassau, gouvernante of the United Provinces in the minority of her son. She was the eldest daughter of his Britannic majesty, and was possessed of many excellent accomplishments. She died universally respected, as she had exercised her authority with sagacity and resolution. The royal family of England also suffered another loss in the course of this year, by the decease of the princess Elizabeth Caroline, second daughter of his late royal highness Frederic prince of Wales : she was of the most amiable character, and died at Kew before she had attained her 18th year. His royal highness George prince of Wales, eldest son of the late Frederic prince of Wales, who was the eldest son of king George II. being arrived at the age of 21 years, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, addressed his majesty on the occasion, and next day waited upon the



the prince of Wales at Saville-house, and addressed him also by the recorder. They then proceeded to Leicester-house, where the recorder, in their name, addressed the princess dowager of Wales, his mother. To all which addresses they received answers highly flattering to their feelings.

A committee was held in June for carrying on the act of parliament for building a bridge across the Thames from Blackfriars, from which they delivered to the court of common-council a representation, under the hands of six aldermen and twenty commoners, that the opinion of the committee was, that the bridge should be built of stone; that the expenses of it would amount to 120,000*l.*; that proper avenues to it might be purchased for the sum of 24,000*l.*; that a sum not exceeding 144,000*l.* should be immediately contracted for, and raised within the space of eight years, by instalments not exceeding 30,000*l.* each year; with other resolutions tending to promote the building of the bridge with ease and elegance. At another court these affairs were all agreed upon.

The lord-mayor now called a common-council, in order to raise a voluntary subscription for bounty-money to such persons as should enter into the king's service, to supply the drafts of men necessary to be sent over to Germany to defeat the designs of the enemy in that quarter. On this occasion the city subscribed 1000*l.*; and a committee of twelve aldermen and twenty-four commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall to dispose of the money; and, as a further encouragement, all persons so entering were to be entitled to the freedom of the city at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should end. Sir James Hodges, the town-clerk, was ordered to wait on Mr. Pitt with the resolutions, and to desire him to inform his majesty of the same; and some of the committee were desired to wait upon lord Ligonier, to desire him to send proper officers to Guildhall, to receive such persons as should be enlisted. His majesty, through Mr. Pitt, returned his thanks to the city of London for this testimony of their zeal and affection. A subscription was immediately opened at Guildhall, and, by offering five guineas to each man, great numbers immediately offered themselves and were enlisted. In June 1760, the subscription amounted to 7039*l.* 7*s.*; and 1235 men were enlisted.

The war being carried on with great effect, and Quebec being taken, upon the receipt of the news the metropolis expressed the greatest joy and satisfaction. The guns were fired; bonfires, illuminations, and all other demonstrations of pleasure,

were given; the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, being introduced by Mr. Pitt, congratulated his majesty on the occasion. To which address the king returned a gracious answer.

In November a fire broke out near the east side of the Royal Exchange; but the wind setting westerly, the flames were diverted from that noble building, but spread down into Cornhill and into Freeman's-court. Thirteen good houses were destroyed, and many more, with St. Bennet Fink's church, greatly damaged. But a more tremendous fire burst forth in December, from a cabinet-maker's in King-street, Covent-garden, which, with a southerly wind, made its way through Rose-street, and others adjoining, into Long-acre, and, besides consuming thirty houses and more, burnt and buried many persons in the ruins. The country this year had to regret the loss of that celebrated musician George Frederic Handel, who was a native of Germany, but had studied in Italy, and settled in England, where he had resided above half a century.

The city of London having suffered much in its trade and population, by the great improvements and extensive building which had been carried on; and foreseeing that when the new bridge at Blackfriars should be finished, there would be as it were a new town arise, it was judged expedient to enter upon some measures to prevent the merchants from deserting the confined and narrow streets of the city. For that purpose they proposed to enlarge the narrow streets, and to lay open new ways, and purchase old buildings and land, which might be necessary for this purpose. A bill was accordingly brought into parliament to improve the city, according to a plan laid down. The inhabitants of Westminster had long been in want of a fish-market; a bill was brought forward for preventing the abuses of fishmongers, and entitled, "An Act for the better supplying the Cities of London and Westminster with Fish, and other Provisions of that Kind." In the month of February there was a terrible storm of rain and wind, by which many houses were blown down, and trees torn up by the roots; the shipping on the Thames also sustained considerable injury. In the same month also three houses were burnt at Shadwell-dock. Another fire happened in Thames-street in the month of April, the day on which the earl Ferrers, a man of a most violent disposition, and acknowledged to be insane by his acquaintances, was carried from the Tower to take his trial in Westminster-hall, for the murder of his old and faithful steward. The fire was occasioned by the neglect of a servant, who, hearing that the earl was passing by, left some combustibles in an oil-shop to which he belonged, in order to see the procession; before he could return he found  
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the shop on fire, which communicated with the neighbouring houses, seven of which it destroyed, and very much damaged the church of St. Magnus. The earl was found guilty, and the sentence of death was passed upon him; he was ordered to be hanged at Tyburn on the 5th of May following. On the 2d of May the sheriffs of London and Middlesex received a writ for this nobleman's execution; and, at the same time, a writ was delivered to the lieutenant of the Tower, for the delivery of his lordship's body. On the 5th of May, the sheriffs and under-sheriffs went to the outward gate of the Tower at nine in the morning. His lordship ascended his landau, and the procession began with a party of horse and foot, Mr. sheriff Errington and his under-sheriff in a chariot; his lordship, accompanied by Mr. sheriff Vaillant, and the rev. Mr. Humphreys, the chaplain of the Tower, escorted by two other parties of horse and foot; Mr. sheriff Vaillant's chariot with his under-sheriff, a mourning-coach and six with friends, and a hearse and six, concluded the procession. His lordship behaved with ease and composure; his dress was light-coloured, embroidered with silver. The earl had applied to the king for permission to be beheaded, as his ancestor the earl of Essex had been in the reign of queen Elizabeth, particularly as he had the honour of quartering his majesty's arms; but this request he was denied. His lordship, at the scaffold, refused to give any account of his religious principles, and ascribed the act for which he was to suffer to a disorder of his brain. The gallows was covered with black baize, and his lordship alighted, and ascended the scaffold with great composure: he repeated the Lord's prayer with the chaplain, and added, with great energy, "O Lord, forgive me all my errors, pardon all my sins." They then put on his white cap and halter, and presenting his watch to Mr. sheriff Vaillant, he thanked him for his civilities, and signified his desire of being buried at Bredon, or Stanton, in Leicestershire. - At a signal given, the stage fell from under his feet, and he remained suspended an hour and five minutes: his body was then carried to Surgeons'-hall by the two sheriffs for dissection, and was afterwards put into a coffin with this inscription, "Laurence earl Ferrers suffered May 5th, 1760." On the 8th, in the evening, his lordship's friends received the body for interment.

The committee appointed to manage the undertaking for a new bridge over the Thames at Blackfriars, at length gave the preference to a plan from the design of Mr. Mylne, a young architect, a native of North Britain, just returned from the prosecution of his studies at Rome, where he had gained the prize in that capital,

which the academy of that city bestowed on him who should produce the best and most useful plan on a subject of architecture. The place being already ascertained, the lord-mayor of London, Sir Thomas Chitty, knt. attended by the committee, and a great concourse of people, repaired to Blackfriars, and laid the first stone of the bridge, placing upon it a plate, with an inscription to the right honourable William Pitt.

The committee of city-lands were, in the month of June, empowered to carry into execution the act of parliament for widening and improving the several streets in the city, with instructions to proceed as soon as possible, by forming an opening at the east end of Crutched Friars into the Minories. Amongst other regulations, it was thought necessary to pull down the city gates, and by that means let in the air more freely, and to make a more commodious way for carriages of every kind. The different gates were put up to sale; Aldgate sold for 151*l.* 10*s.* Cripplegate for 91*l.* and Ludgate for 148*l.*: the conditions were, that they were to be pulled down and taken away within a specified time by the purchaser.

On Midsummer-day, William Hart, esq. was fixed upon to serve the office of sheriff for the year ensuing. The citizens and inhabitants of the environs were dreadfully alarmed at this time with a report that had rapidly spread, that the plague had burst forth in St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark. This rumour had been circulated with such positive certainty, that it became necessary for the physicians and apothecaries of the hospital publicly to contradict it, by inserting a certificate in the Gazette. The season this year proved so hot, that many dogs were seized with hydrophobia, and bit the inhabitants in various parts in such a manner, that the magistrates were obliged to issue orders to have all dogs muzzled and kept up for a certain time. In September there was a most violent hurricane of wind, which tore up many trees by their roots in Hyde park, St. James's park, Moorfields, and in the adjacent country; besides much injury which it did to many houses, and the shipping on the Thames.

Intelligence arrived about this time of the conquest of Canada; and, on the 18th of October, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, waited on his majesty to address him on the subject. To which address the king returned a gracious answer.

On the 25th of October, in the 34th year of his reign, and 77th of his age, died his majesty king George the Second; he was seized early in the morning, at his palace at Kensington, by a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart, which ended  
his



his existence in a few hours. It is not our province to expatiate on the character of this great monarch, whose memory must be always held dear to this country. He was the support of that system by which the liberties of Europe, and the power of these kingdoms, could only be preserved.

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### GEORGE III.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of the late monarch, Mr. Pitt repaired to Kew, and communicated the tidings to his new sovereign George the Third, who ascended the throne in the twenty-third year of his age. The privy-council assembled, and next day his majesty was proclaimed in presence of the great officers of state and the nobility, the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city attending. The proclamation was repeated in different parts of the metropolis, which universally resounded with joy and acclamation. The king was first proclaimed before Saville-house, from whence the heralds proceeded to Charing-cross. The procession then moved to Temple-bar: the gate being shut, the lord-mayor, with the aldermen and sheriffs, waited within; and, after the usual formality of demanding admittance, the gates were opened, and the procession moved to the south end of Chancery-lane, where the proclamation was again read, and thence proceeded through the city. The proclamation was read at the south end of Wood-street, Cheap-side; and again at the Royal Exchange, where the ceremony ended. The guns in St. James's park and the Tower were discharged, and illuminations, &c. concluded the day. On the day following, the justices within the Tower hamlets, by order of the lord-lieutenant of the Tower, went in carriages, attended by proper officers, to Shadwell market, Ratcliffe-cross, Norton Folgate, Spital-fields market, Shoreditch, and Bethnal-green, and at each of those places proclaimed king George III.

His majesty addressed the council assembled, regretting the loss of the late king, relying upon the advice and assistance of their lordships, and declaring his wishes to prosecute those measures which had been adopted during the last reign. This declaration being made, all public fears about a change of ministry and principles subsided, and the nation looked forward with satisfaction to the bright prospect before them. Addresses were delivered from every part of the kingdom; that, in particular,

particular, from the city of London, expressed the hopes of a perseverance in those measures which had placed the nation in so honourable a point of a view. After the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, had waited upon his majesty, they paid their respects to the princess dowager of Wales; and Sir William Moreton, the recorder, made their compliments to her royal highness.

In the Michaelmas term, a trial came on in the court of King's Bench, Guildhall, by a jury of freemen, who were to determine the right of the city to toll in the markets, which it had been found difficult to collect. The citizens of London were plaintiffs, and Edward Smith and Ralph Troyford, salesmen in Newgate market, defendants, for the sale of provisions exposed before their houses in the said market; and between the said plaintiffs, and John Cope salesman, defendant, for the sale of provisions exposed in White Hart-street, an avenue or passage leading to Newgate market; when in each of these cases the jury gave a verdict for the citizens of London.

The freedom of the city was voted to Sir John Philipps, bart. M. P., for the firmness and independence of his conduct in parliament, and his maintenance of the rights and privileges of his fellow-subjects, he having joined with Mr. George Cooke one of the knights of the shire of the county of Middlesex, in managing the business of the city of London; to which gentleman also the freedom was given. As at this court the motion had been made on a sudden, before the members of the common-council could have due notice of such a proceeding, they debated the question afterwards very warmly; and as they considered the matter as a motion taken by surprise, they came to the unanimous resolution, "that thenceforward no person should have the freedom of the city voted to him, unless the motion for the same be made at one court previous to putting the question for the granting the same."

The tide on the 2d of February flowed so slowly, that the water in the Thames at high tide was not sufficient to cover the sterlings, and several persons waded over the bed of the river both above and below the bridge at low water. The windmill belonging to his majesty at Deptford was agitated with such velocity by a high wind, that it was impossible to be stopped, and took fire from the motion, which consumed the mill, and a great quantity of flour.

The citizens of London soon perceived that the ministry which the late king had left were not likely to continue long in place; a French faction had crept in,  
and.





*Flag ship.*

*Digger did!*

VIEW of BLACK-FRIARS BRIDGE.

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and had so far carried weight, that they had induced the favourites at court to listen to measures of pacification, contrary to the general sense of the nation. The time limited for the duration of parliament after the king's accession being now expired, according to an act made in the last reign, new writs were issued for a general election on the 21st of March. On this occasion five candidates stepped forward for the city of London; and, by the declaration of the sheriffs at Guildhall, on the 2d of April, the numbers stood thus: for Sir Richard Ladbroke, *knt.* 4306; Sir Richard Glynn, *bart.* 3285; William Beckford, *esq.* 3663; hon. Thomas Harley, 3983; Sir Samuel Fludyer, *bart.* 3193; upon which the four first were declared duly elected. The committee for the city now began to pull down Moorgate and Aldersgate; on which day Moorgate sold for 166*l.* and Aldersgate for 91*l.*

No revolution had yet taken place, since the king's accession, of any consequence, in the religious, civil, or military administration. Secker filled the metropolitan see; lord Henley was the chancellor, lord Mansfield maintained his seat in the King's Bench, and judge Willes in the Common Pleas. The ministry and cabinet underwent no material alteration, except in the accession of the earl of Bute, who had succeeded the earl of Holderness as secretary of state for the northern department, and was supposed to stand with Mr. Pitt as joint pilot at the helm of administration. The duke of Newcastle still directed the treasury; earl Granville presided at the council, lord Anson at the board of admiralty, and earl Temple kept the privy seal; while Mr. Legge acted as chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Charles Townshend was secretary at war, and Mr. Henry Fox paymaster; the duke of Devonshire was lord-chamberlain, and the duke of Rutland master of the horse; earl Talbot had the office of lord-steward, and the earl of Halifax was lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The command of the army in Great Britain rested with lord Ligonier; the marquis of Granby had the command of the German army; and Sir Jeffery Amherst of that in America. At this period the strength of Great Britain appeared in all its glory.

The Tories having exerted their endeavours to degrade those men who had brought the country to this state of prosperity, were continually forming parties in favour of the French proposals, and the interest of Mr. Pitt visibly declined at court. His firmness rendered him so obnoxious to his enemies, that no steps were left untried to dismiss him from his majesty's councils. Mr. Pitt, perceiving that his measures were disregarded, and that he could no longer serve his king and country with

with credit and honour, in pursuing his steps to humble the power of France, resolved to resign the seals, which he did accordingly in October 1761: upon which the king immediately settled upon him a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, and conferred upon him the title of baron of Chatham, with succession to his heirs male, and the dignity of baroness of Chatham on his wife. No minister was ever more regretted. On the 22d of October, the court of common-council resolved that their thanks should be given to this able minister, for the many services he had rendered to the nation. It was apprehended that this resignation would have a powerful influence on his majesty's councils in regard to war, and encourage the enemy to renew negotiations for peace. The city of London, at the same time that they addressed Mr. Pitt on his resignation, gave the administration the strongest assurances of their support in the war, provided an honourable peace could not be obtained. They at the same time urged their representatives in parliament to obtain the repeal or amendment of the late act for the relief of insolvent debtors, with respect to the inconveniencies which arose from a compulsory clause, by which a door had been opened to frauds and perjury, and if continued, must become the destruction of all public credit. They recommended to them also to concur in all measures necessary for the economy of the national treasure, and to prevent abuses. These measures demonstrate the spirit of the city of London, and the part which that corporation took in public affairs.

On the 24th of October, a fire in Swallow-street consumed fourteen houses, and destroyed many valuable commodities. But a more formidable one burst forth on the 4th of May, at a biscuit-baker's, near Pelican-stairs, in Lower Shadwell, and consumed thirty-four houses, and eight barges and lighters, which, with the goods on board, amounted to the value of upwards of 50,000*l.*

At a court of common-council in May, it was resolved unanimously, that the freedom of the city should be presented, in a gold box, to the right hon. Arthur Onslow, speaker of the house of commons, for his disinterested labours and upright conduct during the thirty-three years which he had been in office. At another court, held in June, the freedom of the city was also presented to his royal highness Edward Augustus duke of York and Albany, rear-admiral of the blue, in a gold box of 150 guineas value, in testimony of the affection of the citizens to their sovereign. On the 15th, it was resolved unanimously, at a court of aldermen and  
common-



common-council, to present an address to the king on the conquest of Belleisle; which was done accordingly. The king returned a gracious answer.

On the 29th of this month, the new city-road was opened from Islington to the Dog-house bar, in Old-street; it forms an easy communication with the northern road through Marybone, into the great northern road. The road was not to be less than forty feet wide at the least, and that part of it leading from the Dog-house bar to the end of Chiswell-street, by the artillery-ground, was not to exceed fifty feet in width. Tolls were to be erected at the pleasure of the trustees. This road also opens an easy and pleasant communication with two great roads from the Royal Exchange; the northern road through Islington to Highgate; and with the western road across the south end of Islington, and through Marybone.

His majesty having demanded in marriage her most serene highness Charlotte princess of Mecklenburgh Strelitz; that princess embarked at Cuxhaven, and the king having signified his intentions that she should land at Greenwich, both sides of the Thames were for several days lined with innumerable multitudes, and the river covered with vessels. The princess landed at Harwich on the 7th of September; the king met her at Romford, and conducted her to London, where illuminations took place, and the guns were fired, while addresses were poured in from every quarter; but the ceremony of coronation still remained. Westminster-hall was prepared for the coronation banquet, and a platform was raised between this hall and the abbey church, where the king was crowned. Immediately upon the coronation, which took place on the 22d of September, the court of claims met in the painted chamber, and allowed the claims of the lord-mayor of London and Oxford to execute the office of chief butler on that occasion. The streets and avenues were filled with spectators, and the benches were filled with above 200,000 persons.

The nuptial ceremony of the king and queen was solemnized on the 18th of September 1761, previous to the coronation, by Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, in the chapel royal, to which her majesty was handed by the duke of York, the king's brother. On this occasion the city of London, in common-council assembled, addressed his majesty and the queen, each member dressed in blue mazarine silk gowns, pursuant to an order of a court of aldermen and commons. To which address they both returned gracious answers.

Sir Samuel Fludyer, the new lord-mayor, being elected after the usual manner, in the room of the late mayor Blakiston, sent an invitation to their majesties, re-

questing the honour of their company at Guildhall at dinner. On which occasion, it being lord-mayor's day, their majesties honoured his lordship with their presence. The procession of carriages and splendid equipages was superb; at the close of which Mr. Pitt, coming in a chariot, was hailed with the most hearty acclamations. The royal family were conducted by the sheriffs to Guildhall, at the entrance of which they were received by the lord-mayor, who kneeling, presented the city sword to the king, which being returned, it was carried before his majesty to the council-chamber, where the compliments of the city were made, and where his majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on Nathaniel Nash and John Cartwright, esqrs. the two sheriffs, and on Thomas Fludyer, esq. brother to the mayor. From thence the royal family proceeded to the hustings, where a magnificent entertainment was given, superior to any thing of the kind ever known in this country.

Although every attention was paid, and every luxury of the season produced, yet the court were dissatisfied, and the court minions caused much discontent in the royal bosom, from the distinction which was evidently paid to Mr. Pitt and lord Temple. These patriots, who rode in the same chariot, were scarcely passed through Temple-bar, before they were discovered, although wishing to be concealed; and such was the acclamation of praise from every part through which they passed, that it was a continued shout from thence to Guildhall, which the ministers misinterpreted into a token of disaffection, if not indignity to the king; and from this period an increasing dislike appeared towards the city of London. In a court of common-council, however, in November, a motion was made and agreed to, that his majesty's statue be erected in the Royal Exchange amongst those of his predecessors, and that the pictures of the king and his royal consort be put up in Guildhall, in the city. Another motion was also made, that fit and able persons be employed to make the statue, and to draw the pictures; and that an humble application be made to their majesties, that they would do the city the honour to sit for their pictures. A committee being appointed, they waited on their majesties separately for that purpose; and at the same time Sir Samuel Fludyer, the lord-mayor, expressed the grateful sense which the city had of the condescension which their majesties had shewn in honouring the late entertainment with their presence. Their majesties received the committee in the most gracious manner, and expressed their satisfaction at the entertainment. They assured the committee that they would sit for their pictures,  
which



which they soon after did; and sent them to Guildhall, where they were placed over the hustings. The statue of the king was also placed by the side of his grandfather in a niche in the Royal Exchange.

In the year 1762, in the month of January, war was declared against Spain with the accustomed ceremonies. On the 7th of this month, a terrible fire broke out in a granary in St. Saviour's-dock, which damaged many houses, and did great injury besides. On the 12th, a violent storm of rain and wind very much injured the craft and shipping in the river, some houses were blown down, and many lives lost. The Thames rose so high, that the gardens at Millbank, Westminster, were laid under water.

An idle tale, which alarmed the town to a very considerable degree, was in this month the subject of general conversation. A girl of about twelve years of age pretended to have intercourse with an invisible spirit, which was supposed to be that of a woman deceased. The girl, under the directions of her parents, conducted herself in so artful a manner, that she prevailed on several clergymen, and other respectable persons, to credit and support her folly. On the 30th of February, between eleven and twelve at night, a gentleman was sent for to the house of a person named Parsons, the officiating clerk of St. Sepulchre's parish, in Cock-lane, near West Smithfield, to be witness to noises, and other extraordinary circumstances, which attended the supposed presence of a spirit, which, for two years past, had been heard in the night, greatly to the terror of the family. The narrative, as it was at that time published, proceeds as follows:—In 1759, one Mr. Kent employed an agent to carry a letter to a person in Norfolk, a female of respectable family; and if she consented to come, to bring her up in a post-chaise. She came; but Mr. Kent being at Greenwich, she followed him to that place, and was then received by him with every mark of attention. After a short stay at Greenwich, it was thought necessary that she should make a will in his favour; she was removed to a lodging near the Mansion-house, from thence to lodgings behind St. Sepulchre's church, and lastly, to a house in Bartlet's-court, in the parish of Clerkenwell. Here, in 1760, being taken ill of the small-pox, she died; meanwhile, on the 31st of January, her sister, who lived in a respectable situation in Pall Mall, was made acquainted with her place of residence and illness, and being pleased at hearing of her, went instantly to see her, and found her in a fair way of recovery. Next day she went again, and received a favourable account; but, on the morning following, intelligence was brought to her that her sister

ter was dead. She died on February 2, 1760, and was buried a few days after, at the church of St. John's, in Clerkenwell, her sister attending the funeral, who was surpris'd at not seeing a plate on the coffin, and express'd that surpris'e to Mr. Brown after the funeral, lamenting at the same time that she had not been permitted to see her sister's corpse, the coffin being screwed down before she came. She added, that Kent had ruined one of her sisters, and had married another, who was buried by an assumed name, as appeared by the parish-register. By the will above mentioned, Kent came into possession of her fortune, to the prejudice of her brothers and sisters, who all lived in perfect harmony till this unhappy affair took place. Such is the account given by Mr. Brown, of Amen-corner. A worthy clergyman, however, who attended her several times, and who administered to her during her last moments, declared that the small-pox which had seized her, was pronounced by the gentlemen of the faculty to be of that sort, that her recovery was impossible. It was the ghost of this person that Parsons declared had taken possession of his girl, a child about twelve years old, who had slept with the deceased in the absence of her supposed husband, when he was in the country at a wedding about two years since, and then it was that the knocking was first heard, to the great terror of the child, who continually was crying that she might not be carried away. This woman soon after died, whose apparition was now supposed to appear to this child; and in answer to a question put to her one night, what was the occasion of the first knocking, and other noises before she died? answered, that it was the spirit of her sister, the first wife of Mr. Kent, who was the husband of both. The gentleman, who was already sent for, attended, and found the child in bed, and the spirit being at hand, several questions were put to it by the father. The gentleman procured some friends together, among whom were two or three clergymen, about twenty other persons, and two negroes; and, as he was fearful lest his own judgment should err, they sat up another night. Having examined the bed and apartments, and finding nothing which could lead to a suspicion, they put the child to bed, who was observed very much to tremble. Many questions were then put, whether her disturbance was occasioned by ill treatment on the part of Mr. Kent? The answer she returned was, Yes. Whether she died by poison?—Yes. In what the poison was administered; in beer or purl?—Answer. In purl. How long before her death?—Three hours. Was she Kent's wife's sister?—Yes. Was she married to Kent?—No. Whether others assisted in her death?—No. Whether she would follow the child every where?—Yes.



Yes. Whether she could go out of the house?—Yes. Whether her mind was eased at being asked questions?—Yes. At this time a mysterious noise, compared to a fluttering of wings round the room, was heard. It was afterwards asked her, whether her mind would be at ease if the person were executed who was accused?—Answer, Yes; and how long would it be before that took place?—Three years. How many clergymen were in the room?—Three. How many negroes?—Two. At what time would she depart in the morning?—At four o'clock. And at that hour the noise was removed to the Wheatsheaf, a public-house, at the distance of a few doors, in the bedchamber of the landlord and his wife, to the great terror of them both. Such was the manner of interrogating the spirit; the answer was given by knocking and scratching. An affirmative was a knock; a negative two. Displeasure was expressed by scratching. On the night of the 1st of February, many gentlemen of rank and character were invited by the Rev. Mr. Aldrich, of Clerkenwell, to assemble at his house for the examination of the noises supposed to be made by a departed spirit for the detection of some enormous crime. About ten at night the gentlemen met in the chamber of the girl supposed to be disturbed, and who had been carefully put to bed. They remained near an hour, and hearing nothing, interrogated the father of the girl below stairs, who denied having the least knowledge of any fraud. The supposed spirit had before publicly promised, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, where the body was deposited, and give a token of her presence there by a knock upon her coffin; it was therefore resolved to make this trial of the existence of the spirit. While they were deliberating, they were summoned into the girl's chamber, where the knocks and scratches were then heard. The girl declared that she felt the spirit like a mouse upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed. From that time, though the spirit was solemnly required to manifest its existence, yet no evidence of power was exhibited. The spirit was then required to attend to the promise made of striking the coffin. The company at one o'clock repaired to the church; and the gentleman, to whom the promise was made, with one more, descended into the vault: but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but could draw no confession from her. It was therefore the opinion of the whole party, that the child had some art of counterfeiting particular noises, and that no other agency was employed. This affair was soon after discovered to be a contrivance for the purpose of revenge on Mr. Kent,

who

who had sued for a small sum of money which he had lent, and could not otherwise recover from one of the parties concerned. Mr. Kent then indicted Parsons and his wife, the parents of the girl; the Rev. Mr. Moore, and a reputable tradesman, for a conspiracy in the affair of the Cock-lane ghost to injure his character. The trial came on before the lord chief justice Mansfield, in Guildhall, by a special jury, when, after a hearing of twelve hours, the conspirators were found guilty and punished. The clergyman and another were brought to the bar, and severely reprimanded; and having compromised the affair, by paying a sum of money, they were dismissed. Parsons was imprisoned for two years, and put in the pillory three times in one month; his wife was imprisoned one year, and Mary Frazier sent to Bridewell for six months. We have been thus particular in this foolish story, as it engrossed the public attention for some time, and shews the credulity of the people, whose minds are at all times influenced by superstitious extravagancies.

In February the banks of the Thames were so much overflowed, that many casks, and other articles of merchandise, were swept away from wharfs and quays, and the prison-yard of the Borough comptroller was some inches under water. In March the tide rose so high, that it flowed into Westminster-hall.

Martinico, the most considerable of the French sugar-islands, being taken by conquest, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, presented an address to his majesty on the occasion in the month of April. They were graciously received by the king, who returned a flattering answer.

An act of parliament was passed this sessions, for the better supply of fish for the London markets.

On the 12th of August the queen was happily delivered of a prince: this great and important news was made known to the city by the firing of the Tower guns. Just after her majesty was safe in bed, the waggons with the treasure of the Hermione entered St. James's-street, from whence the procession went on to the Tower. On the occasion of the birth of this prince, now prince of Wales, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, waited on his majesty with compliments of congratulation.

At ten at night, on the 24th, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning began, accompanied with heavy rain: it continued till near four o'clock of the next day. The stream was so large in Ludgate-hill, that it spread over the whole street; several lives were lost, and many houses forced down.

In this month the intentions of the new ministry, to sacrifice the advantages they had



had gained under Mr. Pitt's administration, publicly appeared. On the 30th, the negotiation with France was so far advanced, that the French duke de Nivernois was nominated to repair to London, invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Great Britain. The minister informed the lord-mayor of this circumstance, in a letter for that purpose, dated the 30th of August, in which it mentions that duke's arrival, and the departure of the duke of Bedford for Paris, in a similar capacity.

On the 8th of September, a dreadful fire burst forth in Newgate prison, which consumed all the apartments, damaged the chapel, and a house adjoining. Two prisoners perished in the flames.

The Thames on the 27th rose to a surprising height, and drove the ships at their moorings together, in a most furious manner, but did little damage.

The conquest of the Havannah being made public, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, presented an address to the king on the occasion.

On Michaelmas-day, which was the time appointed for the election of a lord-mayor, a powerful party was formed for the purpose of ejecting Mr. alderman William Beckford from that high office. On the 28th, the day before the election, Mr. Beckford, despising the paltry means adopted to oppose him, voluntarily threw up his gown as alderman. His request was, however, postponed, and he was next day elected lord-mayor for the year ensuing; there being eighteen votes in court for alderman Beckford, and only one for Mr. Bridger, who was returned with him by the common-hall.

A high tide on the 27th caused the rivers within twenty miles of London to swell so prodigiously, that a similar circumstance was not recollected within the memory of man, and the damage which was sustained was incredible. In less than five hours, the water is said to have risen twelve feet perpendicular. About Stratford, West Ham, Plaistow, Waltham Abbey, and along the marshes, it proved very fatal to the inhabitants: most of their cattle were carried off. From the nearest computation, 50,000 hogs were supposed to have been lost. Several persons lost their lives on the high roads, and many machines were overturned. The houses from Bow-bridge to Stratford were all overflowed, and the inhabitants obliged to get out of the windows.

The preliminaries of peace being signed, that event was signified to the lord-mayor on the 8th of November; and on the 1st of December, the cessation of arms was proclaimed

proclaimed at the Royal Exchange, much against the wishes and approbation of the London citizens. These measures were solely ascribed to the earl of Bute, who, since the resignation of Mr. Pitt, had now entirely presided at the helm, and enjoyed the royal favour in a manner that no minister since the earl of Clarendon had ever possessed. The duke of Newcastle had been compelled to resign in the latter end of May 1762, at the close of the session. He nobly refused a pension which was offered to him, declaring, that if he could no longer serve his country, he would not be a burden to it. The dismissal of this minister, who had ever been distinguished for his zeal and attachment to the house of Hanover, and who had impaired his fortune, and devoted his life to that cause in which he had engaged, gave great disgust to the whole Whig party, while the insatiable avarice of power in the new minister was easily discovered, and detested. Mr. Pitt, who had been his grace's rival for many years, as well as his associate, now united to oppose the earl of Bute, who had adopted measures so contrary to their ideas, and the sense of the nation at large. The duke of Devonshire also indignantly resigned his office of lord-chamberlain, and was, by the king's own hand, struck out of the list of privy-counsellors. The earl of Hardwicke retired. The duke of Grafton, lord Ravensworth, and lord Ashburnham, now ranged themselves on the side of opposition. The duke of Northumberland succeeded the earl of Halifax in the government of Ireland, and Mr. George Grenville was advanced to the secretaryship vacated by the earl of Bute; but soon after lord Halifax took the seals, and Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the administration. The summer months passed over in angry discontent.

In September, the lord-mayor held a wardmote in Bow-church, when Henry Bankes, esq. was elected an alderman, in the room of William Alexander, esq. deceased, of Cordwainer ward; and in the same month, Mr. alderman Chaloner, and Mr. Bankes, were sworn into the offices of sheriffs of the city and county of Middlesex.

The year 1763 opened with several fires. On the 6th of January, one broke out in the burial-vaults of St. James's church, Westminster, and consumed many dead bodies. On the 11th, a china-shop and several other houses were destroyed in Fleet-street. On the 15th, a large glass-warehouse and glass-house were destroyed. In Spital-fields two houses were burnt down, and several more damaged in the neighbourhood. One in the Strand, which began in a milliner's house, near Somerset-house,



house, communicated with the contiguous buildings, and, after raging for many hours, was supposed to have subsided; but next day broke out again, and did infinite damage. It was computed, that thirty fires had burst forth since Christmas-day. On the 15th of February, the tide rose so high in the Thames, that many parts of Westminster were overflowed; and below the bridge, the inhabitants of Tooley-street and Wapping were obliged to keep in their upper apartments. A riot took place at Covent-garden theatre, on account of full price being required at the opera of Artaxerxes. The damages which the mob occasioned were calculated at 2000*l*.

On the 22d of March, the definitive treaty of peace was proclaimed at the usual places. At this time, as a bill was depending in parliament to subject the makers of cyder and perry to the excise laws, the court of common-council resolved, that a petition should be presented to parliament against the bill, and instructions were given to the members accordingly. A petition on the same subject was also presented to the king and house of lords. On the 18th of April, the two ambassadors extraordinary from the Venetian republic made their public entry through the city to Somerset-house; they landed from Greenwich at the Tower, and proceeded to Somerset-house, where they were entertained at the royal expense, till they had an audience with his majesty.

On the 29th of April, John Wilkes, esq. member of parliament for Aylesbury, was taken into custody by a warrant from the secretary of state, for writing a libel in a paper called the North Briton, No. 45, and was next day brought up to Westminster-hall, when he was remanded till May 6th, at which time lord chief justice Pratt, afterwards lord Camden, proceeded to give the opinion of the court. He declared the commitment of Mr. Wilkes to be not in itself illegal. The court was of opinion, as to the second objection, that there was no necessity for the specification of those particular passages in the 45th number of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel. As to the third head, the chief justice admitted, that the privilege of parliament was violated in the person of Mr. Wilkes, for the privilege of parliament could be forfeited only by treason, felony, or breach of peace; but Mr. Wilkes stood accused of only writing a libel, which did not come within that description. At most, it had only a tendency to disturb the peace, and was not sufficient to destroy the privileges of a member of parliament. The court then discharged Mr. Wilkes, against whom a prosecution was immediately commenced by the attorney-general,

and he was dismissed from his command as colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia.

On the 6th of May, a terrible fire broke out at the house of lady Moleworth, in Upper Brook-street, Grosvenor-square. Her ladyship and her brother, with two daughters and five servants, perished in the flames; three other daughters broke their limbs, by jumping out of the windows. The servants were much injured, and one killed; and Dr. Moleworth, with his lady, who were on a visit, narrowly escaped. The governess was killed, but providentially the flames were confined to this house alone.

On the occasion of the publication of peace, the citizens of London were so hostile to the measure, that it was with the utmost difficulty that a cavalcade of eight aldermen could be obtained, in order to address his majesty. The lord-mayor refusing to accompany them, Sir Charles Asgill was the locum tenens. The common-council unanimously refused to address the king. As the procession passed through some parishes, they were saluted with hissings, and the bells were tolled; whilst others rung a dumb peal.

The king's birth-day was celebrated every where with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Illuminations took place in all parts of the city. The populace on Tower-hill repaired there in such force, that the rails which surrounded a well giving way, numbers of the multitude fell in together, about thirty feet deep, by which accident six were taken out dead, fourteen died of their wounds, and many were bruised in a most dreadful manner. On the 23d of June, a fire broke out in King-street, Rotherhithe, which entirely consumed sixteen houses, and many smaller buildings. In July, a terrible fire broke out in Shadwell, and consumed eighty-seven houses, besides other buildings: it also did much damage to the parts about Wapping. About twelve o'clock at noon, on the 19th of August, the sky was so much overcast, that the darkness in and about London was greater than that of the eclipse in 1748. It was expected that some earthquake would follow, as the same appearance preceded the last earthquake at Lisbon; but fortunately no such dreadful event took place.

The queen being delivered of a prince, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, waited on his majesty with an address, to which they received a most flattering answer. In September, a fire broke out in Shadwell, and consumed thirty-six houses, and did other injury. A new lord-mayor being elected, Mr. Beckford, the present lord-mayor, addressed the livery in very manly terms.

Upon



Upon the meeting of parliament on November 15, Mr. Grenville, the minister, knowing that Mr. Wilkes intended to prefer a complaint of the breach of privilege committed in his person, declared, that he had a message from the king to deliver, which imported that John Wilkes, esq. was the author of a scandalous libel, and that he had been apprehended to take his trial in course of law. The house upon the question voted the number 45 to be a gross libel, tending to alienate the affections of his majesty's people, and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. Mr. Wilkes now made his complaint to the house, of breach of privilege; but the question was obliged to be adjourned, as Mr. Wilkes had fought a duel with Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, from whom he had received a challenge, in resentment for the freedom with which his character had been treated in a former number of the North Briton, and had been dangerously wounded, so as to be unable to appear in his place on the day appointed. In pursuance of the former sentence, the sheriffs of London attempting to execute the order of the house of commons, for burning the 45th number at the Royal Exchange, the paper was rescued from the hands of the executioner, the peace-officers were attacked, and the sheriffs themselves put in danger of their lives. Mr. Harley, one of the sheriffs, and member for the city, was wounded, and the executioner, with the constables, made a retreat. The North Briton was however burnt in part; the remains of it were rescued from the flames, while the mob carried it off in triumph, and in the evening displayed it at Temple-bar, where they made a bonfire amidst the loudest acclamations. Notwithstanding the votes, addresses, and resolutions of the two houses, which were regarded as empty sounds in Westminster-hall, Mr. Wilkes brought his action against lord Halifax for seizing his papers, and, on the 6th of December, after a hearing of fifteen hours, before lord chief justice Pratt and a special jury, he obtained a verdict of 1000*l.* damages and full costs of suit.

In January 1764, the houses, shipping, and trees, in and about London, were greatly damaged by a violent storm, in the height of which a dreadful fire broke out and destroyed seven houses near Hyde-park-corner. The citizens of London paid their compliments to the king, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest sister, the princess Augusta, with his serene highness the prince of Brunswick Lunenburg. They afterwards waited on the princess dowager of Wales at Leicester-house. From thence they proceeded to Saville-house, and congratulated the prince of Brunswick; and then returned to Leicester-house, where they waited on



the princess of Brunswick Lunenburg. On the 25th, his majesty went to the house of peers, and gave his royal assent to a bill for naturalizing the prince of Brunswick.

At the same time, in the house of peers, an accusation was brought forward against Mr. Wilkes, which alleged that he had violated the sacred ties of religion, by privately printing a pamphlet, entitled "An Essay on Woman." This persecution of Mr. Wilkes served only to increase the resentment of the public, who regarded him as a victim devoted to ruin by the vengeance of government, and whom it was therefore incumbent on them to countenance and protect. In order to express their abhorrence of the proceedings on this occasion, the common-council, in February, ordered their thanks to be presented to their representatives in parliament, for their endeavours to protect the rights of the subject, by attempting to obtain a parliamentary declaration, "that a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law; and to exhort them, in the strongest manner, to persevere in their duty to the crown, and to secure the houses, persons, and papers, of the subject from arbitrary and illegal violations." At the same time it was resolved, "that as the independency and uprightness of judges are essential to the impartial administration of justice, and one of the best securities to the rights and liberties of the subject, this court, in proof of the sincerity of their ideas of the firmness and integrity of Sir Charles Pratt, lord chief justice of the court of Common Pleas, should direct that the freedom of the city be presented to his lordship, and that he be requested to sit for his picture, to be placed in Guildhall, in gratitude for his honest decision on the validity of a warrant, which had been frequently produced, but not debated upon, in the court of King's Bench, by which he has eminently distinguished his duty to his king, his justice to the subject, and his knowledge of the law." The example of the city of London, in thanking and instructing their representatives in regard to general warrants, and in thanking lord chief justice Pratt, and presenting him with the freedom of the city, was followed by a great many corporations and private companies in England.

A libel upon the laws of the land at this time was burnt by the common hangman before the gate of Westminster-hall, and at the Royal Exchange; it was published under the title of "Droit le Roy." It was a dangerous essay, and had been thus condemned by both houses of parliament.

The frequent fires which had so greatly damaged the metropolis of late years, were attributed to the modern manner of building; this matter had now become the ob-



ject of a parliamentary consideration, and the legislature passed an act for the better regulation of buildings, and particularly of party-walls: it enacted, that all party-walls should be for the future two bricks and a half for the cellar, and two bricks thick upwards to the garret floor, and from thence one brick and a half thick at least, eighteen inches above the roofs or gutters which adjoin such party-walls; that the same should be built of stone, or of sound burnt bricks; that no timbers, except the girders, binding joists, and templets under them, should be laid into the party-walls. These, with other regulations, were established under a penalty of 50*l*. A reward was also offered to any one who should bring in any engines to extinguish fires, although it were an engine not belonging to the parish.

On the 7th of March, Sir Thomas Harrison waited upon chief justice Pratt, and presented to his lordship the freedom of the city in a gold box, pursuant to the order of the common-council; to which his lordship returned a most grateful and flattering answer.

It is a privilege of the court of aldermen to license stock-brokers acting within the cities of London and Westminster, for which license the broker pays a considerable fine. In order to avoid this expense, several attempts had been made to evade and get clear of this appointment. An action was therefore brought by the city against one Joseph Ferdinando Silva, an acting non-licensed broker, and the cause was tried before lord chief justice Mansfield, when Silva was cast in the penalty of 450*l*. for acting as a stock-broker, he not being admitted to that business by the court of aldermen.

On the 9th of April, a large body of silk-weavers assembled in Moorfields, to the amount of many thousands, and proceeded in a very quiet manner to both houses of parliament, then sitting, and presented a petition, in which they stated, that from want of employment they dreaded the misery of starving. Their scarcity of work they attributed to the increase of the use of foreign silks, which were continually imported into the metropolis, and other parts of Great Britain. They therefore requested the assistance of parliament, to prohibit the importation of all foreign silks.

In the month of June, St. Bride's steeple was much damaged by lightning, and many injuries were sustained in different parts of the metropolis. In the month of August, about 6000 Palatines, or German protestants, who had been brought into this kingdom by a German officer pretending to be in the service of his Britannic majesty,



majesty, with a promise that they were to be sent to settle immediately, at his own expence, in the islands of St. John and Le Croix, in America, were landed in the greatest distress at the port of London, through some mistake or incapacity of the contriver of this scheme. The citizens of London were no sooner acquainted with their situation, than they flew to their relief, pitched tents for them behind White-chapel church, and relieved them in every particular. A large subscription for them was raised; they were well clothed and fed; physicians and surgeons were appointed to attend the sick, and warm apartments were procured for them. The committee of gentlemen chosen to manage the subscription, received a gracious answer from the king, to whom they applied, purporting that the Palatines should be sent to, and established in, South Carolina, and that 150 stand of arms should be delivered out for their use.

In September, the tide again flowed so high, that in some places it rose two feet in the ground-floors on shore, and caused much injury to the shipping. In November, a fire broke out in Aldersgate-street, which did considerable damage. On the death of Sir Thomas Harrison, seven candidates started to succeed him in the office of chamberlain of London, when alderman Jansen was elected. The lord-mayor summoned the publicans under his jurisdiction, for selling beer in pots not sealed with the city mark, according to law, when numbers paid the penalty. The court of common-council voted the freedom of the city, in a gold box, to the duke of Gloucester, and the grocers presented his royal highness with the freedom of their company.

The weavers being again fearful lest they should not receive the aid of parliament, a number of their journeymen, on the 1st of May, with a black flag carried before them, accompanied by their wives and children, proceeded to St. James's, to represent to his majesty their distressed condition for want of employment, occasioned by the importation of French silks and other goods. Their majesties being gone to Richmond before they reached St. James's, the greater part of them went to that place, where one of the lords in waiting brought them word from the king, that he would do all in his power for their relief. The lord-mayor and court of aldermen, at Guildhall, having intelligence of the motions of the weavers, sent orders to suppress any riot which they might occasion. On the 16th they assembled again, and went to St. James's, and imagining that the effect of their petition had been prevented by the duke of Bedford, they proceeded in a violent manner to Bloomsbury-square, where the



duke resided, with threats of vengeance. It now became necessary to send the military to prevent their designs, who quickly dispersed them; but in the morning of the 17th, they assembled in Spitalfields by beat of drum, to the number of 30,000 and more; whence, in large bodies, they proceeded to Westminster. One corps took the route of Gracechurch-street and London-bridge, from whence they passed over to St. George's-fields. Another corps marched along Ludgate-hill, and the Strand; while the third proceeded by way of Holborn and Covent-garden. When united again in Westminster the crowd was so great, that the members could with difficulty get to their respective houses. All Old Palace-yard, New Palace-yard, and the adjoining streets, as far as Westminster-bridge, were filled with these people, besides an innumerable body in the park: they behaved with the greatest respect to the different persons whose carriages they stopped on their way to the house, and only requested their assistance. A body of the horse and foot guards was drawn up in a line before Westminster-hall, to clear the passage for the members. The multitude continued assembled till near four o'clock, when, being informed by their heads that handbills would be distributed on the following day to alleviate their fears, and to take every step for their advantage, they were recommended to separate peaceably, and began their march home again, so that by five the streets about Westminster-hall were nearly cleared of them. Sir John Fielding, and other justices, had attended at the new Guildhall all the time; at which place there was a conference held between the chiefs of the weavers, to the amount of 400, their masters, and the mercers, when it was agreed by the latter to recall all their contracts for foreign goods, and to set the journeymen instantly to work. But although this produced a good effect, yet they talked of getting the watermen to join them; a body of them went to Bloomsbury-square, where they pulled down part of the walls before the duke of Bedford's house, ploughed up the ground in the middle of the square, and did other damage. The horse-guards being sent for, they were pelted with large stones, and in return their horses trampled many of the mob to death: these outrages continued during a great part of the night. Another body proceeded to Mr. Carr's, a silk-mercier on Ludgate-hill, where they demolished the windows, and did other mischief. The lord-mayor, attended by the sheriffs and other officers, repaired to the spot, where the mob was informed that the riot-act would be read. His lordship then retired to the Globe tavern, in Fleet-street, and there attended. At nine in the evening a strong body of horse and foot were drawn up before Mr. Carr's house, but the night passed without  
any



any further disorder. A party of the guards from the Tower did duty all night of the 16th, at Moorfields ; and another party at Spitalfields, where some houses had been demolished. On the 17th, a larger body of the guards marched from Hicks's-hall to Moorfields. One Jones, a Welchman, was the principal orator of the weavers : he received the message when they were at St. James's. After which, he drew off his comrades to the Green park, and signified to them what had passed from a tree : he also harangued them from Old Palace-yard, persuading them to disperse, and acting with much decorum.

About this period, under the administration of Mr. George Grenville, who had succeeded the earl of Bute in office, was framed that act, so pernicious in its consequences to Great Britain, entitled, " An Act for imposing a Stamp Duty on the British Colonies of North America," which received the royal assent on the 22d of March 1765. It is not within our province to enter into a detail of the circumstances which attended this act ; suffice it to say, that it caused such commotions in America, that the king of England thought proper on the occasion to dismiss his ministers. The marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury, and some of his lordship's friends succeeded to the vacant places ; Mr. Pitt and the duke of Newcastle refusing to assist, unless they could, as Mr. Pitt declared, " carry the constitution with them." Mr. Dowdeswell, a man of talents and inflexible integrity, was made chancellor of the exchequer ; the earl of Northington was confirmed in his post of chancellor of Great Britain, and lord Egmont also as first lord of the admiralty ; lord Winchelsea succeeded the duke of Bedford as president of the council, and the seals were transferred to the duke of Grafton, while general Conway conducted the business of government in the house of commons ; the earl of Hartford, brother of the general, succeeded the duke of Northumberland in the government of Ireland.

Upwards of sixty houses were destroyed by fire in the month of May, in Limehouse ; and, in the same month, a numerous body of the clergy met at Sion College, to enter into a subscription for the relief of the widows and orphans of poor clergymen within the county of Middlesex. A dreadful fire in the month of June burst forth in a mast-yard near Rotherhithe church, and consumed, by the parish accounts, two hundred and six houses ; but the wind shifting before the flames reached the shipping, providentially little injury was done in that quarter. The fire was occasioned by the overboiling of a pitch-kettle. Large contributions  
were



were made in the city for the relief of the sufferers, which even exceeded their losses. In the month of August, at Limehouse, another fire broke out, which burnt both sides of the way, and consumed eleven houses, besides damaging many others. About this period, the inhabitants of London were much alarmed by many incendiary letters, which had been dropped in different parts of the city, threatening fire and destruction; several trains of gunpowder had been discovered for that purpose, and some of the incendiaries had been taken into custody.

On the 21st of August, her majesty having been safely delivered of a prince, afterwards duke of Clarence, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, waited on the king to congratulate him upon the occasion. The answer to this congratulation from his majesty was but ill received by the new ministry, who imagined themselves to be highly reflected upon by some part of it.

On the 18th of October, about nine o'clock at night, an extraordinary phenomenon appeared in the air over the city of London. A strong light was first seen on the gravel and paved walks of the Temple, bright enough to discover any small substance. A globe of red fire descended from a great height over Temple-bar, and vanished on the Southwark side of the water. At a court of common-council, held in October, it was resolved to grant the freedom of the city, in a gold box, to his serene highness the hereditary prince of Brunswick; and, on the 22d of this month, they agreed to grant, as a benefaction to the society of arts and sciences in the Strand, the sum of 500*l*. Monopolies were risen to such a height at this time, that the very retailers of milk, in and about the metropolis, attempted to raise the price of that commodity from three-halfpence to twopence-halfpenny a wine quart, which they purchased at a penny Winchester measure; and in some parts they carried their point, though the price was afterwards settled at twopence the quart.

At a numerous meeting of the grand jury, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, at the town-hall, they instructed their representatives, Sir Joseph Mawbey and Mr. Thrale, to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the exportation of all sorts of grain, which had caused so great a scarcity of the necessaries of life, and, in consequence, the total stagnation of many valuable branches of the manufactures.

On the 31st of October, between seven and eight in the evening, his royal highness William duke of Cumberland died suddenly, at his house in Upper Grosvenor-street. His royal highness was at court in the morning, dined with lord Albemarle

in the afternoon, and drank tea with the princess of Brunswick at St. James's, from whence he proceeded to his own house in the evening, to be present at a council of state affairs. As soon as he entered the house, he complained of a pain in his shoulder, with a cold and shivering fit, and expired in about twenty minutes after. On opening the body, a coagulation of extravasated blood was found in the right ventricle of the brain, about the size of a pigeon's egg, which was the cause of his death. All the noble parts were found except the membrane between the lobes of the brain, which was ossified. His royal highness gave away nearly 6000*l.* per annum in private charity. He was the youngest of the numerous family of George II. and was a native of England, not being born till after the accession. By the victory of Culloden, he established the liberties of his country, and fixed the crown of these realms on the head of his father beyond all danger of future attempts.

In November, lord Camden gave his opinion upon the granting of general warrants by secretaries of state, which case had been argued during three terms: his lordship declared, that it was the unanimous opinion of the court, that such warrants, except in cases of high treason, were illegal.

The court of common-council having referred to the commissioners of sewers and pavements, the consideration of the most effectual way to obviate the complaint of bad pavements, and other nuisances, within the limits of the city's jurisdiction, they made their representation accordingly; they attributed these nuisances to the rough and irregular pavements of the principal streets, which were continually mended with bad materials, and patched up by the inhabitants themselves. The channels in the middle of the streets made it dangerous, from their depth, for carriages to pass over. The servants, and other inhabitants, from their custom of throwing out ashes, rubbish, and broken glass, offals, earthenware, and other offensive things, stopped the currents of the channels, and made the streets dangerous, besides being prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants. The passages of some of the leading streets were frequently obstructed by the loading and unloading of waggon, stage-coaches, and country carts, and by the washing of casks and barrels in the highway. The footways not being much raised above the level of the streets, were much covered with mud, and overflowed continually with water, which rendered them disagreeable, and a nuisance, from the accumulated dirt, which the servants neglected to clear away, before the houses. The posts intended for the security



curity of the passengers, considerably lessened the passage on both sides. The footways were encumbered with goods and packages, and narrowed by the projection of the shop-windows and show-boards, or the more dangerous encroachments of vaults and cellar-doors. The daily increasing rivalry in the size and projection of signs, obstructed the free passage of the air, and, in times of high wind, often proved dangerous, in rainy weather were always an annoyance to the passengers on foot, and at night intercepted the light of the lamps. The foot-passengers were always greatly incommoded in rainy weather, by the water which was conveyed from the tops of old houses through spouts into the streets. From the want of the streets and courts being properly marked and distinguished, and the houses regularly numbered, strangers found great difficulty in discovering the places or persons to which they had occasion to resort. To obviate the objections which might arise from the fear of the expense attending these proposed regulations, and which could only be defrayed by a new tax, it was proposed that a moderate tax, little exceeding the average of the ordinary repairs at the time, might, by borrowing a sum of money upon the credit of it, be sufficient to answer the charge of all necessary repairs for many years to come, and that the retail trade by this means would be recovered and preserved. The estimate of the expense of altering all the pavements from Temple-bar, proceeding eastward up Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, Ludgate-street, round the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard, along Cheapside, the Poultry, Cornhill, Leadenhall-street, and home to Aldgate church, amounted to 16,860*l.* 10*s.*; an estimate of the expense of relaying the old Guernsey pebbles, and using Purbeck step for the curb, throughout the foregoing streets, from Temple-bar to Aldgate church, was laid at 10,512*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; a tax of one shilling in the pound upon the rents of the front houses, which was found to amount to the sum of 47,800*l.* and upwards, would raise the yearly sum of 2390*l.* which, with the small contribution of those houses which do not front the streets, was estimated at 150*l.* per annum, making the total tax 2540*l.* The interest of 17,000*l.* which was more than the larger estimate required, at four per cent. would amount to the yearly sum of 680*l.*; the future annual repairs estimated at 400*l.* and the proportionate shares of the salaries of officers, surveyors, &c. at 200*l.* made the total annual charge to be 1280*l.* A plan was adopted, and soon put into execution.

In the beginning of the year 1766, the city being much alarmed by the scarcity of corn, arising from its exportation to France and Holland, the court of aldermen

petitioned the house of commons, to put a stop to that growing evil which threatened the country with famine. The neighbourhood of Ratcliffe-crofs was again, a third time within the year, visited with fire. It began in the house of Mr. Whiting, an ale-brewer, on the south side of Queen-street, and destroyed all the premises, and six more houses.

His majesty having given his assent, in March, to an act of both houses of parliament for the repeal of the American stamp-act, many merchants of the city of London assembled on that occasion before the house of lords, and made a most brilliant and numerous appearance, to express their thanks and satisfaction. The ships in the river displayed their colours, numbers of houses in the city were illuminated, and every demonstration of joy and gratitude was publicly shown. In the month of May, his majesty having given his royal assent to the bill to prohibit the importation of foreign silks and velvets for a limited time, several thousand weavers went to St. James's, with drums and colours, and music, to testify their gratitude on the occasion. At the same time his majesty gave the royal assent to the bill for paving and improving the streets of London, in which the sole power for that purpose was vested in the lord-mayor and commonalty of London, to be executed by such persons as they should appoint in common-council assembled; the commissioners of the sewers were to be constituted commissioners for carrying the act into execution. The recorder and common serjeant for the time being, were appointed commissioners, and seven commissioners formed a quorum. The commissioners appointed clerks, surveyors, and other officers, and had the power of discharging them as they thought proper for any offence; and if they were found guilty of exacting, were compelled to pay 50*l.* penalty. Non-freemen were allowed to be employed in paving, cleansing, &c. and might contract for the performance of the work. No common-councilman could be concerned in any contract. The commissioners might cause all streets, lanes, yards, and alleys, to be new paved, and every obstacle to be removed. Cranes were to be kept close to the walls of warehouses; and no waggon, for the purpose of loading or unloading, was to remain in the streets for more than one hour, nor any cart or goods to obstruct the free passage of the streets, under a penalty of 40*s.* The penalty for driving any kind of carriage or barrow on the foot-pavements was, for the first offence, 10*s.*, 20*s.* for the second, and 40*s.* for the third. The names of streets were to be described or painted in stone, or otherwise, at each end or entrance of  
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the streets, and the houses to be numbered ; the penalty for obliterating or defacing them to be, for every offence, 40s. The pavements were to be repaired on complaint ; and when water-pipes were broken, the ground must be filled up within four days after, upon the penalty of the pavior of the water company to whom the pipes belong, paying 5*l.* or the owners of such pipes not belonging to the water company paying 40s. The water companies were to pay the expense of new laying the pavement when the pipes were broken. The expense of alteration in the pipes was to be defrayed out of the monies arising by virtue of the act, and lifts of the turncocks were to be delivered to the housekeepers. The commissioners were empowered to water the streets as often as they should think fit, and to have wells sunk, and pumps erected, in proper places ; and dust-holes to be made for the reception of the dirt and filth of the inhabitants, till it could be taken away by the respective scavengers. The forfeiture for offending contrary to this clause to be 10s. The footways were to be cleaned daily by the occupiers of houses, under the penalty of 2*s.* The commissioners were to direct the manner of setting up the lamps ; and also were at liberty to place the private lamps as they thought fit. The property of the pavements was vested in the lord-mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, and all actions and indictments were to be preferred in their name. After September 1766, rates were to be collected half-yearly, or oftener, as the commissioners should think fit to order, and not to exceed 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, in any one year for any house, &c. in any street begun to be new paved, and 1*s.* in the pound for such as were not so situated. Relief might be obtained by application. The several aldermen of the city were empowered to examine poor's rates and land-tax books ; duplicates to be made out and signed, and collectors to be chosen annually ; 50*l.* penalty for any one refusing to serve, and the party still liable to serve any year following, under the same penalty if refusing, with particular exemptions. Inmates, or occupiers of houses or tenements, to pay the rates, but allowed the same out of their rents by the owners. Public buildings, hospitals excepted, were to be rated at 4*d.* a square yard, and dead walls at 6*d.* a yard, running measure. St. Paul's Churchyard to be rated by the alderman of Castle Baynard ward, at such rate as the common-councilmen should think fit, not exceeding 1*s.* 3*d.* by the year for every square yard of the pavement. Warehouses, wharfs, &c. not to pay more than two thirds of the rates before directed. The commissioners were empowered to borrow on the rates 100,000*l.* by annuities on lives, at 8*l.* per cent. to be paid  
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by four equal quarterly payments during the full term of the natural life of the annuitants being of the age of forty-five years, or upwards. The annuitants were not liable to taxes, and the securities were transferable: the money borrowed was charged on the rates, and persons chargeable towards these rates were not liable to any former rates. For the better carrying this act into execution, the tolls were to be taken at gates erected at Mile-end, Bethnal-green, Hackney, Kingsland, Ball's-pond or Pound, Islington, Holloway, St. John's-street, the end of Goswell-street, and the turnpike on the City-road. At a court held at Guildhall on the 16th of May, commissioners were chosen. The chief clerk's salary was 100*l.* per annum; first assistant clerk 60*l.*; junior 50*l.*; surveyor 200*l.*; three surveyors 60*l.* each. The commissioners having adjusted the preparations for so capital an undertaking, immediately applied to parliament for leave to pull down what obstructed the free air, and to make and widen such streets as should be found necessary. In consequence of an act passed for that purpose, the city-walls and gates were taken down, and razed to the ground; narrow passages were widened, free air was admitted, and new streets formed out of the old; signs and post-irons were all taken down, and every impediment removed.

In the month of July, an unsuccessful effort was made to effect an accommodation between the Whigs who were in, and those who were out of office; and an interview took place between lord Rockingham and lord Chatham. Mr. Pitt being introduced to the king, his majesty told him that he put himself entirely into his hands. Mr. Pitt immediately applied to lord Temple; but the latter, finding that Mr. Pitt was to be absolute master, refused to join in his administration, as Mr. Pitt dreaded that the predominance of the Grenville interest in the cabinet would totally overthrow his plans of government. In the latter end of the month, the duke of Grafton, who had some months before resigned the seals, was now appointed to the high office of first lord commissioner of the treasury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne secretary of state, in the room of the duke of Richmond; Mr. Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer; and Mr. Pitt, afterwards created earl of Chatham, was appointed lord privy seal; but that eminent statesman's acceptance of a peerage, as it removed him from the house of commons, greatly lessened his weight and influence. Lord Townshend was appointed viceroy of Ireland. Lord Rockingham retired from office with an unfulfilled character; the numerous addresses to this nobleman, from the different towns and cities throughout the



the kingdom, sufficiently proved the high sense entertained of his services. The merchants of London trading to the West Indies and North America, expressed their sentiments in a manner truly flattering and respectful.

The watermen's company having suffered much loss in their property, by the destruction of the ferry to which they were entitled for the help and relief of their poor, from the building of Blackfriars-bridge, the committee for the building of that bridge agreed to transfer the sum of 13,650*l.* 3 per cent. bank annuities, which produced 409*l.* 10*s.* per annum, to the watermen's company, which they were to receive annually, in consideration of the ferry. About two o'clock in the morning of the 5th of the month of August, there happened, in London, one of the greatest storms of thunder, lightning, and rain, that ever occurred in the memory of man. The scarcity of corn at this time increased so much, that it produced a royal proclamation to prevent the exportation of that article, and to lay an embargo upon all ships and vessels laden in Great Britain with wheat. Another proclamation was also made, prohibiting all distilleries from working till the 14th of the following November. These proclamations not having the desired effect, another was issued, ordering an additional embargo to be laid on all ships laden with barley or malt, and a further extension of that upon wheat and wheat-flour.

The queen having been delivered of a princess on the 29th of September, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, waited on his majesty, to congratulate him upon that event. The princess was christened by the name of Charlotte Augusta Matilda, and has since been married to the king of Wirtemberg: she was princess royal of England. At a court of common-council, on the 10th of November, the city voted 500*l.* for the relief of the sufferers by fire in the island of Barbadoes. Towards the end of December a violent frost began, which continued very severe till the 16th of January following, when it had the appearance of breaking up, but increasing, did not remove till the 22d; during its continuance, the distresses of the poor were truly great; fuel, and other necessities of life, were remarkably dear. The river Thames was so much frozen as to stop navigation, various melancholy accidents happened, and many cattle perished.

The earl of Chatham, notwithstanding the ideas he had flatteringly indulged on his re-elevation to the pinnacle of power, soon found himself in an embarrassed situation. He was losing his popularity from his acceptance of a peerage; and his breach with lord Temple, who had been his confidential friend and adviser, excited  
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in his breast the greatest uneasiness. A powerful opposition was formed against him, and his health visibly began to decline. He now perceived the necessity of a partial coalition, with one or more of the political parties combined against him, however disunited they might be amongst themselves. The earl of Chatham had an interview with the duke of Bedford, which terminated according to his wishes. Having thus far succeeded, his lordship no longer scrupled to risk an open rupture with the Newcastle or Rockingham party, ever the object of his secret aversion. Upon the dismissal of lord Edgecumbe, the duke of Portland resigned, with other ministers. These resignations lord Chatham proposed to supply by his coalition with the Bedford party; but larger concessions being demanded than he thought them entitled to expect, the negotiation broke off. His lordship was now considered as being reconciled to the system of the court, but this was an unfounded opinion; the great and efficient offices of the government were still in the hands of the Whigs.

On the 5th of January 1767, about a quarter past ten at night, an uncommon change of weather happened in London. The evening, which had been uncommonly serene, on a sudden became very cloudy; and, in an instant, a burst of wind was heard, attended with a furious storm of hail from the north-east. Great damage was sustained near the Thames; boats were overset, and lives lost; chimnies were blown down; and the losses occasioned by this hurricane, which did not continue above two minutes, were computed at 50,000*l*. At a court of common-council, held on the 23d, it was resolved, that, on account of the distresses of the poor, 1000*l*. should be subscribed out of the city chamber, and a subscription-book be opened for the donations of the charitable, for the relief of such poor as inhabited the city and liberties, and did not receive alms of the parish. A fire in the Strand broke out soon after opposite Hungerford-market; several lives were lost, and much injury sustained, besides the houses, which were burnt to the ground. The following account was taken from the clerks of the several markets about this time, of the number of cattle killed in the last year in the city of London: 711,121 sheep and lambs; 78,254 bullocks, cows, and oxen; 104,760 calves; 146,932 hogs for pork; 41,000 for bacon; and 52,600 sucking pigs.

The Gresham committee having been applied to by the lords of the treasury for a lease of their premises, in order to pull down that almost ruinous building, and to build an excise-office upon the site of it, the proposal was laid before the common-council,



council, who agreed to the plan, and appointed a committee to carry the same into execution. About the middle of the month, an accident happened at St. Clement's church, attended with very serious consequences. The churchwardens and overseers of the parish having received information that some of the coffins in the vault were robbed, went to examine it; while they were there, a spark dropped from a link, which setting fire to one of the coffins, the rest were consumed, and the flames continued burning till next day before it was discovered. The damage done was considerable, and it was supposed to be wilfully set on fire by the plunderers.

The company of tin-plate workers were at this period admitted a livery-company of the city; and about the same time Sir Nathaniel Nash, alderman of Castle Baynard ward, resigned his gown on account of ill health; and the honourable Charles Townshend was voted the freedom of the city, from his readiness in promoting the bill in parliament for improving the streets of London. In this session of parliament, two acts passed relative to the city of London; one for the regulation of parish poor children, the other for completing Blackfriars-bridge, and other purposes. By the first, it was regulated that all children born in or received into any workhouse within the bills of mortality, were to be nursed and taken care of in the following manner:—those under six years old were to be sent, within fourteen days from the 1st of July 1767, at least three miles into the country; those under two years, and not suckled by the mother, were to be sent within the same time to not less than five miles. Not less than 2*s.* 6*d.* per week to be paid, during the first six years, for nursing and maintenance; and afterwards, till the child be apprenticed or returned to the workhouse, not less than 2*s.* When a child of or under nine months old be sent to nurse, and live under the nurse's care a twelvemonth, the guardians are empowered, in case the child has been treated to their satisfaction, to pay the nurse 10*s.* exclusive of their former allowance. Clothing, and other incidental expenses, to be defrayed by the parish; and five noblemen, or respectable inhabitants of a parish, to be chosen as guardians every year. The children not to be apprenticed for more than seven years, or till of age. The apprentice-fee was fixed not to be less than 4*l.* 2*s.*

The act for completing Blackfriars-bridge, for redeeming the tolls on the bridge, and on London-bridge; for rebuilding Newgate; for repairing the Royal Exchange; for embanking the north side of the river Thames, and other things, ordered that the present gaol of Newgate be pulled down, and a new one erected on the spot: the

common-council were allowed the power to widen the streets and passages leading to it. The Royal Exchange was to be repaired by a joint committee of the city and the mercers' company; but no member of any committee was permitted to be concerned in any contract: for these purposes the sum of 150,000*l.* was to be raised upon the orphans' fund, the contributors to be entitled to redeemable annuities at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and bonds for the annuities, assignable by indorsements, to be given by the common-council. The fund for redeeming the toll of Blackfriars-bridge was to be further charged with the payment of the principal and interest of 144,000*l.* borrowed for the purposes of the bridge; and that the fund may be effectual to discharge the debt due to the orphans, and the above-mentioned 144,000*l.* together with the annuities payable for the 156,000*l.* the duty of sixpence a chaldron on coals, after the expiration of the term of thirty-five years, was to be continued for forty-six years longer; and for the further increase of the fund, the city revenues were to be charged with 1500*l.* per annum. The money to be applied thus:—58,000*l.* for Blackfriars-bridge; 7500*l.* for embanking the Thames; 30,000*l.* for purchasing London-bridge tolls; 50,000*l.* for rebuilding Newgate; and 10,000*l.* for repairing the Royal Exchange. The city was to pay 800*l.* per annum towards the Westminster pavement, and 480*l.* per annum towards the Borough pavement. The city to deliver bonds for securing the payment; but allowed to redeem the annuities on six months notice in the Gazette, at the rate of 100*l.* for every 4*l.* The tolls at London-bridge were to cease with those at Blackfriars, when the city should be reimbursed what they shall have advanced in payment of the annuities, or for the redemption of them, together with 4 per cent. interest. At the same common-council it was agreed, after a long debate, to allow the proprietors of the London-bridge water-works to occupy the fifth arch of that bridge, agreeably to the conditions contained in the report made to that court by the committee of the city lands, provided hereafter, that should that grant be found prejudicial to the navigation of the Thames, the city might revoke the grant, upon paying the proprietors the whole expense they might be at in occupying the arch.

The session of parliament did not terminate till late in the summer, when the want of cordiality among the ministers became more apparent; but although several plans were proposed for effecting a change, yet none were at present adopted.

An act passed during the last sessions of parliament, for amending and explaining several acts relating to hackney-coaches. All licensed hackney-coaches plying for



hire after the 1st of August 1767, were made liable to go, at seasonable times, any where within ten miles of London or Westminster. If hackney-coachmen misbehave, their license may be revoked, or they may be fined, not exceeding 3*l.* to go to the poor of the parish; and if not paid, they are to be committed to some house of correction for one month, and also to receive the correction of the house. The fare of the hackney-coach by one day is 12*s.* 6*d.* reckoning twelve hours to the day. Hackney-coaches are liable to do the like work on Sundays, as on any day of the week. In the month of September, an oil-warehouse, and several others, were consumed by fire in Eagle-street, Red-lion-square; there was another fire also in Turnmill-street; and a short time after one in Portpool-lane. The queen being safely delivered of a prince on the 2d of November, afterwards baptized by the name of Edward, now duke of Kent, on the 11th of the month, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, complimented his majesty in an address, in which they expressed their joy at the event, at the same time that they lamented the death of the duke of York, the elder brother of the king, who had died on the continent. To which address his majesty returned a very flattering answer.

The tide, about five o'clock in the morning, at London-bridge, and Greenwich, ebbed and flowed twice in an hour and a half, in the month of November. On the 30th of this month, that part of the town where the weavers inhabited was thrown into much confusion, from the animosity which had subsisted between those called engine weavers, and those who were narrow weavers. The cause of this misunderstanding arose from the decay of the narrow weavers' profits, by the lowering of the prices, which the engine weavers reduced very much by the quantity, which amounted to six times as much, which they could produce into the market, almost for the same wages, as a journeyman in the narrow weaving could do in a day; so that the narrow weavers came to a resolution to destroy all the engines. The narrow weavers armed themselves for self-defence, as they said, with pistols, rusty swords, and blunderbusses, and assembled in a large body, in the month of November, at a house on Saffron-hill, with the intent of destroying the work of several eminent weavers near that place. Their present attempt was, however, frustrated by the vigilance of the magistrates, and they dispersed. At a court of common-council, an addition to the salary of 200*l.* per annum was voted to the recorder from the increase of business in his office; at the same time they voted the sum of 150*l.* per annum to the common-serjeant.

The death of Mr. Charles Townshend, which happened this year, made way for Frederick lord North, eldest son of the earl of Guildford, a man as yet little known to the public, but who rose soon after to great eminence in the state. He succeeded Mr. Townshend in his office of chancellor of the exchequer. Although his notions of government appeared evidently of the tory cast, yet his temper was mild, equable, and pleasant. Lord Chatham, who had retired to his seat in Somersetshire, was now no longer consulted. The earl of Northington, who had occupied, amid the successive changes of five different administrations, the high office of lord-keeper, lord-chancellor, and lord-president, now broken in health, and weary of politics, declared his resolution to resign.

The year 1767 closed with a very severe frost, which, from its continuance, greatly distressed the lower orders of the people; an artificial scarcity considerably added to their calamities. The frost remained so hard, that below the bridge the Thames was covered with wrecks, and many lives were lost.

In Westminster, Moorfields, and on Snow-hill, the new year opened with fires, which, with the badness of the weather, from storms and floods, rendered the season truly deplorable. Nothing material occurred till the 10th of March, when his majesty dissolved the parliament by proclamation, and writs were ordered for a new election, returnable upon the 10th of May. On the 16th of March, the election for representatives for the city of London came on, when the right hon. Mr. Harley, lord-mayor, Sir Robert Ladbroke, *knt.* William Beckford and Barlow Trecothick, *esqs.* were put in nomination by the previous meeting of the livery; but Sir Richard Glyn, *bart.* and John Patterson, *esq.* offered themselves also as candidates. In a short time after, John Wilkes, *esq.* who had returned from France, and who had at that time appeared as an outlaw, made every effort to regain his seat, from which he imagined he had been unjustly expelled. It is very probable that Mr. Wilkes would have carried his election had he started sooner, before the majority of the livery had given their votes: upon a poll being demanded for the different candidates, the numbers stood thus upon the close:—for the lord-mayor, 3279; Sir Robert Ladbroke, *knt.* 3678; William Beckford, *esq.* 3402; Barlow Trecothick, *esq.* 2957; Sir Richard Glyn, 2823; John Patterson, *esq.* 1269; John Wilkes, *esq.* 1247; whereupon the first four were declared to be duly elected. Mr. Wilkes, upon the hustings, in his speech, declared his intention of becoming a candidate for Middlesex.



The Middlesex election being appointed for the 28th, Mr. Wilkes had used every effort, which his popularity afforded, to obtain his point, and even to bring in another member instead of the former one. The court party used all their influence to support Sir William Beauchamp Proctor and Mr. Cooke, while Sir William expended more than 14,000*l.* in the contest. As Mr. Wilkes's circumstances would not admit of any expense on his part, the freeholders paid for the coaches, and every thing necessary for the support of his interest, out of their own pockets. Mr. Wilkes was conveyed to Brentford, the place of election, in a coach drawn by six horses, attended by a prodigious concourse of people. At the close of the poll the numbers were, for Mr. Wilkes, 1292; Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, 807; George Cooke, esq. 827. The former and latter were of course duly elected. The mob at Hyde-park Corner behaved in a very outrageous manner; the old member and other gentlemen were violently assaulted, some carriages were broken, and others much damaged. At night the rabble was very tumultuous; they obliged the town, from east to west, to illuminate, and paraded the streets, breaking the windows of those who did not comply. The Mansion-house windows, and many pier-glasses, with a large chandelier, were demolished, to the amount of many hundred pounds. They broke every window in the houses of lord Bute, lord Egmont, Sir Sampson Gideon, Sir William Mayne, and many other gentlemen and tradesmen. The next day orders were given to the guards, on duty at St. James's, to be in readiness to march to suppress the riots. The day following, a court of common-council was summoned on purpose to suppress these riots, and fifty pounds were offered as a reward for the discovery of every offender, to be paid on conviction. It was referred to the Mansion-house committee, to order the immediate reparation of all such damages as that house might have sustained.

In the month of April, the tide in the Thames was so low, that it was with difficulty even a wherry could cross it. The sand-banks on both sides of London-bridge were entirely dry. A desperate affray took place at Wapping about this time, among several gangs of coal-heavers, in which many persons were wounded, and some houses destroyed.

On the 20th of April Mr. Wilkes appeared before the court of King's Bench, and declared his surrender. Westminster-hall was very full on the occasion, as well as the two Palace-yards; but the populace behaved with great decorum, as proper precautions were taken, by the civil and military powers, to prevent confusion. On the

25th a serious riot again took place at Wapping. A large body of coal-heavers assembled, and complaining that they were paid their wages in goods and liquor of a bad quality, they fought desperately, occasioned much bloodshed, and many lives were lost. On the 27th, Mr. Wilkes was ordered into custody, as the verdicts were given against him on both trials, and he was condemned to suffer two years imprisonment, to pay a fine of 1000*l.* and to find security for his good behaviour during the space of seven years. The multitude, enraged at this procedure, rescued him by force from the officers who were conducting him to prison, and carried him in triumph through the city, but through his entreaties were prevailed upon to refrain from other acts of outrage. At midnight, when the mob was dispersed, Mr. Wilkes again surrendered himself to the custody of the marshal of the King's Bench, in obedience to the laws of his country. Many persons being accustomed to assemble before the gates of the prison, it was judged expedient to send a military guard into the vicinity for security. On the 10th of May the new parliament was convened, and vast multitudes were collected about the King's Bench, and fields adjacent, under the idea of seeing Mr. Wilkes go to the house of commons. Having waited a long time in vain, they began to grow insolent and clamorous, and the justices of the peace who attended, after enduring much outrage and personal injury, began to read the riot-act; on which the people, highly exasperated, interrupted them by throwing showers of stones and other missile weapons. The soldiers, irritated in their turn, and impatient of attack, were now ordered to fire, and more than twenty persons were killed or wounded at the first discharge. Several of the military pursuing a supposed offender, most unfortunately, in his stead, shot one Allen, a youth who had taken no part in the affray, dead, in a hovel or cow-house belonging to his father, in the very act of imploring mercy. The soldier who shot him was committed for murder, but his associates were admitted to bail. Several verdicts were brought in, chance-medley. The soldier was afterwards tried at the Surrey assizes, and acquitted.

On the 19th thirty houses were consumed by fire at Dock-head; and soon after a terrible affray happened off Shadwell-dock, between the coal-heavers and sailors belonging to the colliers in the river, in which many were killed. On the 7th of June, another riot between these coal-heavers and sailors happened, wherein several of the latter lost their lives. The coal-heavers marched off in triumph, with colours flying and drums beating, and offering five guineas for a sailor's head. A party of guards constantly attended for some days on Wapping-wall. Two coal-heavers were afterwards



afterwards taken up for murder, and tried at the Old Bailey; being convicted, they were executed at Tyburn, as were seven others for the same crime. This example produced a happy effect, and the tumults ceased.

Mr. Wilkes was now brought to the court of King's Bench, Westminster-hall; and, soon after this period, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning happened in and about London, several lives were lost, and the water of the river Thames was so driven out of its usual channel, that one half of the bed of the river remained uncovered with water during two tides. Some terrible fires also burst forth; one in Aldersgate-street consumed a cabinet-maker's premises, the damages of which were computed at 20,000*l*. Another in the King's-arms-yard, near Holborn-bridge, was attended with very melancholy circumstances; many lives were lost amidst this distressing scene. In the month of August part of the Fleet-prison fell down; and in September the heaviest rain fell in London ever remembered; immense damage was done; the waters every where rose to a most alarming height; the canal in St James's-park was so filled, that it flowed to the treasury, and rendered that part impassable. Bagnigge-wells, Cold-bath-fields, Hockley-in-the-hole, and many other places, were quite overwhelmed. Upwards of forty small craft on the river were sunk, and many ships received much injury. Multitudes of cattle were destroyed, and every part of England sustained considerable damage. In the same month we have to relate more fires, in Grosvenor-square, Tooley-street, Smithfield, and the Strand.

On the 23d of September, his Danish majesty, who had paid a visit to this country, having previously condescended to dine with the lord-mayor; Sir Robert Ladbroke, *knt.* (*locum tenens* during the indisposition of the lord-mayor), together with the aldermen and sheriffs, attended by the city officers, set off from Guildhall for the Three Cranes. They embarked on board the city state-barge at eleven o'clock, and landed at the stairs leading to New Palace-yard, to receive and conduct his majesty on board. As soon as the king entered the barge, he was saluted with cannon and acclamations. After having sailed as far as Lambeth, in order to obtain a better view of the extensive city, they proceeded to the Temple, where his majesty landed, and partook of an elegant collation in the Temple-hall; after thanking the society for their polite reception and entertainment, the king was conducted to the city state-coach, and followed by a long train of carriages, was led to the Mansion-house, the streets through which he passed being crowded with throngs of people. At the  
Mansion-

Mansion-house his majesty was received by the committee appointed to manage the entertainment, who ushered him into the great parlour, where, after having rested a few minutes, Mr. Common Serjeant, in the absence of the recorder, paid him the compliments of the city. To which his majesty made a reply in the Danish language, which was interpreted by Mr. Deputy Patterson. The dinner was served in the Egyptian hall; and, after the repast, which was magnificent in the extreme, the king was re-conducted to the great parlour, where he was entertained with tea and coffee, and instrumental music. At eight in the evening, his majesty and retinue, after taking leave of the locum tenens and the corporation, were ushered into their coaches, the committee preceding with wax-lights. The king then returned to his apartments in St. James's palace amidst crowds and acclamations, and illuminations of every kind. Soon after the king of Denmark, in return, most magnificently entertained the lord-mayor, the members for the city, and others, at St. James's. His Danish majesty was also presented with the freedom of the city by the common-council, in a gold box of two hundred guineas value; which honour his Danish majesty received very graciously, and ordered the freedom to be transmitted to himself at Copenhagen, by his ambassador at London.

Fires again broke out in Devonshire-street, Red-lion-square; and a turpentine-house in Goswell-street was also consumed. On the 16th of October, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, waited on the king at St. James's, on the occasion of the birth of a princess; to which his majesty returned a gracious answer. On the 19th, the new bridge at Blackfriars was opened as a bridge-way, just two years since the opening the temporary bridle-way for foot-passengers. George Cooke, esq. one of the members for Middlesex, being dead, Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, knt. offered himself to succeed him, whilst the partisans of Mr. Wilkes supported John Glynn, esq. serjeant at law, who had been engaged in all the causes for Wilkes. The poll proceeded very quietly for some time, till a desperate set of villains, armed with bludgeons and other weapons, forced their way to the hustings, knocked down those who opposed them, and tore to pieces four of the poll-books, pulled up the hustings, and stopped the election. No lives however were lost. Affidavits were published, fixing the guilt of hiring the mob on Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, and his agents. The house of commons ordered the poll for a knight of the shire for Middlesex to be resumed, which was done on the 14th of December, when, at the close, the numbers were, for Mr. Glynn, 1542; Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, 1278; majority



rity for Mr. Glynn, 264, who was therefore declared to be duly elected. Mr. Glynn had conducted himself with the greatest propriety, and, in a spirited address, pledged himself to discover the authors of this atrocity. A fire in Limehouse, and another in Upper Thames-street, destroyed several houses at this time.

Towards the close of the year his majesty was pleased to institute, in this metropolis, a Royal Academy of Arts, to be under his majesty's own immediate patronage, and under the direction of forty artists of the first rank in their several professions. The principal object of the institution was to be the establishment of well-regulated schools of design, where students of the arts might find that instruction which had been so long desired in this country; for this purpose, a winter academy of living models of different characters was established, and figures, with all kinds of drapery both ancient and modern, and choice casts of all the celebrated antique statues, groups, and basso-relievos, were collected for the imitation of the students in the summer season. Nine of the most able academicians, annually elected from amongst the forty, were to attend these schools by rotation, to set the figures, to examine the performance of the students, to advise and instruct them, and to turn their attention towards that branch of the arts to which they seemed most inclined. A professor of painting, a professor of architecture, one of anatomy, and another of perspective, were appointed, who were annually to read a number of lectures publicly in the schools, for the purpose of instructing the students in the principles and laws of composition, to strengthen their judgment, to form their taste for design and colouring, to point out to them the beauties and imperfections of celebrated performances, and the particular excellencies and defects of great masters. A library of books of architecture, sculpture, and painting, and all sciences relating to them, with prints of basso-relievos, vases, trophies, ornaments, ancient and modern dresses, customs and ceremonies, instruments of war and arts, utensils of sacrifice, and all other things useful to students in the arts, was also established. The admission to all these establishments was to be free to all students properly qualified to reap advantage from such studies as were there cultivated. The professors and academicians, who instruct in the schools, have each proper salaries annexed to their employments; the treasurer, keeper of the royal academy, secretary, and all other persons employed in the management of the institution, have the same. That the effects of this royal institution might be conspicuous to the world, an annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and designs, was to be opened to all artists of distinguished merit, where they might offer their performances to

public view, and acquire that degree of fame and encouragement to which they might be entitled. As it is impossible for all artists to provide for their families at their decease, as from their circumstances in life they are not frequently in such a situation, his majesty allotted a considerable sum to be distributed annually for the relief of indigent artists and their families.

The year 1769 began with the introduction of Mr. Wilkes as an alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without, in the room of Sir Francis Gosling, bart. deceased. Mr. Bromwick, his opponent, a common-council-man, after having desired a poll, declined the contest at the end of two hours. At the issue of this election, the disappointment of the court party was so conspicuous, that they adopted every possible means to set it aside. Accordingly, on Tuesday the 17th of January, the court of aldermen at Guildhall took the subject into consideration, and resolved, that "casting up the poll after an adjournment had been mentioned, and declaring the candidate who had the majority after the other candidate had declined, was an undue election." A city officer also observed, that if the court of aldermen confirmed that election, they would subject themselves to a mandamus from the court of King's Bench. At another court of aldermen, the election of John Wilkes, esq. was declared to be void and illegal, and a wardmote was appointed to be held for a new election. On this occasion the city, and every part of the metropolis, was uncommonly agitated and incensed against the courtiers, in favour of Mr. Wilkes, who was rechosen without the least difficulty on the 27th. None could be found to be opposed to that gentleman, whose election was only void from want of a little formality. The lord-mayor, at the opening of the court for the new election, in a very candid manner declared, that the reason of the trouble which the inhabitants had again to experience, was entirely owing to his mistake, in making the declaration at the former election before the time limited for the poll was expired.

On the 25th of this month, a considerable meeting of the electors of Westminster took place at Exeter-change, who agreed to present instructions to their representatives in parliament, and they were accordingly given to the earl Percy and the honourable Edward Sandys. The instructions set forth, that the electors wished to have continued and confirmed to them their old constitutional rights of juries, to the general exclusion of proceedings by information and attachment; to promote a strict parliamentary inquiry into the transactions of the military in St. George's-fields on the 10th of May last; to promote a like inquiry into the riot and murders committed



committed at Brentford in December ; to examine into the administration of justice in this city and liberty, and particularly into the present state of the commission of the peace ; to promote an inquiry into the rights of the public to the territorial revenue arising from the conquests in India ; and particularly to promote a parliamentary inquiry into the case and grievances of Mr. Wilkes, and to vindicate and support the rights of the people who had chosen him their representative.

On the 4th of February, Mr. Wilkes was expelled the house of commons, and a writ ordered to be made out for a new election for the county of Middlesex in his stead. This produced a numerous meeting of the freeholders of the county, at the assembly-room at Mile-end, where it was resolved to confirm their former choice, by re-electing that gentleman. On the 16th, Mr. Wilkes was re-elected at Brentford, by the unanimous voice of above two thousand of the most respectable freeholders. Every thing was conducted with great good order, and subsequently, a large and respectable meeting was held at the London Tavern, of gentlemen in the interest of Mr. Wilkes, at which it was resolved, that a subscription should be set on foot to support the cause, when 3340*l.* was immediately subscribed, and a committee appointed to carry the subscription throughout this kingdom. On Friday, the 10th of February, a common-hall of the livery was held at Guildhall, for the purpose of entering into resolutions for the citizens of London to instruct their representatives at this important crisis. It was resolved, that the representatives should be recommended to use their endeavours, that cases of libels, and all other criminal matters, be confined to rules of law, and not rendered dangerous to the subject by forced constructions, new modes of inquiry, unconstitutional tribunals, or new and unusual punishments, tending to take away or diminish the benefit of trial by juries ; that they should carefully watch over the great bulwark of our liberties the habeas corpus act, and that they should inquire into, and censure any attempt to elude or enervate the force of that law ; that they should preserve equally the privilege of parliament, and the rights of electors in the choice of their representatives ; that they should not discourage petitions ; that they should endeavour to prevent the application of the public money to influence elections ; that they should give no countenance to the dangerous doctrine of constructive treasons, or the application of uncertain laws to this interesting object ; nor suffer ministers to have a vague and discretionary power of judging on, or prosecuting this offence ; and to oppose all measures tending to introduce modes of trial, which may render it difficult or im-

possible for the party accused to obtain justice ; that they would be particularly attentive to the interests of the manufactures and trade of this kingdom in all parts of the world, especially in the American colonies, and that they should endeavour to reconcile the difficulties subsisting between the two countries ; that they would be particularly attentive to the preservation of public faith, the sole foundation of public credit ; that they should use their utmost endeavours to put the civil magistracy of the kingdom on a respectable footing ; and by that means remove the pretence of calling in a military force, which might prove fatal to the nation, as it had to every surrounding nation ; that a strict inquiry should be promoted into the use which had lately been made of military power ; that the representatives should use their endeavours to promote a standing committee to be appointed to examine and state the public accounts ; if any demand should come before parliament for the payment of the debts of the civil list, that they would diligently inquire how those debts had been incurred to the prejudice of the subject and dignity of the crown ; that they would promote a bill for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners in the house of commons, for preventing the peers of Britain from interfering in the elections of members of parliament ; and that an oath to prevent bribery and corruption be not only taken by the electors, but also by the candidates at the opening of the poll ; that they would use their utmost endeavours to shorten the duration of parliaments ; and lastly, it was submitted to their consideration, whether a change in the present mode of election to that of ballot, would not be the most likely method to procure a return of members on the genuine and uncorrupted sense of the people. On this occasion there was a most respectable appearance of the livery, and the whole meeting was conducted with the utmost order and decorum.

The friends of Mr. Wilkes had taken every legal measure to bring two persons of the names of Balfe and Quirk to punishment, who had received sentence of death for the murder of George Clark at the Brentford election ; and, as the evidence upon their conviction had been particularly forcible, there appeared to be no room for the royal mercy. A doubt was however started, whether the deceased had met with his death by the blow which he received ; and upon the master, wardens, and examiners of the surgeons company declaring that the blow did not occasion his death, his majesty, acting upon this opinion, extended his royal mercy. This circumstance, which was attributed to the ministers, caused great discontent among the people.

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On the 1st of March, a numerous and respectable meeting of the electors of the borough of Southwark was held, in order to give instructions to their representatives, when the following were adopted: that they should endeavour to continue and confirm the old constitutional rights of juries, to the exclusion of all proceedings by information, attachment, and interrogatory; that they would carefully watch over the habeas corpus act; and other instructions were given similar to those adopted by the city of London. A short time after, a number of merchants, selected for the purpose of counteracting the proceedings of the city patriots, met at the King's-arms Tavern, Cornhill, but nothing except vulgar confusion ensued; and they adjourned for a few days, when a very respectable meeting was held, and it was after some debate resolved, that the means which had been taken to obtain an address to his majesty were fallacious and arbitrary, and that they would exert every method in their power to declare their inviolate attachment to his majesty, and against all their secret and open enemies, firmly persuaded that they are the only security for the continuance of their liberties both civil and religious.

Mr. Wilkes's re-election being set aside by the house of commons, and a writ by their order being issued again for a new election; on the 16th of March, the second re-election came on at Brentford. Charles Dingley, esq. was the only gentleman who offered himself to oppose the popular candidate; but he soon retired, and left Mr. Wilkes sole possessor of the field. Mr. Wilkes, upon his re-election, was again judged by the house of commons to be incapable of sitting in the house, and a writ was ordered for another election on the 13th of April. Upon this occasion a large and respectable meeting was again held at Mile-end, where it was unanimously resolved, that they would confirm their right of election by the repeated choice of Mr. Wilkes for their representative in parliament. It was observed, that the right of the freeholders to choose, and the duty of the sheriffs to receive their votes, and to return Mr. Wilkes, had been put beyond a doubt by the last re-election. A motion was made for a petition to the king, but was withdrawn.

About five o'clock in the morning of the 20th, a fire broke out in a distillery in Great Russell-street, Covent-garden, which entirely consumed all the houses up to the piazzas, and the piazzas themselves, which fell with a terrible crash about eight o'clock. On the 22d, about 600 of the principal merchants of the city set out in their carriages from the Royal Exchange, in order to present an address to the king; but from the violence of the mob, who insulted them most grossly, they were de-

terred from proceeding : but the address reached St. James's, and about 150 merchants entered the drawing-room, although severely pelted with mud at St. James's gate. The king returned a gracious answer. A proclamation for suppressing riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies, was published the same evening.

On the 13th of April, another election for the county of Middlesex came on, by order of the house of commons. It took place at Brentford, when four candidates appeared, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Luttrell, already a sitting member of the house, serjeant Whitaker, and Mr. Roache; the latter not having polled one vote by twelve o'clock, although the election began at nine, declined standing any longer. At the close of the poll the numbers were, for Mr. Wilkes, 1143; Mr. Luttrell, 296; Mr. Whitaker, 5; on which the sheriffs declared the former candidate to be duly elected. The election was again declared void by the house of commons; and in order to terminate a contest in which the house appeared to so little advantage, they declared that Mr. Luttrell was the sitting member. Such an arbitrary proceeding gave general discontent. On the 17th, the freeholders of Middlesex met at Mile-end again; the room was uncommonly crowded to the amount of 2500 persons. The purpose of the meeting was, to point out some new method to alleviate this new grievance, which had been unparalleled in the annals of the country. In the mean while the court party having failed in their former attempt of setting Mr. Wilkes aside for alderman of Farringdon ward, they started an opinion about his eligibility; and on the 25th, a court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, to receive the opinions of counsel relative to that subject, when the opinions of the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, the honourable Mr. Yorke, Mr. serjeant Glynn, and Mr. serjeant Lee, were, that Mr. Wilkes was eligible; but the opinion of Sir Fletcher Norton, the city recorder, and the common serjeant, was, that he was not eligible. No opinion was given respecting the negative voice of the court of aldermen. Upon which the question was put, whether notice should be sent to Mr. Wilkes of his being declared duly elected; which passed in the negative. The committee appointed by the freeholders of Middlesex having prepared a petition to the throne, summoned a general meeting at Mile-end on the 27th to make a report. In the petition they stated humbly the grievances under which they laboured, and implored the royal attention to the subject in very manly terms, and requested that the evil counsellors of the king might be banished from his confidence.

On the 24th of June, James Townshend, esq. and John Sawbridge, esq.  
were



were elected sheriffs for the ensuing year; the former gentleman having been elected alderman a short time before, in the room of Sir Matthew Blakiston, *knt.* who had resigned his gown. On the 5th of July, the right honourable Samuel Turner, lord-mayor, with several aldermen and common-council, proceeded in state to St. James's, with the petition of the livery of the city, which amounted to the same effect as that of the Middlesex freeholders. After the lord-mayor had presented it, his majesty returned no answer, but delivered the petition to the lord in waiting.

In the month of August several fires broke out, and did considerable damage; and at this time the electors of Westminster, to the number of about 7000, assembled in Westminster-hall to petition his majesty on the subject of grievances. The petition was unanimously approved of, and the electors signed it; the purport of it was, to request that his majesty would dissolve the present parliament, and call a new one as speedily as possible. Several more fires burst forth this month, and did much injury. On the 26th, John Sawbridge, *esq.* was chosen alderman for Langbourne ward, and sworn in at a court of aldermen. On the 29th of September, the election came on for two persons to be returned by the livery to the court of aldermen, for their choice of one to serve the office of lord-mayor of the city for the year ensuing, when William Beckford, *esq.* Barlow Trecothick, *esq.* and Sir Henry Bankes, were put in nomination. Various disputes arose between the livery and city officers, respecting the legality of Mr. Beckford's nomination to serve a second time: but precedents being produced, particularly that of Sir John Barnard, who had served the office of mayor twice, the objection was over-ruled; a poll being demanded, continued open till the 6th of October, when the numbers appeared at the close to be, for William Beckford, *esq.* 1967; Barlow Trecothick, *esq.* 1911; Sir Henry Bankes, 676. In consequence of this, the two former were sent to the aldermen to be duly elected, when the majority of their votes fell upon Mr. Beckford. Mr. Beckford, although very old and infirm, was compelled to accept the office much against his inclination, and on the 8th of November was sworn into office. At a previous meeting held at Guildhall, it was resolved, that the lord-mayor be asked whether he had received any answer to the petition of the livery to the king, and that his lordship be called upon to produce the letter which he received from lord Holland, dated July; it was also resolved, that it was the duty of their representatives to inquire into the conduct and accounts  
of

of that nobleman during the time that he was paymaster; and if any thing should be detected injurious to the constitution, or any detention of the public money, or misapplication of the same, that his lordship should be immediately impeached: these, and other proceedings, were unanimously agreed to.

Several more fires in this and the succeeding month burst forth, and did infinite mischief. On the 7th of November, the petition from the city and liberty of Westminster, relative to the rights of election, and praying a dissolution of parliament, was presented to his majesty, at the levee, by Sir Robert Barnard, the chairman. It was signed by 5137 freeholders. Soon after, a court of aldermen and common-council was held at Guildhall, at which it was agreed to pay out of the city-chamber the sum of 500*l.* for the relief of the sufferers by the fire at St. John's, in the island of Antigua. On the 22d, the petition was presented from the borough of Southwark to his majesty by Sir Joseph Mawbey, one of the members. In this month died the duke of Newcastle, at a very advanced age, who, for more than fifty years, had occupied the greatest offices of the state. In the autumn of the same year, also, died archbishop Secker. Amidst the innumerable multitude of political publications, in which the conduct of the administration was arraigned, in the bitterest terms of severity, the national attention was particularly attracted by a series of letters which appeared under the signature of Junius: they consisted of splendid declamation and poignant invective. The most memorable is that addressed to the king, in which the writer exhibits to the sovereign a picture of his administration. The language which he made use of was considered as libellous, and the author was accordingly indicted; but the jury found a verdict of guilty of printing and publishing only.

By an almost total secession from business for two years, lord Chatham was, in an unexpected degree, restored to health. His mind was also considerably calmed, by the reconciliation which had taken place between him and lord Temple, the early friend of his youth; and Mr. Grenville acceding to this reconciliation, the bond of fraternal amity was perfectly united. With his health, his lordship's intellectual faculties, which had long been clouded; resumed their pristine force and vigour; and from this time, to the end of his life, they shone with a lustre in no respect inferior to that which they had displayed in the full meridian of his long and glorious career.

The parliament met on the 9th of January 1770; and, on the motion for an address



to the throne, lord Chatham declared that he lamented the measures which had been taken with respect to America, and boldly assured the lords, that the discontents which had arisen among the people, and which now demanded immediate redress, were caused by the proceedings of the house of commons upon the exclusion of Mr. Wilkes, and moved for an amendment to the address, that these circumstances should be taken into immediate consideration. This matter was strongly opposed by lord Mansfield, and negatived. Lord Camden having, in the course of the debate, condemned, in decisive terms, the proceedings of the house of commons, was obliged to relinquish the great seal; but such was the political consternation at this time, that no person competent to the office could be found to accept it. Mr. Yorke, attorney-general, son of the late lord-chancellor Hardwicke, a man of high professional ability, had given positive assurances to his brother the earl, that he would upon no terms listen to the offers of the court; but, on being sent for, and solicited by the king, he at length consented, and a patent was ordered to be prepared for his elevation to the peerage by the title of lord Morden. On repairing to his brother's residence, to explain to him the motives of his acceptance, he was refused admission; and, in the agitation of his mind, unable to bear his own reflections, he in a few hours put a period to his existence. The seal was, in the following January, given to Mr. justice Bathurst, only son of lord Bathurst, created baron Apsley.

In the mean time, in the city of London, during this month, innumerable fires had burst forth, and did such material injury, that the people were thrown into general consternation. A total disgust between the court and the city had now taken place, relative to the proceedings in parliament on the Middlesex election; and, on the 1st of March, a memorial was presented to the court of common-council from the livery, in which they declared that, after having waited eight months for an answer to their petition, during which time none had been returned; and that, as their rights had been grossly violated, they felt themselves entitled to redress, which was only denied to the subjects of the most despotic monarch on earth. The lord-mayor issued his precept for a general meeting of the livery in Guildhall on the 6th of March; when they being assembled, an address to the king was agreed upon, with only one dissentient voice. They in the address repeated their complaints, and trusted that the king would not slight the desires of his people. The sheriffs now waited on his majesty with the remonstrance; but the case being new, the king de-

fired time to consider of it ; in a few days, the sheriffs received a letter from lord Weymouth, in which he stated, that as the message which they had lately brought to his majesty was entirely new, he was commanded to inquire what the nature of the assembly was in which it had been adopted. The day following the sheriffs went to St. James's. Upon being received by lord Bolingbroke, the lord in waiting, his lordship inquired whether they came with a fresh message, or with a message? The sheriffs informed him, with the latter. After some conversation with lord Weymouth, in which the sheriffs declared that they should communicate their business to no other person than to the king himself, and boldly asserted their rights as citizens, they were admitted into the closet as soon as the levee was ended. The king did not, as usual, receive them alone, but some of the nobility were present. Mr. sheriff Townshend then addressed his majesty : he informed the king, that the address, remonstrance, and petition, was the act of the citizens of London in their greatest court. To which the king was graciously pleased to reply, " I will consider of the answer you have given me." On which the sheriffs withdrew.

On the 14th at noon, the lord-mayor, with aldermen Sir William Stephenson, Mr. Trecothick, Mr. Townshend, and Mr. Sawbridge, one hundred and fifty-three of the common-council and the committee of the livery, attended at Guildhall, and proceeded with their attendants to St. James's. They were introduced to the king, who assured them that he should be always ready to listen to the complaints of his subjects ; but that it gave him real concern to find that any of them should have been so far misled, as to offer an address and remonstrance, the contents of which he could not but consider as disrespectful to himself, injurious to parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.

The first court of aldermen which was held after the remonstrance, having assembled, displayed much opposition ; one party contending for the remonstrance, the other against its being an act of the corporate body assembled. The remonstrance was, however, presented in a few days, to which the king, according to the words of the lord-mayor, William Beckford, returned an answer of a nature very unfavourable, which he attributed to the king's ministers. Not only did the citizens of London, in their corporate and collective capacity, stand forth in the cause of liberty, but numbers of other gentlemen, from various parts, formed themselves into a society, under the style of the Supporters of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, whose object was to maintain the liberty of the subject, to op-



pose bad measures, and to support Mr. Wilkes, not only against his persecutors in the cause of liberty, but to pay off his debts. Mr. Wilkes having undergone the imprisonment to which he had been sentenced twenty-two months before, on the 17th of March was liberated from prison, when the society paid off all his debts. Not only in London, but in every part of England, the most brilliant illuminations took place on the event; and, on the day following, addresses to his electors from Mr. Wilkes, on the recovery of his liberty, appeared in the public papers. The city of London, and many counties and corporations, remonstrated and petitioned his majesty against the arbitrary proceedings of the parliament against Mr. Wilkes.

On the 1st of May, lord Chatham presented a bill to the house of lords, for reversing the adjudication of the house of commons, whereby John Wilkes, esq. was deemed incapable of being elected a member of parliament. At a court of common-council, held at Guildhall on the 14th, the lord-mayor informed the court, that he had called them together to consider of a petition to his majesty for redress of grievances; and as the petition was intended to represent the violation of elections, he thought it should be done while the parliament was sitting. After much debate, it was resolved that the sheriffs, with the remembrancer, should wait upon his majesty, to know when he would receive the address. A motion was also made, that the thanks of the court be given to lord Chatham, for his zealous endeavours to promote the liberty of the subject. The lord-mayor waited on the king, attended by the sheriffs and commons; on which occasion they expressed their astonishment at the awful sentence of censure passed upon the citizens of London from the throne, and supplicating for a more favourable interpretation of their addresses. They asserted their claim to the right of the subject, which they declared the house of commons had violated, and entreated a dismissal of his majesty's ministers. The king, from the throne, declared his sentiments to be the same, and thought it inconsistent with the interest of the kingdom, and dangerous to the constitution, to comply with their request. The lord-mayor then addressed his majesty, but received no reply. The humility and firmness with which the lord-mayor spoke, astonished the whole court.

Notwithstanding the disagreeable reception which the citizens met with in their corporate capacity, they persevered in their duty to the king; and upon the birth of a princess, the lord-mayor summoned a court of common-council on the 25th of

May, when an address to his majesty was agreed on, which was presented on the 30th. To which the king returned a gracious answer; and concluded by saying, that whilst the citizens of London addressed him with such professions of loyalty, they should be sure of his protection. In their way to court, alderman Harley met with many insults from the mob, who prevented his way, and obliged him to quit his carriage. On the 30th, the lord-mayor, attended by the sheriffs, and some few aldermen, proceeded in state to the Old Bailey, where his lordship laid the first stone of the new gaol, intended instead of that at Newgate. On the 1st of June, the committee of the court of common-council waited upon lord Chatham with the thanks of that court. On the 21st of the month died the right honourable William Beckford, twice lord-mayor of London. His life was terminated by his having performed a journey of one hundred miles, in the discharge of his duty, which produced a fever. On the 22d, a common-hall was held for the election of a lord-mayor, for the remainder of the year, in the room of the late Mr. Beckford; Messrs. Baker and Martyr were chosen sheriffs. On the 29th, the poll for lord-mayor ended, when the numbers were, for alderman Trecothick, 1601; Crosby, 1434; and Bankes, 437. The two former being returned to the court of aldermen, the election was declared for alderman Trecothick. The citizens, in order to perpetuate the memory of the late lord-mayor, agreed to erect a marble statue to his memory, to be placed over the sheriff's court in Guildhall. By the death of Mr. Beckford, a vacancy in parliament for the city took place, and the 11th of the month was fixed upon for the election of a new member, when Richard Oliver, esq. was declared duly elected.

At a common-council, summoned on the 27th of September, the conduct of the recorder, who had refused to attend the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, in their address, petition, and remonstrance, to the king, was taken into consideration, when, after much altercation, the recorder stated that his reasons for so doing were, because he considered the manner in which they were penned as a libel upon his majesty, and therefore he conceived it contrary to the duty of his office to give them the least countenance. The court, however, moved, that James Eyre, esq. the present recorder, be no more employed, or advised with, in the affairs of the city, which was carried by a great majority. At the same court, the city-remembrancer acquainted them, that the lords of the treasury had determined to rebuild the Fleet-prison, on the place where it now stands.



On the 29th of September, the patriots at the common-hall for the election of a lord-mayor, put Brads Crosby, esq. and James Townshend, esq. in nomination, who being returned to the court of aldermen, they made choice of Brads Crosby, esq. The citizens, again alarmed at the proceedings of the ministers, who they apprehended endeavoured to encroach on their liberties by issuing preps-warrants to be executed in the city, and there being some apprehension that the chief magistrate was not averse to the measure, which he conceived might be connived at for the public good, Mr. Wilkes, at a court of common-council, held on the 12th of October, desired the lord-mayor to acquaint the court what he had done with regard to preps-warrants. To which the lord-mayor replied, that no persons could be pressed without a constable; and that he gave them no authority to press any freeman, or servant of any freeman, which they had promised to observe. The freedom of the city was also voted, in a box of gold, to counsellor Dunning, for his endeavours, while solicitor-general, to support the rights of the subject. At the same court, indictments were made against those who had encroached on the river Thames.

On the 31st of October, a prodigious concourse of people assembled at Westminster-hall, when Mr. Wilkes, attended by Mr. Sawbridge, informed the company, that the object of their meeting was, "that as petitions to the throne had been, in a most unprecedented manner, despised by the advice of evil counsellors, that their representatives be instructed to move for an impeachment of lord North, as not only the contriver of the scheme, but the man who carried into execution those cruel and unconstitutional measures." Mr. Sawbridge opposed this plan, and moved for a remonstrance, which was carried in the affirmative. The remonstrance was to this effect, "that a bill be brought in and passed for triennial parliaments; that his majesty would remove his ministers; that a law be made, that the electors of Great Britain be empowered to choose any representatives they may think proper, without regard to any sentence; that no general warrants be issued; that a law be made for appealing to a superior court, and bringing in an additional witness to convict a man, even after he has been acquitted by a jury, or from some favourable circumstances has obtained the royal mercy." On the 7th of November, the second remonstrance was presented to the king by Sir Robert Barnard, one of the members for the city, but no answer was returned. On the 9th, Mr. Crosby was sworn into the office of lord-mayor.

On the 13th of the month, being the first day of the session of parliament, Mr.

George

George Grenville departed this life, and many of his friends joining the administration, the majorities in both houses became very formidable. Lord Chatham had, a short time before the close of the session, declared, that a great blow was or would be struck soon in some part of the world. The mystery was soon developed, and in a few weeks it was ascertained that a squadron of Spanish ships from Buenos Ayres had seized upon the Falkland Islands, situated in the Magellanic ocean, of which the English had been some years possessors. Strong remonstrances being made by the court of Britain, but little attention paid to them, there was every appearance of a war being declared.

On the 15th of this month, a committee was appointed, consisting of six aldermen and twelve commoners, to prepare another address, remonstrance, and petition, on the same subject as those foregoing, which were presented on the 21st. To which the king replied, that as he had seen no reason to alter the opinion expressed in his answer to the last address, he could not comply with the prayer of the petition. On the 4th of December, all the rendezvous lieutenants attended the lord-mayor, to have their warrants backed for pressing; this his lordship refused to do, alleging, that the city-bounty was intended to prevent such violent measures: and at the court of common-council on the 14th, the thanks of the court were given to the lord-mayor, for his care in prosecuting the intentions of the court, to procure seamen for his majesty's service.

In the month of January 1771, the lord-mayor made a most useful regulation upon the corn-market, in Mark-lane. The meal-weighers, by order of his lordship, took an exact account of the quantities of wheat bought, the different prices given, and the purchasers' names: this register was put up in the most conspicuous part of the market. On Monday night, the 14th, the royal academy met at Somerset-house, for the first time, at their new apartments. Sir Joshua Reynolds took the lecturer's chair for a short time, to expatiate on the indulgence which his majesty had shown to the arts, by conferring on them such an honour, as to present the academy with apartments in a royal palace. Many of the nobility and gentry were present. The Thames, this month, was frozen over quite across, near Richmond and Hammersmith. On the 22d, the earl of Rochford, secretary of state for the southern department, sent a letter to the lord-mayor, informing him that the Spanish ambassador had that day signed a declaration relative to the expedition against Falkland Islands, which his majesty had been pleased to accept.



At a court of common-council, the report of the committee for making a navigable canal from Monkey Island to Isleworth was approved, and a petition to parliament for that purpose prepared: and at a subsequent common-council, it was unanimously agreed, that they should present a petition to the house of commons, that the bill depending in that house, for leave to embank a certain part of the river Thames, near Durham-yard, might not pass into a law, and that the city might be heard by counsel. The counsellors, to whom application was made for their opinion, "whether the goldsmiths, grocers, and weavers' companies, could refuse to obey the precepts of the lord-mayor, except in cases of election," were unanimously of opinion, "that the masters and wardens of the above companies were bound to obey the precept of the lord-mayor, and were liable to be disfranchised for refusal; that the common serjeant was obliged to file an information in the lord-mayor's court for that purpose, by the direction of a court of aldermen and common-council, by order of the common-hall, and liable to criminal prosecution for disobeying such orders."

About this period, an incident occurred, which revived, in an alarming degree, the indignation and resentment of the people against their representatives. Though nothing could be more reasonable than that the public should be furnished with means of judging of the conduct of their representatives in the house; yet it had long been a subject of complaint, that the speeches of the members were, in contempt of the resolutions of the house, regularly printed in the public papers. Many of the members complained, that their speeches had been misrepresented in the report, which, if of any real consequence, might have been corrected; a motion was made and carried, though not unanimously, that two printers, Wheble and Thompson, should appear to answer this complaint against them at the bar of the house. Wheble and Thompson refusing, a proclamation was issued, offering 50*l.* reward for the apprehension of the printers. In the mean time, six other printers were, for similar offences, ordered to the bar of the house: five of whom obeying the summons, were discharged after being reprimanded: the remaining delinquent, Miller, was ordered into custody for contempt of the house. Wheble being apprehended, and carried before Mr. Wilkes, the sitting magistrate, was discharged by him, and bound over to prosecute the man who had apprehended him. Mr. Wilkes, in a letter to the secretary of state, declared, that Wheble had been apprehended in violation of the rights of an Englishman, as well as the chartered privileges

leges of a London citizen. Thompson was also apprehended, and discharged in the same manner. Miller being taken into custody by the messenger of the house of commons, at his own dwelling, was carried before Mr. Crosby, the lord-mayor, and the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, at the Mansion-house. The serjeant at arms attending to demand the prisoner, the legality of the warrant was denied, and the printer not only discharged, but the messenger of the house, under pretext of a false arrest, was ordered to be committed to prison in default of bail, which at first was refused, but at length taken with reluctance; for these proceedings, the thanks of the corporation were immediately voted to them. In consequence of these proceedings, the lord-mayor was ordered to attend the house, in his place, on the 19th of March; although then ill with the gout, he attended, and being asked the reason for his conduct, declared, that he had acted conformably to his oath, and the charters of the city. Upon his return, the populace took the horses from the carriage, and drew it to the Mansion-house. Soon after, Mr. Wilkes received a message to attend, which he engaged to do as a member of the house, but not without that privilege. On the 25th, the lord-mayor and Mr. Oliver went through the city to the house of commons, to attend in their places according to order, as the debate had been deferred till that day. The lord-mayor demanded to be heard by counsel, which was refused on the ground that no counsel could be heard in opposition to the privileges of the house, and the lord-mayor's book of minutes being called for, the recognisance of the messenger was expunged from the record by order of the house, and a resolution passed, that to institute any proceeding at law in this case was contrary to those privileges. Mr. Oliver was proceeded against in a similar manner; and the two magistrates refusing to make any apology or concession, it was voted at length, by a great majority, that they should be committed prisoners to the Tower. On the last day of attendance of the magistrates, vast multitudes of people assembling near Westminster-hall, a violent riot took place, the ministerial members were grossly insulted, and lord North personally attacked, and with difficulty rescued from the populace. The lord-mayor and Mr. Oliver, soon after their commitment, applied for a writ of habeas corpus, which was accordingly issued by the court of Common Pleas; but after very long and learned pleadings, these magistrates were remanded by the court, and continued in custody till the end of the session, when their liberation was celebrated with great rejoicings, and from this period the speeches of the members have been published without interruption.



On the 3d of May, at a court of common-council held at Guildhall, a petition to the king against the embankment at Durham-yard was read and agreed to; it did not tend to diminish the public discontents, that the bill was brought into parliament at this period; it being considered as an invasion of the property claimed by the city of London in the soil or bed of the river. It is however certain, that the magnificent pile of building called the Adelphi, which was constructed in virtue of this act, will remain to futurity a noble monument of architecture. It was also ordered at this court, that the sum of 30,000*l.* be laid out in the 3 per cent. consolidated annuities, and vested in the names of the chamberlain, town-clerk, and comptroller, as a security in lieu of toll, and other matters relative to the bridge estate.

The session of parliament terminated on the 8th of May, when the king congratulated the house on the prospect of a permanent continuance of peace. During the recess the earl of Halifax died: he was a liberal and accomplished nobleman, but an unpopular minister. The earl of Suffolk succeeded him as secretary of state for the northern department, and the duke of Grafton accepted the post of lord privy seal.

Nothing material happened for some length of time. On the 12th of June, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, with the common-council, presented to his majesty a congratulatory address on the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of a prince; to which the king returned a gracious answer. On the 24th, being Midsummer-day, a common-hall was held for the election of sheriffs: the poll did not close till the 1st of July, when Messrs. Wilkes and Bull were declared sheriffs. Upon this occasion, the former gentleman pledged himself to support his rights, and those of his country, as a representative in parliament. On the morning of the 16th, the lord-mayor and commons attended at St. James's with a petition, remonstrance, and address, still imploring relief, and complaining of the breach of their privileges. To which the king replied, "that it was with concern he saw his citizens of London deluded, and regretted that he found it impossible to comply with their requests."

A singular case came on before the lord-mayor at Guildhall: by virtue of his majesty's commission, a court of escheats was held, to inquire into that kind of escheat of an estate, devolved to the crown *pro defectu sanguinis*, or want of an heir, by the royal prerogative. Major-general Brown, who died in 1764, was

proved to be an illegitimate son of a Mrs. Dean, by the honourable Mr. Lumley. Mrs. Dean, the mother of the general, devised several real estates to Mr. Brown in fee. He lived and died unmarried, consequently without an heir. By his will, however, properly attested, he gave several of his mother's estates to the Foundling-hospital; which bequest, by the act of mortmain, was void in law. The testator, discovering the mistake in six days after, endeavoured to prevent it by a codicil; and if the legacy proved ineffectual, he gave the estates to a Mrs. Beecroft, which, unfortunately for her, was attested by only one witness, therefore void by law. The general's estates, therefore, escheated to the crown; and the return was made by the inquisition. The lord-mayor at first made an objection to the return of the inquisition by virtue of the king's writ, insisting on his having an independent jurisdiction by virtue of his charters and oath; but the writ being issued on the petition of Mrs. Beecroft, praying to obtain the estate, or some part of it, his lordship in this instance waved his objection; but insisted, for the future, that informations of escheats should be originally brought to the lord-mayor, who would officially proceed in such inquiries without any royal mandate. In September, a committee of merchants from the city of Dublin waited on the lord-mayor to present resolutions, as a testimony of their gratitude for his conduct and perseverance in the cause of liberty: they returned his lordship thanks. On Michaelmas-day came on the election of sheriffs, when a poll was demanded for Messrs. Nash, Halifax, Townshend, Sawbridge, Crosby, and Sir Henry Bankes. On the 5th of October, at the close of the poll, Messrs. Nash and Sawbridge were returned to the aldermen, who elected the former gentleman. A committee of aldermen was held on the 29th of October, to elect twenty-five poor sailors, and as many poor soldiers, who had families, and received no pension from government, to a gift of 4*l.* each. At the same time the clerks of the companies of grocers and goldsmiths petitioned for leave to search the city books, in order to defend some members of those companies from disfranchisement; which petition was granted. Nothing more material occurred during the remainder of the year. The bill of mortality from December 11, 1770, to December 11, 1771, proves that the numbers christened were 17,072, and those buried 21,780.

The city of London and its liberties, from the improvements which were at this time taking place under the new act of parliament, appeared as it were to be rising from the ruins of the ancient city. On the eastern part of London, instead  
of



of wooden hovels and waste ground, the receptacles of thieves, about the Minories, and from Aldgate High-street to Tower-hill, new edifices arose, which were now become objects of admiration, and which attracted the attention of the passenger; the new pavements had been continued from the north end of the Minories down Houndsditch; various parts had been improved with shops and houses; and where Aldgate once stood was now a spacious open street, running southward as far as Crutched-friars, which was lately impassable, and had been a terror to the neighbouring inhabitants. The city wall was pulled down, and the east end of Leadenhall-street had been opened by demolishing the old houses, upon the site of which was built the Denmark Tavern, under which, in the vault, are still preserved the remains of St. Michael's church or chapel. In Bishopsgate ward great improvements were made; the street where the gate stood in the city wall was much enlarged, so that the communication between Bishopsgate Within and Bishopsgate Without, was made as sufficiently capacious for carriages as any other part of the street. In Broad-street ward, besides the vast extent of the Bank of England, all the buildings and houses between Castle-alley and the north-west corner of Cornhill were pulled down, and good houses built, adapted for trade and public offices. Cheapside also underwent a variety of improvements, and the ground was laid into the street at the north-east entrance into St. Paul's churchyard. In Farringdon Without great alterations also took place: a new sessions-house and Newgate were built; and the narrow passage from the end of the Old Bailey to Snow-hill, under St. Sepulchre's churchyard wall, rendered safe and commodious. All the streets were also regularly paved with stone of a flat face, and an excellent footway on each side of the street, laid with flat stones. The signs were taken down, the posts before the doors removed, and the channels were all laid on the outside of the footway, with a proper current to empty them into the common sewers. The buildings about Mile-end were also wonderfully increased, so that London appeared to extend regularly many miles into the country. A wooden bridge from Chelsea to Battersea was erected, and the navigation of the river Lea improved and facilitated with locks; one of which begins at Bromley, and being cut in nearly a direct line, terminates in the river Thames near the bridge at Limehouse; by which improvement, the barges from Hertfordshire, and the other parts of the Lea, save about the distance of seven miles, besides avoiding the impediments which at

certain times delayed and rendered the navigation tedious through Bow-creek, and round the Isle of Dogs.

The parliament was not convened till the 21st of January 1772, when the session was opened with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty confidently announced the continuance of peace, from the repeated assurances he had received from the continental powers. Soon after the meeting of parliament, on the 8th of February, died the princess dowager of Wales, in the 53d year of her age; she was the mother of his present majesty. At a court of common-council at Guildhall, held this month, it was resolved, that a silver cup, value 200*l.* be given to Brads Crosby, esq. the late lord-mayor; and two others, value 100*l.* each, to Mr. Sheriff Wilkes and alderman Oliver, for the noble opposition which they made in the business of the printers, against the vote of the house of commons, for the preservation of the rights and liberties of their fellow-citizens, as well as of the subjects in general.

At this time, that beautiful building, the Pantheon, in Oxford-street, was opened for the first time; the ornaments were very splendid, and the entertainment given afforded a striking instance of the splendour of modern times. As the Pantheon soon became a place of fashionable amusement, it may not be improper to give a short account of it. The entrance is under a portico to an open space, into which three doors open into the street; the middle door leads into a parlour, and those on the sides through long passages into a large grand room, covered with a cupola resembling that of Ranelagh, but more magnificent and more beautifully decorated. The building is supported on columns, which are constructed of brick-work, but finished with a covering of a kind of plaster, in imitation of marble highly polished, which adds much to the grandeur of the place. This room is intended for entertainments; it is in form of an octagon, and is built with galleries, and furnished with chimnies, the ornamental work of which is finished in a masterly manner. Besides this grand apartment, in which the masquerades are always held, there are several others; that intended for the ball-room is up stairs: it is a long room, and laid out on purpose for dancing. At the other end of the house is another apartment, which occasionally may serve for the same purpose, and a room below is set apart to provide the entertainments. The works of the painter, carver, and statuary, are equally well executed; but appear to be excelled by the architect, whose plan is certainly one of the grandest imaginable. Between the hours of nine and ten of the 27th of last month, there was almost a  
total



total darkness for near half an hour. At first there appeared a false light or halo in the air. The darkness then came on gradually, in a thick fog, from the south-east, and extending to the north-west, went off, leaving a sulphureous smell behind.

At this period the high price of provisions became a serious object of national concern, and the city of London applied to parliament for relief. On the 4th of March, Mr. alderman Sawbridge made a motion in the house of commons for shortening the duration of parliament: Mr. alderman Townsend seconded the motion, which was lost by a large majority. The society of the supporters of the bill of rights had a meeting this month at the London Tavern, when, upon the report of the committee appointed to inquire into Mr. Wilkes's affairs, it appeared that 1500*l.* of his debts were left unpaid: it was ordered that they should be taken into consideration.

In the course of this session of parliament, a petition was presented to the house of commons of a very interesting nature, and, from the singular importance of its object, demanding peculiar attention. This petition was signed by some hundreds of the clergy of the established church, humbly praying to be relieved from the obligation of subscribing to the thirty-nine articles of faith as imposed by law: it was, however, after a very strong debate, rejected by a vast majority. A motion was also made for a further enlargement of the toleration-act. This bill having passed the house with the concurrence of the minister, met with a very different reception from the house of lords; it was rejected by 102 peers against 29, who supported the motion. Nothing relative to the affairs of the city of London occurred for some time, and the session of parliament terminated on the 9th of June.

The great unpopularity which had attended the measures of the court, under the successive administrations of the present reign, that of the marquis of Rockingham excepted, began at length to suffer a considerable abatement. The new minister lord North, although unfortunate in some respects, evidently began to gain the affections of the nation by his candour and ingenuousness. The late rupture with Spain had terminated favourably for England, whose people were not apprized of the secret article of restitution. Notwithstanding the great expense of the armament last year, progress had been made in the reduction of the national debt; and the repeal of the oppressive port-duties, though with one unfortunate exception, shewed at least some inclination to accommodate the disputes with America. This

was further confirmed by the resignation of the earl of Hillsborough, the secretary of state for America, who on various accounts was obnoxious to the colonies, and the subsequent appointment of the earl of Dartmouth, a nobleman of acknowledged probity, who had uniformly opposed the American taxation in every form. Various other changes took place during the recess. The earl of Harcourt succeeded lord Townshend as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Charles Jenkinson being nominated vice-treasurer of Ireland, his seat at the board of treasury was filled by the honourable Charles James Fox, second son of lord Holland, a young man who had already arrested the attention of the public, by the extent of his political knowledge and the splendour of his talents.

The disputes about the Middlesex election, whatever might be the opinions of many persons concerning it, had now greatly subsided. Mr. alderman Townsend, indeed, brought an action against the collector of the land-tax for distraining upon him, because he refused to pay his assessment, which he considered as an illegal imposition, on the grounds of his not being fully represented in parliament. When the cause came to be heard, and serjeant Glynn had stated the facts in behalf of the plaintiff, Mr. Wallace, who was retained for the defendant, made no other reply than by producing the act of parliament, under the authority of which the defendant had acted. The question, lord Mansfield said, in his charge to the jury, was in fact no other than whether there was at any time any legislative power in this country. A verdict, as might be reasonably expected, was found for the defendant; and thus the affair ended. In the month of August Messrs. Wilkes and Townsend were sent by the common-council to the court of aldermen for their choice of a lord-mayor, when the latter gentleman was chosen for the year ensuing.

The state of the nation, with respect to wealth and commerce, now appeared highly flourishing, when on a sudden it was damped by an unexpected and immense failure of a number of capital houses in the city. This was owing to deep speculations and engagements in the public funds, and to the boundless increase of a fictitious paper credit. The concussion was at first very alarming, but it was productive of a caution and prudence which have since been attended with very salutary effects. The lord-mayor having refused in September to call a common-hall, at the request of many of the livery, for this offence he was found guilty of violating the privileges of the city, and a vote of censure was passed upon him.

In this year an establishment, which commenced in the year 1756, was incorpo-



rated. Its object was to fit out landmen volunteers to serve as seamen on board the king's ships in time of war, and for equipping distressed boys to serve at sea at all times. The institution, as a nursery for seamen, has been productive of the most beneficial effects. St. Martin's workhouse, in Castle-street, Leicester-square, which occupies a large spot of ground, was erected at this period, when the sum of 11,775*l.* was raised on annuities for the building of it. The general arrangement of the house reflects great credit on the churchwardens. At a court of commons it was declared that any recorder of the city accepting the office of judge or magistrate in any of the courts of Westminster, should receive only 150*l.* salary for himself and deputy. At the same court serjeant Glynn was elected recorder in the room of Sir James Eyre.

We are now drawing to that period in which the fatal contests with America were renewed with fresh vigour. After the repeal of the duties on glass, stained papers, &c. though that on tea had been still left, disputes had in some degree lessened, and the non-importation agreements had been strictly observed. The dissensions, however, had not so far subsided, but that a great spirit of discontent still continued to pervade the colonies. The trifling tax which still remained on the teas gave the most direct occasion to the dreadful rupture which followed. The affairs of the East India Company also were fallen into such embarrassment, that they called loudly for the consideration of parliament. The Company solicited for relief, but what they obtained was by no means beneficial. In order to induce them to become more instrumental in enforcing the tea-duty in America, an act was passed, by which they were enabled to export their teas, duty-free, to all places whatever. Several ships were accordingly freighted with teas for the different colonies by the Company, who also appointed agents there for the disposal of that commodity. This was considered by the Americans as a scheme calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue-law, and thereby pave the way to an unlimited taxation; for it was easily comprehended that if the tea were once landed, and in the custody of the consignees, no associations, or other measures, would be sufficient to prevent its sale and consumption. These ideas being prevalent in America, it was resolved by the colonists to prevent the landing of the tea cargoes amongst them, at any hazard. Accordingly those ships laden with tea, having arrived at Boston in December 1773, a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded these ships, and in a few hours discharged their whole

whole cargoes into the sea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. Thus the masters of the tea-vessels were obliged to return to England.

The queen being delivered of a princess in the course of the month of January, the lord-mayor and aldermen went to St. James's to congratulate his majesty upon the occasion, in the following month, when the honour of knighthood was conferred on Thomas Halifax, esq. alderman, and Watkin Lewes, esq. alderman, and one of the sheriffs. At a numerous meeting of the livery, in the month of February, a motion was made that a petition be presented, for a redress of grievances, to his majesty; it was also resolved, by many who signed the resolution, that no vote should be given to any candidate as member of parliament, who should not solemnly assent to, and sign an engagement for shortening the duration of parliaments. On the 17th, a petition from the corporation of London was presented to the house of commons, setting forth that they lamented the frequent toleration of lotteries in time of peace, which injured the prosperity of the people, calling them from their habits of industry, and involving them in ruin; they therefore humbly requested that the house would take the matter into consideration, and grant such relief as might be expedient.

From a report of the state of the city hospitals this year, as read before the governors, there appeared to be from St. Bartholomew's, cured and discharged, 4839; out-patients relieved, with advice and medicines, 3987; buried this year, 391; remaining under cure, 410; out-patients, 240: total, including out-patients, 9417. In St. Thomas's hospital, cured and discharged from the hospital, 7310; buried this year, 250; remaining under cure, 472; out-patients, 245; total, including out-patients, 8277. In Christ's hospital, 147 children were put forth apprentices, and discharged out of the hospital last year, nine whereof were instructed in the mathematics; buried last year, 13; remaining in the hospital, 1054. Bridewell hospital, vagrants, &c. relieved and discharged, 580; maintained in several trades, 48. Bethlem hospital, admitted into it, 231; cured, 208; buried, 28; remaining under cure, 257. On the 28th of May, the lord-mayor held a court of common-council, to consider of an application to parliament respecting a bill now depending, relative to the East India company. Mr. alderman Kirkman very ably went into the particulars of the bill, and proved that it was no less injurious to the rights of every corporate body in the kingdom, from its principle, than a direct and  
immediate



immediate attack on the privileges of the East India company. He expatiated on the consequences of placing so enormous a power in the crown, and observed that the bill was founded on a principle of robbery and iniquity, inasmuch as it transferred the whole government of India into the hands of the crown, by granting it the power of appointing a general presidency over the affairs of the company, and nominating the judges and other officers, although the charter of justice had given that appointment to those who exercised judicature in India, in the company's service. The petition was ordered to be presented to the house of commons.

The session of parliament being over, and no city business of any moment going forward, nothing material occurred for some length of time. In the month of August a storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with violent gusts of wind and torrents of rain, did infinite damage in various parts of the town. The church of St. Peter, Cornhill, was much injured; the north side of the obelisk in St. George's-fields was struck with such violence, that some of the stones were cracked; a house was split asunder in Limehouse, and in the country many houses were demolished, and lives lost. Much damage was done to the shipping, and many sailors were destroyed by it. Another storm on the 18th, did nearly as much injury: trees were torn up by the roots, walls were blown down, and many lives lost. These storms reached over the country for several miles, and caused the waters to rise so much that many perished, both of men, horses, and cattle.

The dean and chapter of St. Paul's, encouraged, by the rapid increase of the arts in this kingdom, to make that cathedral in every respect one of the finest structures of the world, by decorating its inside with paintings, and such other ornaments as were necessary to complete the original design of the architect, lately applied to the royal academy for their superintendence and support. In consequence of this application, that body met at Somerset-house, when it was resolved, that six members should be appointed to carry the plan into execution, each beginning with painting a picture agreeably to a design given to them. Mrs. Angelica Kauffman, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Signior Cipriani, Mr. West, Mr. Dance, and Mr. Barry, were the persons fixed on. In Westminster-abbey, a tablet on the front of the sarcophagus of general Wolfe's monument, lately opened, had an elegant inscription added to it.

On the 13th of January 1774, the parliament was convened at Westminster, and measures were proposed to put a stop to the commotions which subsisted in America. Lord Chatham, who for a long time had been in a very infirm state of health, appeared in the house of lords, and expressed his unqualified disapprobation of the

measures which this country had adopted. His motion for conciliatory measures was negatived. The methods adopted for the same purpose in the house of commons met with the same fate. A motion was afterwards made in the house of commons, by lord North, for suspending the exercise of the right of taxation in America, claimed by the British parliament, in those colonies which should, by their general assemblies, raise such contributions as were approved of by the king in parliament. This motion was carried, and afterwards communicated to some provincial assemblies; but it was by them rejected as delusive and unsatisfactory, and only calculated to disunite them. The motion for conciliatory measures was supported and seconded most powerfully by Mr. Burke, in an elaborate speech, which excited much attention. This gentleman had, from the period of his first introduction into the house of commons by the marquis of Rockingham, as his confidential secretary, during that nobleman's administration, distinguished himself by his parliamentary talents, which were of the most splendid and brilliant kind; and he might at this time be considered as the principal organ through which the political sentiments of the Whigs were communicated, of which the marquis had, since the death of the duke of Newcastle, been considered the head. During the life of that nobleman, Mr. Burke had appeared, not without some remarkable deviations, to adhere with zeal to the genuine principles of whiggism; but, from the death of his patron, he became capricious, and varied in his political conduct.

Heavy rain fell during the month of March, which raised the waters many feet higher than had been recollected in the memory of man. The level at Chelsea and Battersea was entirely overflowed, and considerable damage done to the gardens and plantations; many of the western roads were rendered impassable, and the towns adjoining the rivers in general very much damaged by the inundation. It was determined at this time before alderman Thomas, that no two-wheeled car, drawn by men, should be occupied in the streets of London, neither to carry porters' loads, nor any other parcels, under a penalty of forty shillings.

In the course of the month of May, some gentlemen of the Society of Antiquaries being desirous to see how far the actual state of Edward the First's body answered to the method taken to preserve it, by writs issued from time to time in the reigns of Edward III. and Henry IV. to the treasury to renew the wax about it; obtained leave to open the large stone sarcophagus in which it was deposited, on the north side of Edward the Confessor's chapel. This was accordingly done, when, in  
a coffin



a coffin of yellow stone, they found the royal body in a state of perfect preservation, enveloped in two wrappers, one of them of gold tissue, strongly waxed and fresh; the outermost more decayed. The corpse was habited in a rich mantle of purple, edged with white, and adorned with ornaments of gilt metal, studded with red and blue stones, and pearls. Two similar ornaments were placed on the hands. The mantle was fastened on the right shoulder by a magnificent fibula of the same metal, with similar stones and pearls. His face had over it a silken covering so fine, and so closely fitted to it, that it preserved the features entire. Round his temples was a gilt coronet of fleurs de lis. In his hands, which were also entire, were two sceptres of gilt metal; that in the right surmounted by a cross fleur; that in the left by three clusters of oak-leaves, and a dove on a globe: the sceptre was about five feet in length. The feet were enveloped in the mantle and other coverings, but found, and the toes were distinct. The whole length of the corpse was six feet two inches. As it does not appear that any of the above-mentioned writs were issued since the reign of Henry IV. the body must have been preserved above three centuries and a half in the state in which it was now found, by virtue of the embalming originally bestowed upon it; and as every thing was restored with the strictest care, and the tomb secured, without a possibility of being opened again, it may continue at least as many centuries longer. Edward I. died at Burgh upon Sands, in Cumberland, in his way to Scotland, July 7, 1307, in the 68th year of his age.

A petition was presented from the corporation of London to the house of commons, respecting the navigation of the Thames below Staines, in which they proposed, in case all further proceedings in a bill then depending in the house be stopped, to apply the sum of 10,000*l.* out of their own estates, if necessary, towards the improvement and completion of the navigation of that river within their liberties westward of London-bridge. The bill passed a short time after. The London book-sellers' bill for their relief, by vesting the copies of printed books in the purchasers of such copies from authors, or their assigns, for a time to be therein limited, was read a third time in the house of commons, and passed without a division, but was opposed in the lords. It was supposed that 600,000*l.* had been laid out in copy-rights by the booksellers since the year 1769; and by a late decision before lord Mansfield, not less than 200,000*l.* appeared to be reduced to nothing, which sum had been honestly purchased by men of that trade, who were now reduced, from that circumstance, to utter poverty, from their ignorance of a law which had been

little in force. The bill was, however, unfortunately thrown out in the upper house. From the innumerable fires which continually happened in every part of the metropolis, it was enacted by the new building-act, that every parish within the cities of London and Westminster, and their liberties, and the other parishes, precincts, and places within the bills of mortality, the parishes of Mary-le-bone, Paddington, St. Pancras, and St. Luke at Chelsea, should have and keep, in some known public place within each parish, three or more proper ladders, of one, two, and three stories high, for the purpose of assisting persons in houses on fire to escape; and for every neglect of not keeping them in repair, the churchwardens were to pay the forfeit of 10*l.* one half to the informer, the other to the surveyor of the district. In June, a motion was made in the common-council to address his majesty to withhold his assent from the bill for making provision for the government of Quebec, and the sheriffs were ordered to present it. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, presented it to the king; previous to their admittance, lord Hertford presented to the lord-mayor a written paper, in which it was stated, that as the petition related to a bill agreed on by both houses of parliament, which his majesty could not take notice of, till it was presented to him for his royal assent in parliament, no answer could be given. The lord-mayor, upon reading the paper, immediately sent the remembrancer to present his duty to the king, and to inform his majesty that he waited officially to present to his majesty an address from the city of London, agreeably to his majesty's appointment, signified to the sheriffs; on which, after some little hesitation, they were admitted, and the address read by the recorder. The king then went to the house of peers, and prorogued the parliament till the 4th of August.

At a meeting of the freeholders at Mile End, to nominate two persons to represent the county of Middlesex, Mr. serjeant Glynn, and John Wilkes, esq. were unanimously approved. They afterwards entered into the following engagement: to endeavour to restore and defend the form of government established at the Revolution, and to promote acts of legislature for shortening the duration of parliaments; for excluding pensioners and placemen from the house of commons; for a more fair and equal representation of the people; for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of the county, and the whole body of the electors of the united kingdom; and an act for the repeal of the four late acts respecting America; the Quebec act, establishing popery, and the system of French Canadian laws, in that extensive pro-



vince ; the Boston port act ; the act for altering the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, and the act for the trial in Europe of persons accused of criminal offences in America.

The parliament, which had sat only six years, was unexpectedly dissolved in the month of September, and a new parliament immediately convened ; it was the only parliament which had received its dissolution before the expiration of the term of seven years since his present majesty's accession to the throne.

At a meeting of the livery at Guildhall, in the month of October, Frederick Bull, Brads Crosby, John Sawbridge, and George Hayley, esqrs. were put in nomination to represent the city of London, previous to which they all signed a paper, in substance similar to that signed by serjeant Glynn and Mr. Wilkes. Mr. Oliver and Mr. Baker were likewise nominated, but refused to sign the above paper. At a meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster, lords Mountmorres and Mahon were put in nomination to represent that city in parliament ; at the same time Humphrey Cotes, esq. offered himself as a candidate. They were opposed, a short time after, by lord Percy, and lord Thomas Pelham Clinton. At the close of the poll for lord-mayor for the year ensuing, the numbers for John Wilkes, esq. were 1957, right honourable Frederick Bull 1923, Sir James Esdaile 1474, and another alderman 1410 ; the election thus fell upon the two former, who were returned to the court of aldermen ; when the choice of that body fell upon John Wilkes, esq. who was accordingly declared to be duly elected. At the final close of the poll for members to serve the city in parliament, the numbers were, for the lord-mayor 3096 ; John Sawbridge, esq. 3456 ; George Hayley, esq. 3390 ; Richard Oliver, esq. 3354 ; William Baker, esq. 2802 ; Brads Crosby, esq. 1913 ; John Roberts, esq. 1398 : the first four gentlemen were then declared to be elected. On the 20th the election for knights of the shire came on for the county of Middlesex. Mr. Wilkes and serjeant Glynn were declared to be elected, no other candidates opposing them. At the final close of the poll for Westminster, the numbers were, for earl Percy 4994, lord Pelham Clinton 4744, lord Mountmorres 2531, lord Mahon 2342, Humphrey Cotes, esq. 130 ; whereupon the two former noblemen were declared to be duly elected.

The officers from the Mint presented, for his majesty in council, four boxes of very accurate weights, as standards for weighing the coin of these kingdoms ; two series of which were to be preserved in the Mint as originals, the one of gold, the other of silver ;

silver; the others, as duplicates or copies of the same, were delivered to a proper officer appointed to compare and mark all such weights for common use; and from that time no money-weights were deemed legal but what were stamped by the officer, according to a late act of parliament.

In the beginning of January 1775, lord Chatham stepped forward to make one more effort for America; he urged the recall of the army, and the adoption of measures of reconciliation: his motion was ably seconded by lord Camden, but it was in vain, for it was rejected by 68 voices against 18. In the house of commons the motion for suspending the exercise of the right of taxation was soon after brought forward by lord North, in such colonies as should, in their general assemblies, raise those contributions which were approved of by the king in parliament. This proposal was carried to some of the provincial assemblies, as before mentioned, and rejected with disdain, as delusive and unsatisfactory. A petition from the congress to the king was ordered by his majesty to be laid before parliament; upon which Dr. Franklin, and two other American agents, solicited to be heard at the bar of the house, in behalf of their petition: this was also refused, it being said that the American congress was no legal assembly, and that therefore no petition could be received from it by parliament with propriety.

On the 3d of February, the long-depending cause relative to the disfranchisement of alderman Plumbe, as chief warden of the goldsmiths' company, for not obeying the lord-mayor's precept, came on before the judges of appeal. After two adjournments, it was finally determined in July, when the judges gave it as their opinion, that Mr. alderman Plumbe had not been guilty of any offence against his oath and duty as a freeman; consequently the judgment of disfranchisement pronounced against him in the lord-mayor's court by the recorder, was by them reversed.

At a court of common-council, the thanks of that assembly were voted to lord Chatham, for his having offered a plan for conciliating the differences which subsisted between this country and America, which was done accordingly. The recorder and common-serjeant gave their opinion to the committee of city-lands, on a point which had been for some years depending; that the places of head-marshal and under-marshal should for the future be given away; as then the court, upon any complaint of ill conduct, could dismiss those officers immediately; whereas, when places are bought, they are supposed to be a security for life, of whatever misdemeanour the persons may be guilty. The lord-mayor moved, in the house of commons, in the  
month



month of February, that the proceedings of that house of the 17th of February 1769, be read; which being done, his lordship made a speech upon what he called proceedings illegal, unjustifiable, and unwarrantable; and moved that the resolutions which declared “that John Wilkes, esq. having been this present session of parliament expelled this house, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament,” be expunged from the journals of the house, as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom. After eight hours’ debate the question was put, when for the motion there appeared 171, against it 239. A petition from the corporation of London was presented to the house on the 24th, against the bill to restrain the trade and commerce of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, and other colonies in North America, on the ground of its being cruel and unjust, and partial and injurious to the trade of Great Britain. A terrible fire broke out in Warwick-lane, Newgate-street, which consumed several houses, and did infinite damage: many lives were lost. At a court, held in April, a lease of the place of one of the fifteen coal-meters of London, for twenty-one years, was sold at Guildhall for 6050*l.*: this place may be said to be worth upwards of 4000*l.* per annum, one year with another. The city-marshal received orders from the lord-mayor to attend every market-day at Smithfield, to prevent as much as possible all iniquitous practices there, and particularly all barbarous treatment of the cattle brought for sale; and if any persons were found offending, to take them into custody. The king sent a message to parliament at this time, desiring that a better and more suitable accommodation should be made for the residence of the queen, in case she should survive him; and being willing that the palace in which he then resided, called the queen’s house, should be settled upon her majesty for that purpose, recommended them to make provision for appropriating Somerset-house to such uses as should be found most beneficial to the public; which was afterwards put into execution. The lord-mayor, attended by several aldermen and common-council, waited upon the king with the petition relative to Massachusetts Bay, &c. When the lord-mayor, Wilkes, arrived at St. James’s, he was informed that it was expected by his majesty that he would not speak to him; to which the lord-mayor answered, that the caution was needless, as he never expected nor desired that honour. On the 12th, the lord-mayor received a letter from the lord-chamberlain, to inform him that the king would not receive any address, remonstrance, or petition, on the throne, of the lord-mayor and aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. On the

27th of May, the parliament was prorogued to the 27th of July. The king's speech, and the subsequent proceedings of parliament, now left no hope of accommodation with America; for the resolution and resentment of that country rose in proportion to the arbitrary and oppressive acts of Great Britain, and a single spark was now sufficient to set the continent in a flame. The first blood was spilt, in this unhappy war, at Lexington and Concord, on the 19th of April 1775, which was occasioned by general Gage sending a body of troops to destroy some military stores there. All the colonies now prepared for war, and a stop was every where put to the exportation of provisions.

During the summer recess of parliament, the duke of Grafton, lord privy-seal, who had long viewed, with extreme solicitude and concern, the violent measures adopted by the majority of ministers, but who had been induced to concur with, and countenance these proceedings, by the most positive assurances of a speedy termination of the controversy, now perceiving a bloody and unnatural war in full prospect, determined no longer to take any share in the responsibility attached to his exalted station; but thinking it proper to make one effort to procure a change of system, previous to his resignation, his grace wrote to lord North upon the subject, but received a very respectful, though unsatisfactory answer, purporting that measures of coercion were unalterably determined upon. The duke renewed his solicitations with the minister, on the receipt of the congress petition, but with no better effect. As a last resource, then, his grace requested an audience with the king; which being granted, he stated his reasons for no longer taking a part in the administration of the country. The king listened with attention, and condescendingly endeavoured to demonstrate to the duke, by calm and dispassionate reasoning, the necessity of the war, and the ultimate certainty of success; and finding that he was unable to effect the conviction which he desired, expressed his regret at the loss of so faithful a servant. On the resignation of the duke of Grafton, lord Dartmouth was appointed lord privy-seal, and lord George Germaine obtained the post of secretary of state for the colonies. Lord Rochford withdrawing from public business, the earl of Weymouth was reinstated in the office of secretary for the southern department.

Nothing material occurred in the city of London during several months. Drury-lane theatre opened for the first time since great alterations had taken place in it, during the last summer; it appeared more like a new theatre than an old one; and,  
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from its enlargement and additions, became one of the most complete theatres in Europe. A great mortality took place in London, Dublin, and particularly all over France, from a very sudden and violent change in the weather, which, from being very cold, had changed to hot and sultry air. An experiment was tried in London to ascertain the cause of this epidemy. A paper kite, about four feet high, was spread thinly over with treacle, and was flown in the air about half an hour; when taken down, it was spread over very thick with insects, so small, that the eye could not discover them without a glass. They were in form of a hedge-hog, covered with thick hair standing perpendicular; their smell was very offensive and strong. This multitude of insects might probably rather be a concomitant effect with the disorder, than the cause of it. The workhouse of St. Mary-le-bone was built this year; it is situated in the Paddington road, near the upper end of Baker-street. It contains more than 1000 persons. The house and infirmary adjoining deserve admiration.

The American war now engaged the whole attention of the nation, and was the cause of serious alarm to the city of London; various petitions against it from all quarters were presented. The remains of more than one hundred dead bodies were discovered in a shed in Tottenham-court-road, supposed to have been deposited there by traders to the surgeons, many of whom in the Borough were well known to have made an open profession of this traffic. On the 25th of April, the queen being safely delivered of a princess, her eleventh child, christened Mary, the lord-mayor and corporation addressed his majesty on the occasion, and received a gracious answer. At a court of common-council at Guildhall, a motion was made upon the expensiture necessary to support the dignity of the mayoralty; although the income allowed out of the chamber was but 4000*l*. the expense was not less than 7000*l*. and upwards; it was then moved that it be referred to the committee appointed for an examination into the state of the city's cash, to take into consideration the amount of the salary and emoluments annually allowed by the corporation to the lord-mayor for the support of the necessary expense of the mayoralty; and that the committee state their opinion to the court upon the subject. This was agreed to without a division. The new hall, called Freemasons'-hall, was dedicated in May, in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields. A large body of journeymen carpenters having assembled in Stepney-fields, for the purpose of raising their wages, they were met by the justices, to whom they behaved with the greatest respect, and acquainted them with their

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supposed grievances, and the occasion of their meeting ; they were promised to have every thing possible done for them, although it was feared that nothing but a bill in parliament could succeed, as was the case with the weavers ; upon which they dispersed quietly, and returned to their homes. In obedience to an act passed in the last session of parliament, for building general workhouses, an order was issued by the lord-mayor, to the officers of the different parishes of London, to deliver in to the secretaries of state, an exact account of the number of poor in their respective parishes, who were either in the workhouses or received alms ; and the same order was to be sent to every parish in the kingdom, in order that some regulations might be made for the better provision of the poor, and for easing the inhabitants of some part of the poor's rates with which they were then loaded ; and by putting a stop to the practice of farming out the poor, and all other impositions. At the Old Bailey sessions, several convicts were sentenced to hard labour, in some service useful to the navigation of the Thames ; a work which it was expected might be useful to the community : they were compelled to work according to their respective ages ; if they conducted themselves properly, they were, upon a representation of their good behaviour, to be abridged in the term of their servitude ; if they were incorrigible, they were to be worked to the utmost of their strength. The term of their servitude was to be doubled upon the first attempt to escape ; and upon the second, they would be liable to suffer death without benefit of clergy. The law for this sentence was indeed severe: they were to be employed in as much labour as they could sustain ; to be fed with legs and shins of beef, ox-cheek, and such other coarse food ; to have nothing for drink but water or small beer ; to be clad in some squalid uniform ; never to be visited without the consent of the overseers ; and whoever gave them the smallest relief was to incur a penalty of forty shillings. The expense of keeping and maintaining them was to be paid by government, and not out of the county rates. The first vessel launched for the above purpose was constructed on a plan approved of by his majesty in council. It could not be called a ship or tender, neither was it so flat and open as a lighter ; it was calculated to hold twenty-seven tons of ballast ; on the larboard side the gunwale was considerably broader than in the common lighters ; on the starboard side was a flooring about three feet broad, for the men to work on, and a machine called a david, with a windlass for raising the ballast. Part of the vessel was decked in abaft, for the convicts to sleep in, and another part in the forecastle was formed into a kind of cabin



cabin for the overseer. Her outward appearance differed very little from that of a common lighter. In August, the convicts, chained by the leg, two and two, began to work in her, about two miles below Barking creek, under the direction of Duncan Campbell, esq. who was appointed governor of this new Bridewell. The behaviour of the convicts in general was very becoming; the clause in the act for shortening their punishment, upon a representation of their good behaviour, having operated very powerfully. A few of them at first, a little below Woolwich, attempted to get off their chains, and were guilty of some slight outrages to their commander, when a severe flagellation ensued, on their being again properly secured. Eight others, a short time after, found means to seize on the arms-chest, and presenting pistols to the heads of their keepers, threatened instantly to blow their brains out, if they did not immediately go down into the hold, which they were obliged to comply with; upon this the villains jumped into a boat, which had been designedly brought alongside by some of their friends, and got clear off.

By the report of the committee directed to inquire into the city cash, and the probable expenses attending the mayoralty, the receipts and payments of the last five years were delivered in, when the committee determined, that in future the sums arising from the sale of all officers' places of this city whatever, should be paid into the chamber of London, and that the court should allow the lord-mayors in future 1000*l.* in lieu of the said places. A bell was erected in the centre of Smithfield about this time, on a high pyramid consisting of four posts. It was to be rung at twelve o'clock on Sunday nights, for cattle to be brought in, and at three o'clock on Monday and Friday afternoons, for the market to cease; and in failure of obedience to this signal, the cattle were to be sent to the Green-yard. This month the nation had to regret the death of that invaluable historian David Hume; he died at Edinburgh. Bartholomew fair, which had for many years been the receptacle of thieves and plunderers, was, by the lord-mayor, sheriffs, and city-officers, proclaimed in the usual manner, but all interludes strictly forbidden; and through the vigilance of the city-marshals, and their assistants, the spot was cleared of sharpers and pickpockets on market-days, and such order introduced as to render the safety of the passengers more secure.

The collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, was opened for divine service in the month of October, after having been long shut up for the erection of a new choir, and for the purpose of making several other repairs, which have greatly

added to the ornaments of that magnificent pile. To prove the depravity of the times at this period, there were no less than eighty-eight persons who received sentence of death, during the mayoralty of John Sawbridge, esq. this present year; thirty-nine of whom were executed, and six of them for murder. On the 31st, the king opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne. On the 28th of November, at a quarter past eight in the evening, the shock of an earthquake was felt at Canterbury, Sandwich, Ashford, and all over East Kent, particularly on the coast. Its direction was from north to south: it lasted about eight seconds, and was attended by a rumbling distant noise. The morning was gloomy and perfectly calm; the wind south; Fahrenheit's barometer at Sandwich, 29.8; the thermometer within doors, at the side of an east window on a staircase, 37.3. The shock caused a bell to sound at Dover, and another near Canterbury. The same shock was still more sensibly felt at Calais, where it threw the inhabitants into great consternation. On the 17th of December, lord Percy becoming a peer in his own right, in consequence of the death of his mother, the duchess of Northumberland, a seat in parliament for Westminster became vacant, when lord Petersham, who at that time was in America, was nominated, and no other candidate appearing, he was declared to be duly elected. Sir Watkin Lewes afterwards came forward, and declaring himself a candidate, demanded a poll, which was refused on account of his not appearing at the declaration. Sir Watkin afterwards drew up, and signed, a protest against the proceedings of the day.

The new year set in with a very hard frost; the Thames was frozen over at Kingston, and many persons crossed over on the ice. On the 22d of February, Dr. Dodd was found guilty, and condemned to death, for forging a bond of 4200*l.* in the name of the earl of Chesterfield; the story is well known, and although the greatest exertions were made in his favour to obtain the royal mercy, yet they were of no avail. In April, the royal assent was given by commission, to the bill for enabling the city of London to purchase the tolls of the river Thames, westward of London-bridge, and within the liberties, and to lay on small tolls in lieu thereof. In the month of May, at a meeting of common-council, it was resolved that the freedom of the city, in a gold box, be given to Sir Fletcher Norton, speaker of the house of commons, for having declared in manly terms to his majesty the real state of the nation; which was accordingly done.

At the close of the session of parliament, lord Chatham again ventured, though wrapped



wrapped up in flannels, and supported by crutches, to make another attempt to rescue the country from the horrors of the American war, but in vain; the ministerial party had too much influence to allow such a measure to succeed. Meanwhile the war was carried on with various changes of success on both sides. A great part of the summer had passed away, and the primary object of the campaign had proved abortive. A daring riot took place in Newgate among the prisoners, the principal of whom were those for the riot and rescue in Moorfields, about three years since, and who were now confined in separate wards. They endeavoured to pull down the prison, and continued all night in that employment. The lord-mayor and one of the sheriffs attended, and remonstrated with them; when his lordship having promised to inform his majesty of their situation, as they declared that their poverty and long confinement had rendered them desperate, they became quiet and peaceable.

Early in the beginning of the year the parliament assembled, but nothing of any very great importance occurred, except Mr. Fox's motion for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation. At a court of common-council, held at Guildhall, the salary of upper marshal was fixed at 250*l.* per annum, and that of lower marshal at 200*l.*; both were subject to the orders and regulations of a committee of the court. Formerly these places were enjoyed by purchase, but now they are placed on a footing suitable to the dignity and opulence of the metropolis of the British empire. The court then proceeded to the election of the marshalsmen. At the same time a petition was presented to lord George Germaine, the secretary of state for the colonial department, reciting the grievances, and requesting his lordship's assistance to endeavour to obtain a repeal of the Quebec act, and an establishment in its stead, of a free government, by an assembly or representation of the people, agreeably to his majesty's promise in the year 1763.

In the month of February, the minister, lord North, brought in a bill for removing all doubt and apprehensions concerning taxation by the parliament of Great Britain, in any of the colonies and plantations in North America; and another bill, to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders subsisting in certain colonies of North America. The absurdity of the ministerial system here displayed itself; the powers now granted were precisely those which it was the object of the duke of Grafton to adopt in 1776. From the declaration of independency which

America had made, she could never be expected to recede. The strength of Great Britain had been tried, and she was found to be unequal to the contest. The minister's propositions were received by the house without any symptoms of applause; on the contrary, they were opposed with many objections from every quarter. On the 7th of April, the duke of Richmond moved an address, in the lords, to the king on the state of the nation, and urged in strong terms the necessity of an immediate recognition of American independence. America, he said, was lost, and her independence established. Lord Chatham appeared in the house enfeebled, and afflicted with corporeal infirmities. That able statesman was in a full dress of black velvet, and covered to the knees in flannel. He was led into the house by Mr. Pitt and lord Mahon, all the lords rising through respect. He was pale and emaciated, but his eye sparkled with its original fire. When the duke of Richmond had ended, his lordship rose, and lamenting that his bodily infirmities had prevented his attendance on the duties of his station, he declared that he had made an effort beyond his powers, and was probably come for the last time into the house. In the strongest terms, he objected to the ignominy of surrendering the rights of the British nation, and its fairest possessions, and urging the country to make one effort, or to fall like men, concluded his speech. The duke of Richmond, in reply, declared that he was ignorant of any means that could be adopted to resist successfully the combination of America with France, which power had united with that country against us. His grace insisted, that if lord Chatham could not point out those means, no man had it in his power. Lord Chatham, much agitated, made an effort to speak; but before he could find articulation, fell down suddenly in a convulsive fit. The duke of Cumberland, lord Temple, and other lords near him, caught him in their arms; the house was immediately cleared, and the debate adjourned. His lordship was conveyed to his favourite seat of Hayes, in Kent, where he expired on the 11th of May 1778, in the 70th year of his age. The melancholy news was communicated to the house of commons, and the whole nation regretted that loss which was so difficult to be repaired. A monument was erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey, and a provision made for his family of a clear annuity of 4000*l.* per annum, payable out of the civil list, to the earldom for ever, and the sum of 20,000*l.* voted for the payment of his debts.

The succeeding year presented the most awful appearance of public affairs which this country had perhaps ever beheld. All ancient systems of policy relative to any



scheme of equality or balance of power seemed to be forgotten in Europe. Friends and allies existed no more with respect to us. On the contrary, whether it proceeded from our fault, or whether it was merely our misfortune, mankind seemed to wait with an aspect of indifference for the event of that ruin which was expected to burst upon the country.

In the court of King's Bench, a petition was presented in behalf of a great number of prisoners from the King's Bench, praying for their lordships' interference and support against several complaints stated therein, and ill-treatment which they had received from a number of associated prisoners, who had, in opposition to all law, erected themselves into a kind of tribunal, disposed of the property, and inflicted corporal punishment on all who refused to comply with their violent and unjust demands. A captain Philipps, and a Mr. Chillingsworth, had fashioned a court of King's Bench within the walls of the prison; and the former had styled himself marshal, the latter his deputy. Assisted by eighty more, they had issued precepts, summonses, orders, decrees, and executions, against the persons and property of prisoners, and had committed many flagrant acts of oppression and injustice. There were only 140 rooms in the prison, and near 600 prisoners; they were dispossessed of their rooms at the will and discretion of the above court, and their property was seized and disposed of as that court thought fit. The real marshal of the King's Bench had not visited the Bench above three times in the last year, and the fictitious court consisted of prisoners who had long been entitled to their discharges, they having refused to go out, because in that case they would be obliged to give up their property to their just creditors, while they had, by their oppressions and extortions, raised the price of rooms from 50*l.* to 70*l.* per annum. They claimed these rooms by seniority, and let them out, not choosing to live in them on that account. Such were the violence and enormities committed by them, that it was dangerous to refuse to obey, or to oppose. This complaint calling for immediate redress, the court formed several resolutions upon it, when Mr. Dunning framed an order of court, That every prisoner who had been supersedable six months, and who had not been superseded, should be discharged immediately, unless he should be charged with a fresh action, and then he should lose the benefit of his seniority. This was put into effect; every prisoner was besides compelled to inhabit the room he held; 100 prisoners were discharged, and captain Philipps was brought up to answer for the charge. Being called upon for his defence, he said

said that this factitious court was formed before he was a prisoner, and that it was highly serviceable to the community, in preventing confusion and disorder. Lord Mansfield immediately ordered him to the new jail, there to be kept in closer confinement. In the court of King's Bench the right of a claim was set up by the city of London, to a duty of sixpence a load on hay sold in Smithfield, not the property of freemen in London. This claim was disputed by several of the inhabitants of Finchley, who set up a contrary claim to an exemption from paying the same duty. The corporation contended, that from time immemorial the customs and grants of this toll had been allowed; the defendants set up a claim to exemption granted in favour of the bishop of London, and his tenants, in the reign of king John; they also brought witnesses to prove, that they had for thirty, forty, and fifty years, sold hay in Smithfield without paying the sixpence per load. A verdict was however given for the city of London, as it did not appear that Finchley was a manor of the bishop's at the time that the exemption was granted to his tenants, and as the exemption of the payment respecting the duty was dubious. The extreme heat of the weather during this season, caused the glass to rise upwards of 80, at which height it remained some time, a thing rather unusual in this climate. On the 20th of August, the first stone of the sessions-house, in Clerkenwell, was laid, for the use of the county of Middlesex, by the duke of Northumberland: it was to be used instead of that at Hicks's-hall. A statue to the memory of that illustrious statesman, the earl of Chatham, was directed to be placed in Guildhall, opposite to that of alderman Beckford, to be executed by Mr. Bacon, at an expense not exceeding 3000/.

The great expenses of the American war, and the burdens which, in consequence of it, were laid upon the nation, naturally occasioned much discontent among the people, and seemed to convince persons of all ranks of the necessity of public economy. Meetings were held, therefore, in several counties, and the cities of London and Westminster, at the close of the year, and the beginning of the succeeding one, among the freeholders, who agreed to petition the house of commons, stating the evils which the profuse expenditure of the public money occasioned. Some trivial attempts were made in parliament to remedy the grievances, but nothing important was effected; the ministry soon found means to maintain their influence in parliament; a diversity of sentiment occasioned some disunion among the popular leaders; the spirit which appeared among the people by degrees subsided,

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and various causes at length conspired to bring the nation into a patient acquiescence in the measures of administration. During the year some small changes in the ministry had taken place; the attorney-general, Thurlow, was created baron Thurlow, and made lord-chancellor, in the room of earl Bathurst, who was nominated president of the council, in the room of earl Gower. The seals of the southern department were resigned by the earl of Weymouth a second time, and transferred to the earl of Hillsborough. A misunderstanding had taken place between the Hague and the court of Britain, and every prospect of a war appeared with that country.

Early in the year 1780, the proprietors of East India stock had a meeting, to receive and discuss the matter relative to the propositions which had passed between the court of directors and the treasury-board, respecting the renewal of their charter. Government had demanded one million sterling, and all the surplus arising from the profits of the trade, after a proprietary dividend of 8% per cent. beyond which the company were hereafter never to exceed. Lord North had provided nothing for contingencies that might happen. A proposition was then made, that the company's present rights, charters, privileges, and territorial acquisitions, should be confirmed to them for ever. After much debate, the question was put, and the proposition was made that "The company's exclusive trade should be prolonged for the term of ten years; and that the charter should be preserved entire. Upon the scrutineers casting up the votes, a majority of 33 appeared against the question. All the crown lawyers were consulted on the subject of the charter of the company. The East India stock was valued at 3,200,000/.; bonds and other debts at 1,800,000/.. Their property in India exceeded 13,000,000/.; government debt, 4,200,000/.; and their effects in England made up 20,000,000/.. Had the government broke up the charter, the proprietors would have divided 400% sterling for every 100% stock, after paying the bond and other debts, besides deducting their capital. At a court of common-council, on the 6th of March, it was resolved that the freedom of the city be given to admiral Rodney, in a gold box of 100 guineas value, for the signal services rendered by him to this country, in the defeat of the Spanish fleet under Don Juan de Langara; when, out of eleven ships of war, and two frigates, five were carried into Gibraltar.

An act of parliament having passed in the course of the year 1778, relieving the Roman catholics from some of the heavier penalties inflicted upon them in the last

century, it met the approbation of the people of England; but the spirit of fanaticism which discovered itself in Scotland, prevented the extension of this very defective and imperfect toleration to that kingdom. On the suspicion of the intended indulgence, great dissensions and tumults took place at Edinburgh and Glasgow; the popish chapel in the metropolis was destroyed, and the houses of the principal catholics attacked and plundered; upon which the lord-provost published a pusillanimous proclamation, ascribing the riots to the apprehensions of well-meaning people, and assuring them that no repeal of the penal statutes should take place. Thus encouraged, the fanatics formed themselves into a society, styled the "Protestant Association," to oppose any remission of the present persecuting laws against the papists; and of this association lord George Gordon was chosen president; a man of an eccentric and enthusiastical turn of mind. The association had gradually extended to England, and every pains had been taken to procure subscriptions to a petition to parliament for a repeal of the act in favour of the papists. It was reported that more than one hundred thousand persons had signed the petition. It was resolved, in order to give the petition the greater weight, that the association should go in procession to the house of commons on the day that it was to be presented. Lord George Gordon, who was himself a member of that house, declined to present it unless accompanied by 20,000 men at least. To promote this scheme, a public advertisement was published, stating, that as no hall in London could contain 40,000 persons, it was resolved that this association should meet in St. George's-fields, on the Friday following, the 2d of June, at ten o'clock in the morning, to consider of the most prudent and respectful manner of attending this petition, which was to be presented the same day to the house of commons. The association met on the day appointed; a vast concourse of people assembled, from all parts of the metropolis and its suburbs, in St. George's-fields, where they were joined by lord George Gordon. On his lordship's arrival, they formed a ring round him, in which situation he made a speech to them, strongly recommending a peaceable behaviour and deportment; a hand-bill also was distributed, inculcating the same pacific temper. During the speech, from the immense pressure of the crowd his lordship was nearly suffocated; but the throng being removed to a little further distance, he marched them in four different bodies, according to four different divisions—of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Scotland, three or four times round the fields; after which his lordship left them, and proceeded  
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in his carriage over Westminster-bridge, to the house of commons, in order to be at hand there to present the petition. The committee of the association, with several other members of the society, went the same way. The rest, amounting to at least 50,000, took their route over London-bridge, marching in tolerable order, and very quietly, in a rank of about six or eight deep, through Cornhill, Cheap-side, and the Strand, towards Westminster, following their respective banners, on which were written the name of the division, with the words "No Popery," and other labels, expressive of the business of the day. Each petitioner also wore a blue cockade in his hat, some of which were ornamented with gold and silver; and many had printed labels fixed to them of the same tenour with those on the banners. At the head of the Scotch division a highlander marched in his country dress, with his sword drawn, and followed by a pair of bagpipes. In St. George's-fields, previous to the march, a taylor was employed to tack together the different skins signed by the petitioners, composing a very large roll, which was carried on a man's head. In this manner they marched on, gathering fresh numbers wherever they went; and when they came towards Charing-cross, were joined by more forces, some on horseback, and in coaches, who proceeded with them to the house. As they went by the churches, they gave three cheers. The admiralty was also saluted by them as they passed, and by the time that they arrived at New Palace-yard, the company which passed over Westminster-bridge having joined them, their numbers were now become so large, that Old Palace-yard, with Westminster-hall, and all the avenues about both houses of parliament, were entirely filled. In this situation they waited the arrival of the members of both houses, many of whom were very roughly treated in their way to the house. Among these, their principal vengeance seemed to have fallen upon the peers, both spiritual and temporal, particularly on the archbishop of York, whose carriage they stopped, and whose person they greatly insulted. The lord-president they seized, kicked on the legs, and jostled; lord Mansfield they stopped, and reviled to his face; the carriage of lord Stormont they took possession of for near an hour, getting upon the box and wheels, and taking great liberties with his lordship's person; and they probably might not then have parted with his lordship, had not a gentleman jumped into the carriage, and prevailed upon the populace to desist. The duke of Northumberland was treated rather favourably, but obliged to submit to the loss of his watch. Lord Boston was severely handled by them; and the bishop of Lichfield met with no better

treatment. Many of the nobility were very roughly used, and the bishop of Lincoln, Thurlow, escaped with his life with the greatest difficulty. Mr. Atkinson, an attorney in Westminster, very humanely admitted his lordship into his house, at the risk of his property and existence, and the bishop in disguise got away over the tops of the houses. The commons, individually, met with a better reception, though collectively they were under still greater apprehensions than the lords. Mr. Strahan, and Mr. Welbore Ellis, experienced much ill-usage; the carriage of the former was considerably damaged, and the last-mentioned gentleman was pursued to the Guildhall, Westminster, the windows of which the populace broke in their fury, and then getting at the object of their pursuit, treated him with much roughness. When lord North made his appearance, it was with the utmost difficulty that he could find his way to the commons, being stopped on the staircase by several of the association. Lord George Germaine was much hissed and groaned at, and porter was thrown in his face. The mob twice attempted to force their way into the house of commons, and it was with difficulty that the members got either in or out. They also attempted the house of lords, but were kept out through the management of Sir Francis Molyneux, and the exertions of the door-keepers. They filled the lobby, however, and pressed so violently against the door, that the members were blocked up. Most part of the day was spent in that house in debates relative to the mob. But when the house had obtained some degree of order, Lord George introduced his petition, which he said was signed by near 120,000 protestant subjects, praying the repeal of the act of last session, in favour of the Roman catholics, and he moved to have the petition brought up. Mr. alderman Bull seconded his motion, and leave was accordingly given. In the interim, while this business was in agitation, lord George was frequently called upon to disperse his followers. His manner of addressing them is differently related. He first told them that they had nothing to expect from the house; then it was resolved to consider their petition on Tuesday, but he did not approve delays; and lastly, he advised them to depart peaceably, and rely upon the goodness of their gracious king, who, now that he knew the desires of the people, would be ready to meet their wishes. With this assurance, as soon as the house broke up, most of them dispersed; and the guards, who had been sent for, and arrived, were in a short time after ordered to return home. But though order and tranquillity were re-established in this part of the town, it was not so in other places. The mob paraded off, in  
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different divisions, from Palace-yard; some went to the Romish chapel in Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, and others to that in Warwick-street, Golden-square, where, finding little or no opposition, they pulled down the altars, ornaments, and furniture, and committed the whole to the flames. Among other valuables, was the beautiful painting at the altar of the Sardinian chapel, by the chevalier Casalé, which cost 2500*l*. A party of the guards was sent for, but before they arrived the mischief was done. Thirteen of the rioters were taken; the rest, on the appearance of the military, dispersed. Little or no disturbance happened the following day, and it was hoped that the rage of bigotry and violence had subsided, but this, unfortunately, was not the case. On Sunday, in the afternoon, the mob assembled, in large bodies, again, and attacked the chapels and dwelling-houses of the catholics, in and about Moorfields. They stripped their houses of furniture, and their chapels not only of ornaments and insignia of religion, but tore up the altars, pulpits, benches, pews, and made fires of them, leaving nothing but the bare walls. About half-past nine a party of the guards came, when they left off, and dispersed.

Some few accidents happened on the approach of the military, but no person was killed this night. Encouraged by this lenity, they began, on the following day, to grow more daring and desperate. Early on Monday they demolished the school-house, and three dwelling-houses, in Ropemakers'-alley, belonging to the priests, with a valuable library of books. They now threatened destruction to all who should oppose them, and divided into different parties, for different purposes. One party appeared before lord George's house in Welbeck-street; another went in triumph to Virginia-street, Wapping; a third directed their march to Nightingale-lane, East Smithfield; and while the first party gutted the house of Sir George Saville, on pretence of his having brought in the obnoxious bill, and those of Mr. Rainsforth, in Stanhope-street, and Mr. Maberly, of Little Queen-street, for giving evidence against their accomplices, the other parties destroyed the popish chapels in their route, insulted the catholics, plundered their houses, and brought out and set fire to their furniture. A proclamation was then issued, offering a reward of 500*l*. to any one who should discover the persons concerned in destroying the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels. The rioters who were taken on the preceding Saturday, were also committed to Newgate, to which gaol they were escorted by a party of guards, who, on their return, were pelted with stones; but, from the humanity of their officer, were prevented from firing upon the rioters. In vain had a resolution

of the protestant association been circulated in the morning, requesting all true protestants to show their attachment to their best interests, by a legal and peaceable deportment. It was not an attention to the united prayers of the protestant petition that the ringleaders had in view; they had now scouts upon the watch in all the avenues, and on the first intimation of the approaching military, the whole body instantly vanished. During this time the lords, commons, and magistrates seemed to be panic-struck; so that no proper measures had been adopted for suppressing these alarming troubles. On Tuesday, the day which had been appointed to take the protestant petition into consideration by parliament, the multitude which assembled round the house of commons was no less numerous than that which surrounded it on the preceding Friday. They did not, as before, come in regular bodies from St. George's-fields, but proceeded in small parties from different places. At first they appeared orderly, but resolute; in the course of the afternoon more parties arrived, and they began by degrees to become tumultuous. Lord Sandwich was the only person, however, who suffered violence, and he was instantly rescued by a party of horse, who escorted him back to the admiralty, from whence he wrote to lord Mansfield, stating his case. The house of lords, which had met at an early hour, broke up without coming to any determination. The house of commons declared that no resolutions which might pass could be deemed legal, whilst they were beset with a military force, and under apprehensions from the daring spirit of the people. They passed four resolutions: that the attorney-general should prosecute the rioters; that compensation should be made to the sufferers; that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the outrages; and that it was a dangerous breach of privilege to attack members of parliament attending their duty in the house. During the sitting of the house, an attack had been made on the dwelling of lord North, in Downing-street; but a party of light-horse repulsed the assailants. Lord George, upon the rising of the house, informed the populace that every thing was done for them which was proper, and advised them to return home quietly. They then unharnessed his horses, and drew him along in triumph, to the house of alderman Bull, together with Sir Philip Clerke. While the rioters were thus employed, a party of guards, with justice Hyde, endeavoured to disperse them. At first they pressed hard upon the soldiers, who, in their turn, soon advanced upon them, and rode furiously among them. They no longer attempted to face the military. In the evening, the rioters, re-

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senting the activity of justice Hyde, a detached party attacked his house in Lisle-street, stripped it of the furniture, and burnt it before the door. A party of the guards arrived too late, the mischief was done, and the rioters had fled. They now repaired to Newgate, and their object was to release their comrades who were there confined. They called upon the keeper to release them, and threatened to burn the prison if he refused. He, dreading what to do, immediately went to the sheriffs to know their pleasure. While the magistrates deliberated, they set fire to the prison, and on his return, the keeper, Mr. Akerman, found his house in flames. A party of constables, to the number of 100, came to his assistance; the rioters suffered them to pass till they were quite encircled, when they attacked them with great fury, and converted their broken staves into brands, which were hurled about in every direction where the fire appeared, but faintly kindled. From the flaming gaol a miserable crew of felons in irons, and confined debtors, to the number of more than 300, were all liberated; by this additional body of villains, the house of Sir John Fielding, a most active and worthy magistrate, was attacked. The public office in Bow-street also underwent the same fate. The mob, not contented with these devastations, repaired to the house of lord Mansfield, in Bloomsbury-square; not before they had sent off a large party to the catholics in Devonshire-street, Red Lion-square, and another to the house of justice Cox, in Great Queen-street; while a third broke open the doors of the new prison, Clerkenwell, and turned out all the prisoners. Lord Mansfield's house they immediately set on fire. They first began by breaking the doors and windows, and from every part of the house threw the superb furniture into the street, where large fires were made to destroy it. They then proceeded to his lordship's library, and destroyed some thousands of volumes, with many valuable manuscripts, mortgages, papers, and other deeds. A rich wardrobe of wearing apparel, and some very capital pictures, were also burned; they afterwards forced their way into his lordship's cellars, and bountifully delivered the contents to their associates. A party of guards now arrived, and the riot-act was read; a detachment was then ordered to fire; several men and women were killed, and others wounded. This however did not intimidate the mob, though the soldiers were ordered to fire again. The house was now pulled down, and every particle of it burnt to the ground. Lord and lady Mansfield made their escape through a back door, a few minutes before the rioters broke in, and took possession of their house. It is impossible to give any adequate description of the events of Wednesday. No-

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tice was sent by the mob to the public prisons of the King's Bench, Fleet, and other prisons, at what time they would come and burn them down. The same kind of humanity was shown to Mr. Langdale, a distiller, in Holborn, whose loss was said to amount to 50,000*l.* and several other Romish individuals. The mob had also sent over a party to Caen Wood, the country residence of lord Mansfield, but happily, on their arrival there, found a large party of the military, who had previously taken possession of the place, on which they retired. They next declared their intention of setting fire to some private houses, together with the Bank, Gray's Inn, the Temple, Lincoln's Inn, the grand arsenal at Woolwich, and the royal palaces. Nothing can convey a more awful idea of the mischief which was dreaded, than the strong guard which was placed in the Royal Exchange, for the protection of the Bank, as nothing perhaps could have equalled the desolation, had the purposes of the insurgents on these places succeeded. An attack was however really made upon the Bank, soldiers were distributed at Guildhall, in the inns of court, in almost every place tenable as a fortification, and in some private houses; and the cannon was disposed to the best advantage in the Park. No mind can form the smallest conception of the horror of the scene; the prisons, the toll-gates on Blackfriars-bridge, the houses in every quarter of the town, and particularly the middle and lower part of Holborn, were one general scene of conflagration. Sleep was vanished from every part; the firing of the soldiers' muskets, the shouts of the rioters, the cries of the distressed, and the confusion of the people, who were every where carrying off beds, furniture, and goods, is more easy to be imagined than described. From the immense quantity of spirituous liquors which the rioters and populace had swallowed from Mr. Langdale's distilleries, numbers were found lying drunk in the streets. An order had been issued by the king in council, for the military to fire without waiting for the directions of the civil magistrates, and to use force for dispelling the illegal assemblies of the people. Many of course were killed in every part of the town; the Northumberland and Surrey militia had now been called in, and were particularly active in suppressing the riots; as was also the London military association. A common-council was held late in the evening of the 7th, when the lord-mayor acquainted them, that the cause of calling them together was the tumult which existed in the city, and desiring to have their advice upon the subject. Several letters from the secretaries were read. The court came unanimously to the resolutions, that the sheriffs of London should be desired to raise the posse comi-



tatûs immediately, and to pursue, with the lord-mayor, and other magistrates of the city, the most effectual legal means of restoring the public peace; that the thanks of the court should be given to the military association for their services; that the sheriffs should take the military force under their command, and endeavour particularly to protect the Mansion-house, Guildhall, Bank of England, and any other place that is in danger; that the thanks of the court should be given to the officers of militia belonging to the city, for the offer of their services; and that they be requested to put themselves under the direction of the sheriffs of London. A proclamation was also issued. The guards having been found insufficient to defend the various parts of the metropolis, all the troops and militia within thirty miles were sent for. Before the end of the week there were at least twenty thousand troops in London, who were immediately placed in those spots which were supposed to be most in danger. The Bank, Exchange, Post-office, Guildhall, inns of court, and other places, were instantly defended. A strong guard was placed at Buckingham-house, for the protection of his majesty. The guards were encamped in St. James's park, and the marching regiments and militia in Hyde-park. Several of the rioters were taken up in different places; Mr. Langdale's distillery discovered many. The exertions of the military by degrees completely quelled these alarming appearances, not before many lives had been sacrificed. The arrival of such large bodies of troops in the metropolis, caused the citizens to recover from their consternation. They were, however, so thoroughly alarmed, and so much affected by the depredations which they beheld on every side, that the shops were universally shut from Tyburn to Whitechapel; and no business of any kind, except at the Bank, was transacted. An effort had been made to break into the Pay-office, but this was fortunately prevented. The following was the return made to lord Amherst, of the killed and wounded during the disturbances: by the association, militia, and guards, 109 killed. Light horse, 101. Died in hospitals, 75. Prisoners under cure, 73. The number of prisoners set free from the gaols was upwards of 2000. The number of those who perished from intoxication, and other causes, is not known, but must have been very considerable. On the Friday, the shops in the city of London were opened as usual, and business, which had been suspended, commenced again in Westminster-hall. In the evening lord George Gordon was apprehended. His lordship made no resistance, and was conducted by a party of light-horse to the Horse-guards. A long examination took place in the War-office, before several of the

privy-council, and at half past nine lord George was committed a close prisoner to the Tower. The guards who attended him were considerably the greatest in number ever remembered to have guarded a state prisoner. A large party of infantry preceded in front, a regiment of dragoons behind his lordship's coach, a colonel's guard of the foot-guards, and a party of the militia, marching on each side of the coach. The cavalcade passed over Westminster-bridge, through St. George's-fields, the Borough, and thence to the Tower. Mr. Fisher, secretary to the protestant association, was the same day committed to the Tower, examined by the privy-council, and dismissed. A number of persons were also committed in various parts of the metropolis. Attempts were made at the same time to create similar disturbances at Bristol, Bath, and Hull; but by the care of the civil magistrates they were frustrated. Tranquillity being at length restored, a special commission was issued for the trial of these insurgents. The attorney-general, Wedderburne, was advanced to the chief-justiceship, under the title of lord Loughborough, probably for that purpose. At the Old Bailey eighty-five persons were tried for the riots, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted, seven of single felony, and forty-three acquitted. At a commission at St. Margaret's-hill, fifty were tried for riots, twenty-four of whom were capitally convicted, and twenty-six acquitted. Lord George Gordon was subsequently tried for high treason; and as there did not appear to have been sufficient ground, he was acquitted. At a court of aldermen, held in July, it was resolved, that, as the executions had passed over with peace and quiet, no further allowance should be made to the troops. The average expense of maintaining the soldiers, and providing a table for the officers, was 100*l.* per day. The bills, which were then drawn on the chamber, exceeded the sum of 4000*l.*

The parliament being prorogued till the end of September, of course no business was done; but in that month a proclamation was issued for dissolving the parliament, and calling another; the writs were to be returned on the last day of October. On the 7th of September, lord Lincoln, Sir George Brydges Rodney, and the honourable Charles James Fox, were put in nomination for Westminster. The poll closed on the 22d, when the numbers were, for Sir G. B. Rodney, 5298; honourable C. J. Fox, 4878; lord Lincoln, 4157. The two first were of course elected. On the 8th came on the election for the city of London. The candidates were six in number: aldermen Hayley, Kirkman, Bull, Newnham, Sawbridge, and Clarke; the alderman Kirkman dying during the contest, the four first gentlemen were elected,



elected. The numbers were, for alderman Hayley, 4062; Kirkman, 3804; Bull, 3150; Newnham, 3036; Sawbridge, 2957; Clarke, 1771. The poll for Southwark closed on the 15th, when the numbers were, for Sir Richard Hotham, 1177; Mr. Polhill, 1025; Mr. Thrale, 769. On the 27th of November, a new writ was issued for the election of a member in the room of Mr. Kirkman, deceased, when Mr. alderman Sawbridge was returned without opposition. The year closed without any event worthy of record.

The year 1781 was so abundant in military events, that it might afford no very imperfect transcript of the modern art of war. The war raged in every part of North America, on both sides of the North River, and many bloody battles were fought. The minister at home moved that an address be presented to the king, assuring him that the house would support his majesty with firmness in the just and necessary war against Holland. The war was commenced with haughtiness, and conducted with a spirit of animosity and revenge. The celebrated reform-bill of Mr. Burke was revived, but rejected; and among the speeches which strongly attracted the public attention, was that delivered with much grace and energy by Mr. William Pitt, second son of the late earl of Chatham.

An action was brought against the lord-mayor, upon the riot-act, by Mr. Langdale, to recover the damage he had sustained by the destruction of his premises and goods by the mob during the late disturbances, which he estimated at 51,559*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*; and the jury gave a verdict for 18,725*l.* 10*s.* Other actions were also brought and recovered. In the same month, the long-depending cause between the gentlemen of Richmond, and the city of London, came on, relative to the right of soil on the river Thames: the jury returned a verdict for the defendants. Every thing in the city proceeded now with great order and regularity, and nothing of any importance attracted the public attention. On the 23d of September, the election of a member of parliament, in the room of George Hayley, esq. deceased, took place, when the lord-mayor started as a candidate; he was opposed by alderman Clarke. On the 1st of October, alderman Plomer was chosen mayor for the year ensuing. The poll for the election of a member did not close till that day, when the numbers were, for Sir Watkin Lewes, 2685; Mr. Clarke, 2387; upon which the former was duly elected. In consequence of the late riots, the recorder directed that 28,219*l.* should be raised upon the inhabitants of the city, in order to repair the damages occasioned in the tumults; the constables were ordered to collect it, and pay it into the chamber

of London. In December an address, petition, and remonstrance, being drawn up by the livery on the alarming posture of affairs, it was ordered to be presented to the king. A meeting of electors and other inhabitants of Westminster, was held at Westminster-hall, to consider of such measures as might be thought advisable to be adopted in the present situation of the kingdom. After many speeches on the occasion, the purport of the business being opened by Mr. Fox, it was agreed that a committee should be appointed to present it to the king. At Southwark also, a similar address was agreed to; and another from the freeholders of Middlesex.

The year 1782 not only displayed a variety of military and naval transactions, among which the defence of Gibraltar shone with extraordinary lustre, but exhibited a very important revolution in the national councils, whence great consequences resulted. The removal of a ministry that had so long held the reins of power, and the appointment of those men to the chief departments of government who had professed principles the most opposite, and who had uniformly opposed the war with America, were objects highly interesting to the whole nation. The divisions which soon took place in the cabinet, threw a considerable damp on the spirits of the people, but the plan of pacification was not prevented.

Early in the month of February a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the purpose of considering the report of the gentlemen who went up to his majesty on the business of the address, petition, and remonstrance. A letter had been sent to the lord-mayor, from lord Hertford, containing his majesty's refusal to receive the remonstrance on the throne; the commons then resolved, that whoever advised his majesty to deviate from the accustomed mode admitted by the king, of receiving the livery of London sitting on his throne, is an enemy to the rights and privileges of the citizens of that great capital of the British empire: that the unequal representation of the people, the corrupt state of parliament, and the perversion thereof from its original institution, have been the principal causes of the unjust war with America, of the consequent dismemberment of the British empire, and of every grievance of which they complained: that these grievances can never be removed till the right of the people to their constitutional share in the English government be re-established, by a fair and equal representation in parliament, and a frequent election of the representatives according to ancient usage: that for the purpose of obtaining these rights, a committee of the livery be appointed, and that the committee take the most effectual methods of obtaining these ends. The attornies concerned for the  
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several plaintiffs who sued the city for damages sustained by the tumults in 1780, claimed in behalf of their employers the sums due, and the court made an order to pay 27,000*l.* which had been collected, amongst the different plaintiffs.

The opposition about this period appearing every day to grow stronger in the house of commons, the downfall of the ministry began now to be confidently predicted. Mr. Fox had brought forward his motion of censure on lord Sandwich, which was negatived by a majority of nineteen voices only. In February, an address was moved to the king, earnestly imploring his majesty to put a stop the war with America. In order to evade the question, the attorney-general moved, that a bill be prepared, enabling his majesty to conclude a truce with America, and to enter into a negotiation on the subject. This was negatived by a majority of 19; and the original motion which had been brought forward by general Conway, was carried without a division. The general then moved an address to his majesty, founded on the express words of the motion. This was agreed to, and it was resolved that the address should be presented to the king by the whole house, which was done accordingly on the first of March; and his majesty most graciously replied, that in pursuance of the advice of the house of commons, he would assuredly take such measures as should appear to him most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. The majority not deeming this to be sufficiently explicit, general Conway, on the 4th of March, moved another address to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious assurances, and affirming, that nothing could so effectually promote those objects, as the measures recommended by the commons. This being agreed to *nem. con.* by a second motion it was resolved, that the house would consider as enemies all those who should advise a prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America. The glory of general Conway, who had sixteen years before restored peace to the empire, by his motion for the repeal of the stamp-act, was now quite complete. Notwithstanding the great majorities in the house of commons, the ministers seemed to entertain no thoughts of resigning those offices which they had for so long a period enjoyed. A vote of censure was therefore passed upon them on the 8th, importing that the chief cause of all the nation's misfortunes was the want of foresight and ability in his majesty's ministers. On the 19th of March, lord North declared, that his majesty had come to a determination to make an entire change of administration, and that he and his colleagues only held their places till other ministers could be appointed. Thus was this administration dissolved; but  
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the formation of a new one appeared to have many difficulties, on account of the unfortunate divisions which had long subsisted among the Whigs, in opposition to the court. The party of lord Rockingham was by far the most powerful; and the other party, of which, since the death of lord Chatham, the earl of Shelburne had been the head, were less in the estimation of the king. The highest department of government was however on this occasion offered to that nobleman by his majesty. Lord Shelburne, from his comparative weakness of connexions, would have been more dependent on the crown for support; but he had the greatness of mind to resist the temptation; and the marquis of Rockingham was a second time, in the manner most congenial to his feelings, placed at the head of the treasury. Lord John Cavendish was made chancellor of the exchequer; lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox were appointed joint secretaries of state; lord Camden president of the council; the duke of Grafton was reinstated as lord privy seal; admiral Keppel, now created lord Keppel, placed at the head of the admiralty; general Conway, of the army; and the duke of Richmond, of the ordnance. The duke of Portland succeeded lord Carlisle as lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was made paymaster of the forces; and colonel Barré treasurer of the navy. Lord Thurlow alone, by the indulgence of the new ministers, retained possession of the great seal. Whiggism now once more reigned.

Upon the changes which had taken place, so much to the satisfaction of the city of London, the inhabitants resolved to address his majesty, and to congratulate him upon the event. A bounty was also proposed to be given to seamen at a court of common-council; but the inexpediency of this motion being demonstrated, it was withdrawn. A remarkably hard frost at this season of the year, in May, was universally felt, not only in England, but throughout the continent. Thousands of lives were lost in many of those countries, and cattle died without number.

On the third of May, after a debate of considerable length, it was resolved by the house of commons, that all the declarations, orders, and resolutions, of that house respecting John Wilkes, esq. be expunged from the journals of the house, as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of the kingdom. Mr. Wilkes, in a public letter addressed to his constituents, congratulated them on the signal reparation which they had now obtained for their violated franchises, and the injuries they had sustained under the former administration. But on this subject, the feelings of the public were no longer in unison with those of Mr. Wilkes. The vote by  
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which these resolutions had been rescinded, which had thirteen years before thrown the nation into a ferment, was now scarcely attended to. A subject of infinitely greater importance was brought forward for the consideration of the house, in consequence of a motion made by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in parliament. It had been resolved, at an early period of the present year, by the city of London, assembled in common-hall, that the unequal representation of the people, the corrupt state of parliament, and the perversion of it from its original institution, had been the principal causes of the war with America, and of every grievance of which the nation complained. Similar resolutions had been passed by the county of York, and many other places. These circumstances proving the wishes of the country on that subject, Mr. Pitt thought it a proper time to bring forward his motion; but though eloquently supported by Mr. Fox with great discrimination and judgment, it was rejected, notwithstanding its popularity, by a majority of 161 to 141. The new ministry, though composed of discordant materials, had hitherto conducted affairs with apparent unanimity; lord Shelburne, in the upper house, bringing forward the same motions, and adopting similar arguments, to those used by Mr. Fox in the lower house. The death of the marquis of Rockingham in the height of his political reputation, and meridian of his life, which now took place, was a subject of deep regret to the whole nation. The earl of Shelburne was appointed on the day following to the office of first lord commissioner of the treasury. This measure, which seemed to prove that his lordship relied upon his own strength rather than on the assistance of his colleagues, met with their disapprobation: and in consequence of this promotion, Mr. Fox resigned the seals as secretary of the northern department; lord John Cavendish his office as chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Portland his government of Ireland; Mr. Burke his post of paymaster of the army; and many others their inferior seats. Mr. Thomas Townshend, late secretary of war, was appointed to the northern department; lord Grantham to the southern; Sir George Yonge was made secretary of war; colonel Barré was appointed paymaster of the forces; and the lord advocate of Scotland, in his place, treasurer of the navy. Earl Temple, eldest son of the late Mr. George Grenville, succeeded the duke of Portland in the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; but the promotion which most attracted the public attention, was that of Mr. William Pitt, who, at the age of twenty-three, was constituted chancellor of the exchequer, an office which had  
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always been supposed to require long confirmed habits of industry, diligence, and experience.

A monument was erected at this time in Guildhall to the memory of the late earl of Chatham, and opened to public view: the inscription is full of panegyric on his virtues.

Towards the latter end of the month of November, Mr. Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, sent a letter to the Mansion-house, in which he apprised the lord-mayor, that the negotiations carrying on at Paris were now likely to be brought to a conclusion before the meeting of parliament, which was prorogued till the 5th of December. This intelligence, he observed, was sent, in order to prevent the mischiefs which result from the speculations in the funds, which were entered into on too large a scale, and such as to call forth the consideration of all thinking persons.

We cannot pass over the year 1782 without recording the brilliant exploit of general Elliot, the governor of Gibraltar, who so nobly sustained the credit of the British arms.

The year 1783 opened without any circumstances of consequence occurring in the metropolis. The citizens of London were at rest, as their desired object of peace was now at hand. Their domestic tranquillity was restored, and the prospect appeared to brighten. From the circulation of counterfeit halfpence, which had increased prodigiously, the inhabitants of Westminster found themselves so much inconvenienced, that they petitioned parliament on the subject. In February, the king's proclamation was read at the Royal Exchange and Cheapside conduit, declaring a cessation of arms by sea and land. A cause, in which the bank of England was concerned, was the subject of some conversation, and interested many persons. They refused to pay a bill which was stolen from them, and had been lost at a gaming-table. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, now paid their respects to the king, and addressed his majesty on the subject of peace, which had been ratified between this country, France, and Spain, in the month of January. Holland, for the present, was not included in the treaty, but this circumstance took place soon after. The borough of Southwark presented a petition, setting forth the disproportionate representation of the commons, and the unconstitutional duration of parliaments.

A cause which had been long depending between the corporation and free corn-factors



factors of London, under the names of Fenshaw and Cockledge, was finally determined in the house of lords, upon the unanimous opinion of all the judges, by which the right of the freemen cornfactors to the toll duty of one farthing a quarter upon all corn consigned to them for sale, and imported coastwise eastward of London-bridge, except from the cinque ports or the county of Kent, was for ever established.

In the month of April, a change in the administration took place; Mr. Pitt resigned his office of chancellor of the exchequer, and was succeeded by lord John Cavendish; the duke of Portland was placed at the head of the treasury; lord North and Mr. Fox were nominated joint secretaries of state, the first for the home, the latter for the foreign, department; lord Keppel was again placed at the head of the admiralty; lord Stormont was made president of the council; and lord Carlisle advanced to the post of privy seal. The great seal was put in commission, the chief justice, Loughborough, was declared lord commissioner; the earl of Northington was appointed to the government of Ireland; and Mr. Burke reinstated in his former post of paymaster of the forces. Of the eleven cabinet ministers, the majority who occupied the most important posts of administration, were of the old whig, or Rockingham party. This coalition, which had taken place between Mr. Fox and lord North, was the subject of universal execration. The general indignation was now roused, with the recollection of the opprobrious and bitter expressions with which the speeches of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke had been for so many years filled. All plans of reformation in public offices, and for preserving the nation, which lord Shelburne had proposed, were now laid aside. The coalition directed every thing till Mr. Fox brought into parliament his bill for regulating the affairs of India, and the government of the company.

In June, a petition was presented to the house of peers from the merchants, bankers, and traders of London, Westminster, and Southwark, against the stamp duties and receipts which had been lately adopted, and which they conceived to be highly detrimental to the commerce of the country. The bill, however, passed. A splendid spectacle of British munificence was this month exhibited in St. Paul's cathedral; more than five thousand children, clothed and educated in this metropolis, by the voluntary bounty of individuals only, without any obligatory support from the laws, were assembled in that church for the purpose of returning thanks to God, and singing praises to his name.

On the 15th of September, orders were sent to the war-office, and to the heralds' office, Doctors' Commons, for the heralds to proclaim peace in form, in the different places. The joyful news was received with much satisfaction by the people of London.

Towards the close of the session of parliament, a bill for regulating the trade of the African company excited much attention, and which had been for the last thirty years a subject of so much debate throughout all parts of civilized Europe. It contained a clause, prohibiting the company from exporting negroes. Upon this occasion, that humane and intelligent body of citizens, called the Quakers, convened in their annual assembly in the metropolis, embraced the opportunity to petition the house of commons, that the clause in question might be extended to all persons whatsoever; declaring themselves to be deeply affected with the rapine and bloodshed attending this traffic. They regretted that a nation, professing themselves to be Christians, should thus counteract the principles of justice and humanity. This petition excited considerable interest in the house, and ultimately produced the most fortunate effects, to prevent this inhuman commerce. Soon after this, Mr. Fox brought in his bill for vesting the affairs of India in the hands of commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public. The total derangement of the company's finances, and their inability to govern the vast territories which they had now acquired, were but too evident. The only method to be adopted, was to devise an adequate remedy for so notorious an evil. This act, by which the charter of the company was to be superseded, was to continue in force for four years; and it was accompanied by a second bill, enacting regulations for the future government of the British territories in Hindostan. The bill was however rejected. In the month of December, earl Temple had a conference with the king, in the course of which he explained to his majesty the nature of the bill, which had hitherto been countenanced by the king. Lord Camden had declared, that if this bill had passed into a law, the king of England and the king of Bengal would be contending for superiority in the British parliament. It would throw an alarming weight into the scale of ministerial influence, and would be treating the company as idiots. The king, at the discovery of these consequences, was excessively indignant. He considered himself as duped and deceived. Upon this his majesty allowed lord Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India bill, was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy; and if this language was not strong enough, lord Temple was at liberty to  
use



use whatever words he might deem stronger, or more to the purpose. The disagreement now between the ministers and the crown was become quite public, and an entire change of administration was determined upon. On the 18th of December, a royal message was sent to the secretaries of state, demanding the seals of their several departments; and early next morning the other members of the cabinet were dismissed. Mr. Pitt was a few days after appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Townshend, and the marquis of Carmarthen, nominated secretaries of state; the former gentleman was created lord Sydney: lord Thurlow was reinstated as chancellor; earl Gower, who since that period has been created marquis of Stafford, was made president of the council; the duke of Rutland was constituted lord privy seal; lord Howe placed at the head of the admiralty, and the duke of Richmond of the ordnance. Lord Temple, who retained the seals only for three days, was appointed to the government of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Northington. To the surprise of the public, the earl of Shelburne was not included in the new administration. Previous to the adjournment of the house, an address was presented to the king, requesting his majesty not to dissolve the parliament. This address, which was before unknown as a precedent since the Revolution, was carried without a division. The king's answer was mild and discreet. He assured the house, that the welfare of the nation was his primary object, and that he should not interrupt their proceedings by any exercise of his prerogative.

The year 1784 began in the city with an address to his majesty from the corporation and city of Westminster, upon the late changes in administration; and at a court of common-council, the thanks of the court were voted to Mr. Pitt, for his able, upright, and disinterested conduct, as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, on the present alarming and critical juncture of affairs; at the same time the freedom of the city was voted to him in a box of gold, of one hundred guineas value, as a mark of gratitude and approbation for his zeal and assiduity in supporting the legal prerogatives of the crown, and the constitutional rights of the people. A motion was also made to acknowledge the timely interference of the lords for the preservation of the constitution, and the security of the rights of every branch of the legislature. At twelve o'clock on the night of the 16th of February, the lord-mayor received a letter from Mr. Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer, relative to an execution for the sum 180,000*l.* which was levied on the East India company. At a conference on this extraordinary occasion, the court was led into some confu-

fion, as the execution was said to be irregular. The officer who levied it, notwithstanding the large amount of the demand, executed the writ without the knowledge of his principals, and his fees amounted to 1s. 6d. in the pound, being 13,000/. The execution was for duties to government, and was afterwards withdrawn, by consent of the ministry. The secondary of the comptroller was suspended, he having on his own mere motion, and without any authority previously given by the sheriffs, levied the execution.

In this month, leave was given in the house of commons for a bill to be brought in, enabling Sir Ashton Lever to dispose of his collection of specimens of natural history, which were exhibited in Leicester-fields, by way of chance, in such manner as might be most to his benefit. This museum was originally collected at an expense of nearly 50,000/. by Mr. Lever, at his seat at Alkington, near Manchester. It is the most complete and interesting collection of any in the metropolis. The bill, which passed, enabled the proprietor to dispose of it by lottery, of 36,000 tickets, to be sold at a guinea each. Of these, 8000 only were sold; the remaining number, which were in the hands of Mr. Lever, proved unfortunate, and Mr. Parkinson became the possessor, who by his great attention to, and proper disposition of the curiosities contained in the museum, has since proved to be a worthy proprietor. A short account of this valuable collection may not be uninteresting, but to enter into particulars would be to write a history of nature. The first apartment is the hall, and contains a curious collection of guns and other military weapons, with a case of remarkable ancient horse-shoes, and various other rarities. The arched passage leading from the hall to the Sandwich-room, is ornamented with flaxen mantles, and other things, from those parts which were discovered by captain Cook. This room is dedicated to that officer's memory. The fourth apartment contains many rare and curious specimens of plants, parts of animals, and native fossils. A large portion of the next apartment is filled with zoophytes, or animal plants, commonly called corals. The remainder of the room is set apart for minerals, the specimens of which are very interesting. In the open room are several curiosities of a larger kind, the most singular of which are a loadstone, or natural magnet, of 184lbs. weight, from the Brazils. This room contains minerals, variously disposed. Between the small and great room are various specimens of art; and in the small room, to the right, varieties of dresses, from ancient and foreign countries. In an opposite room are monkeys. Beyond is a double



a double closet, one part of which is appropriated to the preservation of amphibious and other animals in spirits, and the other to productions out of the ordinary course of nature. Next is the great saloon, which, with the gallery round it, contains the largest and richest assemblage of the feathered tribe that is probably to be found in any country in the universe. A room between the quadrupeds' apartment and the saloon, has several cases of fishes from the remotest parts of the world. This museum is at the Surrey end of Blackfriars-bridge, in a house which was built entirely for the reception of these curiosities.

The addresses of thanks and approbation which had poured in from every part of the kingdom, and especially from the city of London, on the dismissal of the late ministers, unequivocally demonstrated the general satisfaction. The popularity acquired by the king on this occasion, effaced the memory of all former disagreements. Both parties of the nation now seemed disposed to pause; and the independent interest of the country wished to form an administration founded upon the widest and most comprehensive basis. Lord North had declared himself willing to retire, if he stood in the way of a general union. The king expressed a wish that an interview might take place between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of adjusting a new plan of administration on fair and equal terms. This negotiation took place, but failed. The opposition, who were yet the majority of the house, found their situation daily more embarrassing. The king, house of peers, and the nation at large, were now evidently in direct opposition of sentiments to them. After fruitless attempts on their part to exclude the administration from the king's councils, Mr. Fox moved a representation to the crown, stating the dangerous and pernicious tendency of the system adopted by the present ministers. The motion was carried by a majority of one, and thus the contest terminated. A dissolution of parliament was now determined upon, and on the 24th of March, the parliament was prorogued, and the next day dissolved by proclamation.

The month of April engaged the attention of the people in London in electing their new members of parliament. The first of the month was the day appointed by the high-bailiff for the nomination of candidates for the city of Westminster. Lord Hood, Sir Cecil Wray, and Mr. Fox, were the candidates. The whole was one general scene of riot and confusion till the poll commenced. It continued open till the 16th of May, when, upon the close, the numbers appeared for lord Hood 6694, for Mr. Fox 6233, for Sir Cecil Wray 5998. Sir Cecil, previous to the  
close,

close, demanded a scrutiny. This was granted. A large procession followed Mr. Fox, who was carried in a chair through all the principal places of the west end of the town. The high-bailiff refused to make the return, however, in Mr. Fox's favour, for which an action was subsequently brought by Mr. Fox in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict with large damages obtained. The election for the city of London produced Sir Watkin Lewes, Mr. Newnham, Mr. Brook Watson, Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Pitt, as candidates for popular favour. On the 6th, the poll finally closed, when the numbers were as follow : Watson 4789, Lewes 4554, Newnham 4471, Sawbridge 3823, Atkinson 3816, Smith 287, Pitt 56 ; on which the first four were declared elected. A scrutiny however took place, which decided the election as before. The poll for Southwark did not close till the 24th of June, when the numbers were for Paul Le Mesurier 935, Sir Richard Hotham 924. The former gentleman was returned in the room of Sir Barnard Turner, deceased. Sir Richard demanded a scrutiny. By the election for Middlesex, Mr. Mainwaring and Mr. Wilkes were returned. Mr. Byng, the other candidate, demanded a scrutiny. The influence of the crown being now combined with the inclination and independent interest of the country at the general election, the effect which it produced was as might be expected. The coalitionists, who once stood so high in the estimation of the public, were every where thrown out. The new parliament now met, and in the month of June a motion was made by Mr. alderman Sawbridge, at the request of the city of London, and seconded by Mr. alderman Newnham, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation of the commons of Great Britain in parliament. The measure itself had the concurrence of Mr. Pitt, although he professed that the time was improper. A bill for the better regulation of India affairs was now brought forward by Mr. Pitt, founded on the general principles of that which had been rejected by a former parliament, and to which the company had given their reluctant and gradual consent. By this bill, a board of control, composed of a certain number of commissioners of the rank of privy-counsellors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the king, and removable at his pleasure. This board was authorized to check, superintend, and control the revenue of the company, and its military government. The dispatches transmitted by the court of directors to the different presidencies, were to be previously subjected to the inspection of the superior board, and countersigned by them;



them ; and the directors were to pay obedience to the orders of the board, concerning civil and military government and revenues. An appeal to the king was to be made on any point not appearing in the opinion of the directors to be connected with the orders. This decision to be final. The appointment of the court of directors to the office of governor-general, president, or counsellor in the different presidencies, was made subject to the approbation and recall of his majesty. A high tribunal was created for the trial of Indian delinquents, consisting of three judges, one from each court, of four peers, and six members of the house of commons, who were empowered to judge without appeal, to award in case of conviction the punishments of fine and imprisonment, and to declare the party convicted to be incapable of serving in the East India company. The management of their commercial concerns was to be left in the hands of the company, who were divested of that political power which they had so grossly abused. Mr. Fox opposed the bill with all his energy ; but his efforts were ineffectual, and it passed both houses of parliament. About this time, Mr. Burke's zeal for a reform of abuses in India was very conspicuous. His indignation had long fixed upon Mr. Hastings, who in the sequel was the object of his persecution.

The shop-tax duty, which had been imposed at this time, proved singularly obnoxious. It was said to be, under a new denomination, no more than a partial house-tax ; and the whole body of retail traders were universally agreed, that it was utterly impossible to remedy themselves by raising the price of the commodities upon the consumer.

A new species of fraud was committed on the bank of England, which from its novelty ought to be mentioned. A person paid ten pounds in money into the bank ; for this the clerk, as usual, gave him a ticket in order to receive a bank-note of equal value. This ticket ought immediately to have been carried to the cashier, to make out the note ; instead of which, the man took it home, and curiously added an 0 to the original sum, and returning, presented it to the cashier as it was altered, for which he received a note of 100/. In the evening, the clerks in casting up their books found a considerable deficiency, for which they were unable to account. After having examined the tickets of the day, they found not only that note, but two others, to have been altered in the same manner. In one, the figure 1 was changed to 4, in another to 5, by which the artist had received, upon the whole, nearly 1000/. without being discovered.

The rage for aerial voyages in balloons was this year very uncommon. The number of persons who ventured on such an experiment is incredible; and the little injury they sustained, with the novelty of the journey, made the attempt very frequent. This year has been greatly distinguished by the increase of Sunday-schools, which were originally set on foot by Mr. Raikes, printer, of Gloucester. The object was to prevent poor children, especially in great manufacturing towns, from spending the sabbath in idleness and profligacy, and to employ that day in impressing on their minds the principles of piety and virtue. The effects of this institution have become in the highest degree beneficial, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the kingdom.

On the 2d of August, as his majesty was alighting from his carriage at the gate of the palace, a woman, who was waiting there, under pretence of presenting a petition, struck at his majesty with a knife, but providentially the king received no injury. The woman was instantly taken into custody, and upon examination appeared to be insane; she was very decently dressed, and was in the act of presenting a paper to his majesty, which he was receiving with great condescension, when she struck a concealed knife at his breast, which the king happily avoided by drawing back. As she was attempting a second thrust, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and at the same instant one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king, with great temper and fortitude, exclaimed, "I am not hurt; take care of the poor woman, do not hurt her." She immediately underwent a private examination before the privy-council, when it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholson, daughter of George Nicholson, of Stockton upon Tees, and that she had lived in several creditable services. Being asked where she had lived since she left her last place, she frantically answered, she had been all abroad since that matter of the crown broke out. Being asked what matter, she went on rambling, that the crown was hers—she wanted nothing but her right—that she had great property—that if she had not her right, England would be drowned in blood for a thousand generations. Being further asked where she now lived, she answered, rationally, at Mr. Fisk's, stationer, corner of Wigmore-street, Marybone. On being questioned as to her right, she said she would answer none but a judge, her rights were a mystery. Being asked if she had ever petitioned, she said she had, ten days ago. On looking back among such papers, the petition was found, full of nonsense, about tyrants, usurpers, and pretenders to the throne.

Mr.



Mr. Fisk being sent for, and interrogated, said she had lodged with him about three years; that he had not observed many striking marks of insanity about her; she certainly was odd at times, and frequently talked to herself. She lived by taking in plain-work. Others, who knew her, said she was industrious, and they never suspected her of insanity. Dr. Monro being sent for, said it was impossible, with certainty, to discover whether she was insane or not immediately. It was proposed to commit her, for three or four days, to Tothill-fields bridewell. This was objected to, on the ground of her being a state prisoner. At length it was agreed to commit her to the custody of a messenger. Her lodgings being examined, there were found three letters about her pretended right to the crown; one to lord Mansfield, one to lord Loughboough, and another to general Bramham. Upon a further examination before the privy-council and Dr. Monro, and several other witnesses, concerning the state of her mind, as well now as for some time past, they were clearly of opinion, that Margaret Nicholson was insane. In consequence of that determination, the unhappy woman was conveyed to a cell prepared for her in Bethlehem hospital.

On the 31st of October, died the princess Amelia Sophia Eleonora, second daughter of his late majesty George the second. Her loss was greatly regretted, her generosity and goodness of heart being universally experienced.

In the house of commons this year, Mr. Pitt brought forward his celebrated bill for the redemption of the national debt. His proposition was, to appropriate the annual sum of one million to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the national debt. This sum was proposed to be vested in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them regularly applied to the purchase of stock, so that no sum should ever lie within the grasp large enough for any temptation to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually discharged, were, conformably to this plan, to be added to, and incorporated with, the original fund, so that it would operate with incredible velocity; being in this respect framed upon the model of the sinking fund formerly projected by Sir Robert Walpole. This fund was also to be assisted by annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in, within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which, Mr. Pitt calculated, that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum. The commissioners under the act were to be the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker of the house of commons, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the bank of England, and the accomptant-general of the high court

of chancery. It was further suggested by Mr. Fox, that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it as should be equal to the cash then in their hands, the interest, and premium or *douceur* annexed to which, should be applied to the purposes of the sinking-fund. This amendment, which was the only one offered, was received with candour and facility by Mr. Pitt. The bill finally passed with the greatest approbation. A motion for the repeal of the shop-tax was made by Sir Watkin Lewes, member for London, but without effect.

A transaction of a very important and interesting nature now attracted the public attention. It was the impeachment of Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal. Mr. Burke, who took the lead in this expensive and tedious business, explained the mode of proceeding which he intended to adopt on the occasion, and moved for a multitude of papers, to ground and substantiate his charges. These being produced, Mr. Hastings was heard at the bar of the house of commons in his defence. Mr. Hastings was then impeached by the commons, at the bar of the house of peers. His trial occupied a considerable portion of eight sessions of parliament, and was not concluded till the month of April 1795, when he was acquitted of the high crimes and misdemeanors which were preferred against him.

The early part of the year 1787 produced no business of any consequence. In the course of the session of parliament, Mr. Fox moved for the repeal of the shop-tax, which was now become a matter of serious concern. It appeared that the city of London, and its environs, paid forty-three shares out of fifty-nine of this duty, the whole produce being estimated at only fifty-nine thousand pounds. This, with reason, was affirmed to be an unjust and great disproportion; but in reality, the commutation-tax fell as heavily upon the country as the shop-tax did upon the metropolis. The motion, however, was lost, the ministers carrying a majority. In March, a motion was made for the repeal of the corporation and test acts, so far as related to protestant dissenters; but the minister finding difficulties which he apprehended were not to be obviated, opposed the bill, although the dissenters had imagined that it would have met with his support.

The subject of Mr. Hastings' impeachment now occupied the attention of the metropolis and the country at large; but the restless spirit of lord George Gordon, who had frequently been brought forward in some public manner, since the riots in 1780, appeared again to disturb the peace of the inhabitants. An information



was laid against him in the court of King's Bench, for having written and published a pamphlet, intituled, a "Petition to lord George Gordon from the prisoners in Newgate, praying for his interference, and that he would secure their liberties, by preventing them from being sent to Botany Bay." This strange performance being read, appeared to be a jargon of nonsense, interlarded with Scripture phrases. This the attorney-general declared to be written by lord George himself, either with a view to raise a tumult among the prisoners within, in the endeavour to procure their deliverance, or, by exciting the compassion of those without, to cause a disturbance, and produce the same effect. The rapaciousness of bailiffs was, at the close of this year, stopped, in consequence of an action which was brought in Westminster-hall. Although the act of parliament was positive in its injunctions, yet it had been a constant practice with the sheriffs' officers, to make a variety of charges for commission, brokers' inventories, possession, and other things, which in general amounted to treble the sum to which they were legally entitled. These exorbitant demands were all set aside by the judges as illegal. This year, which was extremely barren in events, closed without any circumstances of importance.

We are now arriving at an æra which daily becomes more important and interesting. The commotions in France, and other parts of the continent, produced events which have extended throughout the whole of Europe, and which ultimately have totally changed the old established forms of government in many countries. But although these public events were gradually forming, which have excited the astonishment of the thinking mind, yet nothing in the internal affairs of this metropolis produced any circumstance worthy to be recorded. A general tranquillity seemed to pervade the nation, and commerce and agriculture were every where reviving. We can collect no materials for history in the affairs of the city of London.

The year 1788 being the hundredth anniversary of the glorious revolution in 1688; the 4th of November being the birth-day of king William, the instrument, under Providence, who had completed that event; and the 5th of the month being the anniversary of his landing, they were observed by many societies in London, and other parts of the kingdom, not only with festivity but with devotion. The space of four years only had elapsed since the complete triumph of the sovereign and the nation over the coalition, when England, under the conduct of a minister who had not yet attained his thirtieth year, had risen from a state of unexampled depression to her ancient superiority among the kingdoms of Europe. In this situa-

tion of public prosperity, the nation was suddenly alarmed by reports that his majesty had been attacked with a sudden and dangerous illness. The king, who had been for some time rather indisposed, was advised by his physicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham. His health there appeared to be re-established, and he amused himself with excursions, and was every where received with the greatest acclamations. Upon his return to Windsor, late in the summer, his disorder increased; and by the beginning of November, it was known to the nation that his malady was of the most afflicting nature, so much, as to render him totally unfit for public business. The parliament, which had been prorogued till the 20th of November, assembled, and a formal account of the state of the king's health was laid before the two houses. As the session could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of a fortnight was recommended, at the end of which, if the king's complaint should continue, it would be necessary to enter into an immediate consideration of the affairs of the nation. Upon the re-assembling of parliament in December, a report of the privy-council was presented to both houses, containing an examination of the royal physicians: it was then recommended, that parliament should rest satisfied, without any more express information. Mr. Pitt lamented the occasion, and expressed his hope that the cause would soon be removed. A violent debate now ensued. Mr. Fox laid claim to the vacant sceptre in the name and on the behalf of the heir-apparent, while the minister proposed that the two branches of legislature should make a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency of power. The discussion of this subject, and of the right and extent of power which was to be assumed, becoming very violent, the duke of York, in the name of the prince of Wales, expressed his wishes that the question might be waved. No claim of right had been advanced by the prince, and he did not desire to assume any power, be his claim what it might, which was not derived from the will of the people. Parliament at length roused to a sense of the necessity of declaring itself solely competent to fill the vacant throne, proceeded to that great act without delay; and having pronounced upon this preliminary, decided that the prince of Wales should be requested to accept the regency under certain restrictions. The month of December elapsed amidst these contests.

At a court of common-council, the thanks of the court were moved to be given to Mr. Pitt, and the 267 members of the house of commons, who had supported the important rights of the lords and commons of this realm, in providing the means



of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority arising from the king's indisposition.

An institution was this year established in St. George's-fields, the great object of which was to unite the purposes of charity with those of industry and police, to rescue from destruction the offspring of the vicious and dishonest. This institution was denominated a philanthropic society. They have at present 160 children, of both sexes; many of whom have been taken from prisons, and others have been rescued from the retreats of villany and the haunts of prostitution. Buildings were erected for their employment, in which, under the direction of master-workmen, various trades are carried on; and the girls are bred up to needle-work, and to do those household offices which may render them serviceable to the community. The society has since taken under its care a house at Bermondsey, called the Reform, for the reception of children; and a large manufactory in St. George's-fields for the boys, in which letter-press and copper-plate printing, book-binding, shoe-making, tailors' work, twine-spinning, and rope-making, are carried on. Adjoining to the manufactory is a spacious building for the girls. The committee are obliged to any person who may visit the institution, whether subscriber or not, and a book is kept to insert any remarks which may occur on the inspection.

A meeting was also held, in the latter end of this year, of gentlemen of the medical profession, for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of forming a society for the relief of the widows and orphans of medical men in the city of London and its vicinity. This society was then established.

In the month of January 1789, in the midst of all the confusion which had ensued from the differences concerning the regency, the speaker of the house of commons died, when the vacancy was filled by Mr. Grenville, brother of lord Temple. The perplexity of the nation was now increased, as the pressure of affairs was important, and the sanction of the royal approbation wanted. The physicians were re-examined, but no intelligence of moment could be obtained. A letter was at length written to the prince of Wales by Mr. Pitt, informing him, that a plan was ready to be adopted, that the care of the king's household and person should be committed to the queen; that the prince should not extend his power to grant any office, reversion, or pension, for any other term than during the king's pleasure, nor to the conferring of any peerage. The prince's answer was dignified and firm. He regretted, that, in the propositions, the court was to be separated from the state, and  
government

government deprived of its natural support ; that he was to be invested with all the duties of the kingly station, and be exempted from the means of bestowing any favour. The public utility however had its due weight in his mind, and he would undertake the painful trust imposed upon him. A very short period now would have completed the bill, which would have incapacitated the sovereign from conducting the national affairs, and transferred the sceptre to the son. The members of administration were on the point of changing their situations, and the new ministers preparing to enter into office, while the English nation looked on with dejection. On a sudden, these measures were arrested in their progress, the lord-chancellor declared that the king was in a state of convalescence. The disorder had taken a turn, and the physicians, whose skill had been hitherto baffled, saw the improvement which had taken place. The necessity for a regency was not, however, entirely set aside ; but the king, on the 10th of March, was declared to be perfectly recovered from his indisposition, and issued a commission for the parliament to be held in the usual manner. The news of his majesty's recovery diffused universal satisfaction. A national thanksgiving was appointed, and the king appeared in public in a solemn procession to St. Paul's, to offer up his thanks on the event. In the speech delivered to the two houses by the lord-chancellor, in the name of the king, his majesty expressed his acknowledgment for the proofs of attachment which had been shown to his person, and the honour of the crown. The proceedings of the late ministry were soon observed to have been grateful to the sovereign ; and those persons who had concurred with the opposition, and held places under government, were very soon dismissed. Nothing could more decidedly prove the satisfaction of the city of London, both upon the measures which the ministry had adopted, and the happy restoration to health of the monarch, than the return of thanks to Mr. Pitt.

In the month of April, a famous cast in bronze of the river Thames, surrounded by attributes, executed by Mr. Bacon, was erected towards the north angle of Somerset-house square. The figure measures upwards of eight feet, and is nearly a ton and a half in weight. Under the right arm is an antique urn, behind which a cornucopia extends to the left side. In the month of May, the Shakspeare gallery in Pall-mall was opened for the inspection of the public, by Mr. alderman Boydell. The exquisite beauties of the greatest dramatic poet that ever existed, were here embodied, with a skill and force of expression, in many instances, with which even the poet himself would have been delighted. The artists who contributed to this under-  
taking



taking were the first in the country. The gallery consisted of three large rooms. These paintings, which continued open for several years, were at length disposed of by a public lottery, an indulgence granted by parliament to an individual whose taste in the fine arts had deservedly procured him this favour. The statue of his majesty in bronze was placed also this month on a pedestal in the north angle of Somerset-place.

An important cause, respecting the rights of the citizens of London to an exemption from the payment of exchange-tolls, and all other customs, upon the exportation of goods from any town in England, was tried in the court of Common Pleas, before the judges and a respectable special jury of the county of Norfolk. The question was, whether those citizens possessed that privilege respecting goods exported from the port of Lynn, who were not resident therein. The recorder of London opened the cause: he proved the right by prescription, by charters, and by the testimony of witnesses. A verdict was found for the citizens of London. In the course of the month, the royal assent was given to an act for the repeal of the shop-tax act, much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants of the metropolis.

In the month of June, between the hours of ten and eleven of the 18th, the king's theatre in the Haymarket was discovered to be on fire, which was entirely consumed before any assistance could be procured. Every thing of value was destroyed, except the treasury-chest, in which were eight hundred pounds; the books were preserved. Five houses in Market-lane were entirely consumed, and the stables of the White-horse inn. The blaze, which, from the vast quantity of materials consumed, was an object of amazement to the metropolis, was increased not only by a large music-room full of papers, but by a great quantity of wines deposited in the cellars by a friend of the managers. The latter, when the flames reached them, gave birth to a column of fire of peculiar brilliancy. Those who approached the conflagration from the eastern part of the city, had a prospect tremendously beautiful. The night being perfectly calm, the flame rose in a spiral column to an extraordinary height, when it took an horizontal direction to the earth, and separated into a number of fiery clouds, which moved slowly through the atmosphere, towards the south-east. St. Paul's cross reflected the light with the most refulgent brightness, and the whole western front of the cathedral was as minutely visible in every part as at noon. At a distance, St. Bride's spire had the appearance of a pyramid of livid fire. The effect was nearly the same on the spires of St. Clement, the New church,

church, St. Martin's, and other churches. In July, the mayor and corporation waited on their majesties with an address, congratulatory upon the king's recovery, which was very graciously received. In November, the bishop of London consecrated a burial-ground for the parish of St. James, Westminster, consisting of four acres of land, pursuant to an act of parliament passed in the last sessions. It is situated in the road leading from Tottenham-court to Kentish-town, near the turnpike, and enclosed with a brick wall, ten feet high ; which land was granted by lord Southampton to the parish for ever. A trial of the pix of monies was held in the latter end of the month in the Tower of London, in presence of the privy-council, when, by a strict scrutiny, the coins were found, by an able jury of goldsmiths, to be fully agreeable to the standard of his majesty's exchequer. The pix is a box kept at the mint, in which one piece of every journey is kept. A journey is the term for the coinage of a certain weight of gold. Each journey contains 677 guineas and a half. Out of this sum two pieces are taken, one to be sent to the Tower to be assayed, the other is put into the pix to be tried by a jury, before the master can have his quietus. The number in the pix, therefore, ascertains tolerably accurately the quantity coined. The money issued from the mint at this time amounted to eight millions eight hundred thousand pounds.

As the king was proceeding in state to the house of peers, in January, of the new year, a person of a genteel appearance threw a stone of considerable size with great violence at the carriage, but fortunately missed his majesty. He was instantly apprehended, and underwent a long examination. His name appeared to be John Frith ; he was a half-pay lieutenant in the second battalion of royals, and was the same person who had stuck up a libellous paper in the court-yard of St. James's, about three weeks previous to this act. The paper he called a manifesto ; and fully evinced that the mind of the author was deranged. He acknowledged having thrown the stone and written the paper. He afterwards was re-examined by the privy-council, and was committed ; there was no doubt of his insanity. Another lunatic shortly after appeared at the queen's house, where he demanded the crown and sceptre, and behaved in a similar violent manner. He also underwent an examination, and was committed. Being further examined, he was found to be insane, and sent back to his parish of Wanstead in Essex ; from whence he found means to escape, and made his appearance again, before the queen's palace, and behaved in a riotous manner. He was afterwards properly secured. Soon after this another  
maniac



maniac went to St. James's, where he seized the colours belonging to the first regiment of guards, which were placed in the court-yard as usual. He was taken into custody, and examined. His name was Cannon; he was a native of the Isle of Man, and had been to Kensington, in expectation of seeing the king pass to Windsor, and on his return he had completed his point, which was to throw down the royal standard of England, an object which he had long had in view. His reason he would not give, unless he was introduced to the king, Mr. Pitt, and the prince of Wales.

In the month of April, the first stone of the opera-house was laid in the Haymarket, on the site of the old one, which had been destroyed by fire. This building, though, in its exterior appearance, heavy and ill-formed, yet in the interior is unequalled by any in Europe. The marshal of the King's Bench having complained to the court of certain irregularities, which he had not power to repress, that court, in order to prevent them, ordered that no prisoner after the first day of the succeeding Trinity term, should have any rule for being absent from his confinement for a longer space than three days during each term; that the new prison should be within the rules of the King's Bench; and that the rules should be circumscribed, according to the limits mentioned in the order; and particularly, that every public-house situated within the rules, should be considered as without the rules; so that every prisoner who is seen at any public-house within the rules, renders the marshal liable to an action for an escape. The Circus, the Dog and Duck, and other places of public entertainment in that neighbourhood, are in consequence without the rules.

In consequence of the dissolution of parliament, the city of London began to feel the contentions of an election. That for Westminster took place on the 16th of June, when Mr. Fox and lord Hood appeared as candidates. Mr. John Horne Tooke soon after, unexpectedly, offered, and nominated himself as a candidate for their choice, to give the electors, as he asserted, an opportunity of displaying their independence. The poll continued open till the 2d of July, when the numbers at the close were, for Mr. Fox 3516, lord Hood 3217, Mr. Horne Tooke 1697. The two first of course were declared to be duly elected. A common-hall was also held for four citizens to represent the city of London; when the candidates were, aldermen Lewes, Watson, Curtis, Sawbridge, Newnham, and the lord-mayor. The poll closed finally on the 24th, when the numbers were, for alderman Curtis 4346, Watson 4101, Sir Watkin Lewes 3747, Sawbridge 3686, Newnham 2670, the lord-

mayor 1064. The four first were elected. Mr. Wilkes having declined standing for Middlesex, in consequence of the unfavourable reception which he met with at a previous meeting of the freeholders at Hackney, Walter Mainwaring and George Byng, esqrs. were elected representatives for the county.

About this time, the streets of London were infested by a villain, who, by way of distinction, was called the monster; his practice was to wound ladies as they walked in the streets, in the most cruel manner, with a knife, or such sharp weapon. An advertisement appeared, offering a considerable reward for his apprehension. Several ladies having been thus attacked, the wretch had always found means to escape. At length, in the afternoon of the 13th of June, as a Miss Porter was walking in the Park, accompanied by Mr. Colman, she saw a man, whom she informed Mr. Colman to be the person who had assaulted her in the streets in the manner so often mentioned in the newspapers. He was, through the activity of that gentleman, secured, and brought up for examination. His name appeared to be Renwick Williams. He was indicted afterwards, upon the statute of George I. for assaulting Miss Ann Porter in the king's highway, and maliciously and feloniously intending to cut her clothes. There was another count for tearing and cutting her clothes. The lady said, that on the 18th of January, as she was leaving the ball-room at St. James's, at a quarter past eleven at night, and was going towards her father's house, accompanied by her sister and another lady, she received a violent blow on the hip, just by the rails of the house, and turning round, she saw the prisoner stoop down. She knew his person well, having been previously insulted by him with language of the most indecent kind. The three Miss Porters swore to the man; and upon Mr. Colman's bringing him to the house of those ladies, after having followed him to his own lodgings, two of them fainted away, exclaiming, That is the wretch. The prisoner's lodgings had been examined, and clothes found there answering the description of those in the advertisement. In his defence, he asserted his innocence, and produced many witnesses to prove an alibi. Seventeen others were also called to his character, some of them handsome women. They all gave him a most excellent character for good-nature, humanity, and kindness, to the fair sex in particular. The evidence in his favour being contradictory, and other circumstances claiming the attention of the jury, they immediately found him guilty; his case was laid before the judges, it being uncommon; and as there were two other assaults, of which he was likewise found guilty, he was sentenced to be imprisoned in Newgate two years for each of the three offences, and at the expiration



tion of the term to find security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 200*l.* and two securities in 100*l.* each. In this month, the cause of the Borough-market was determined: the action was brought for 3000*l.* damages for erecting a market in St. George's-fields, there being 6000 new houses built within the last three years in the neighbourhood, and these buildings still increasing; but as the market was deemed useful, the jury gave one shilling damages.

The anniversary of the French revolution in France, which took its date from the destruction of the Bastile, on the 14th of July, was throughout that country celebrated with great magnificence. The king assisted, and took an oath to maintain the constitution. In England the French revolution was also commemorated, especially in the metropolis, with great festivity and exultation; the generosity of the English nation displaying itself particularly on this occasion. Various sentiments were entertained upon this event; but amongst those who deprecated it most, was the eloquent Mr. Burke, whose invectives against it in the house of commons are well remembered. His book entitled, "Reflections on the French Revolution," was written with such an energy of declamation, as to produce the most powerful effects. From the date of this publication, the nation became divided into two violent and openly hostile parties. Amongst the foremost of those who favoured the revolution was Thomas Paine, author of a pamphlet styled *Common Sense*, which in America had paved the way for the declaration of independence. His present work, the *Rights of Man*, made an extraordinary impression upon the public mind. The doctrine which it contained was, that a general revolution in the principle and construction of governments was necessary. In consequence of the principles which it infused, political clubs and associations were instituted in every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of reforming the constitution, but which really aimed at its subversion.

The case of the city of London against the corporation of Lynn, was again argued this term in the court of King's Bench. A verdict had been given for the city, but errors had been assigned on the informality of the declaration. The court now reversed the judgment, on the ground that the declaration did not state that the city of London had received such an injury on which an action could be maintained; the corporation of Lynn having demanded, but not having received or distrained for, the toll in question.

Another alarming insurrection took place in May in the King's Bench prison, an attempt being made by the greater part of the prisoners to escape. Much mischief was done; but a body of horse and foot arriving, soon restored order, without

any bloodshed. In consequence of two freemen of the city of London being impressed, the question came before the court of Common Pleas, “whether a man being a liveryman of London, but a seaman, and fit to serve the king, was exempted from being pressed?” It was resolved that the question should be either argued before a court, or an issue directed to be tried by a jury. A very extraordinary change took place in the weather in the middle of June; the glass, after having been up to 75, soon subsided to 50; and the hills in Kent and Sussex presented a very uncommon spectacle at this time of the year, their summits being covered with hoar frost, and whitened with snow. Ice was seen in many places, and the young plants were much injured. The cause which had long been depending between the magistrates of Surrey and the city of London, was at length determined. The magistrates had been indicted for granting licenses to publicans in the borough of Southwark, which had been refused them by the justices of Surrey. The question which came before the court was, whether the city of London had an exclusive jurisdiction to grant licenses in the borough of Southwark, or possessed only a concurrent jurisdiction with the justices of Surrey? It was determined against the city.

The year 1792 opened with promising appearances. The parliament was convened in the latter end of the month, and the king informed the house that a treaty had been concluded under his mediation, and that of his allies, between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, and preliminaries agreed upon between the latter of those powers and that of Russia. The general state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace; and an immediate reduction of the naval and military establishments was to be expected.

On the 16th of January in the morning, between one and two o’clock, a fire broke out in the Pantheon, in Oxford-street; no lives were lost; but the edifice, which originally cost 60,000*l.* with its contents, was wholly destroyed.

Innumerable plans had been devised at different times by various projectors, for regulating the police of London and Westminster; but most of them, when reduced to practice, fell to the ground, or at least failed in their intended effect. A bill for the purpose of effecting a better administration of justice, was brought into parliament by Mr. Burton, early in March; and its outline was to establish five principal offices, to be always open for the administration of that branch of justice which fell within the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace. To each office three justices were appointed, each with the salary of 300*l.* per annum. No fees were allowed to be taken by the justices, and the fees paid into all the offices were to be consolidated into



one fund, which was to be applied towards the discharge of the salaries; and completely to annihilate the name and function of trading justices, no person in the commission of the peace within that district, was permitted to receive fees. Many objections were certainly against this plan, although the established system required some alteration. Justice had lately been openly brought to market, and dispensed to the highest bidder; feuds and lawsuits had been industriously fomented among the lower classes of society, even by those whose express duty it was to preserve the peace; and a system of extortion had been established. This bill was a mere experiment, limited in its duration, and at the expiration of the term proposed, parliament would be able to judge of its expediency. On this principle the bill was passed.

The disposition of the people at this time was very strongly marked, not only in the metropolis, but in every part of the kingdom, by the attempts which were made for a parliamentary reform. A society was instituted in London for this purpose, at the head of which appeared Mr. Baker, Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Erskine, with several other members of parliament, for the express purpose of obtaining a reform in the representation of the people. The association assumed the popular title of the Friends of the People; and in a very short time it was joined by some of the most respectable characters both in the commercial and literary world. Thus enlarged, it was regarded by the ministers with serious apprehensions. After publishing a set of resolutions, and a declaration of their sentiments, it was determined in the society, that early in the next session a motion should be brought forward for the reform of parliament, and that the conduct of the business in the house should be committed to Mr. Grey and Mr. Erskine. In conformity with these views and intentions of the association, in the end of April Mr. Grey brought forward his motion. This was opposed by the ministry, as not being a proper time for such a measure to be adopted, when innovations had been fatally proved on the continent to have produced such dreadful effects. The panic which had seized the ministry in consequence of the association of the Friends of the People, was strongly evinced by a measure which was soon after carried into effect. This was the issuing of a proclamation against the publishing and dispersing of seditious writings, and against all seditious and illegal associations, exhorting the magistrates to vigilance in their duty, and the people to an orderly and submissive demeanour. The policy of this measure was viewed in very opposite lights by the two parties.

In the month of May an attempt was made to set fire to the house of commons,  
which

which was happily rendered abortive by the vigilance of the watchmen. A considerable quantity of smoke was observed to issue from the privy, in the evening, under the offices of the clerks. Upon a search being made, combustible matter was found there, but upon looking into Westminster-hall, and other parts of the building, nothing else was discovered. In pursuance of the late act of parliament seven different public offices were established, and at each of them three persons, justices of the peace for the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, were appointed to execute justice; one office in Queen-square, Westminster; another in Great Marlborough-street; one in Hatton-garden; one in Worship-street, Shoreditch; one in Lambeth-street, Whitechapel; one in High-street, Shadwell; and another in Union-street, Southwark.

An immense number of French emigrants were landed at Brighton, from the packet and an open boat, in the course of the month of September. They almost immediately proceeded to the metropolis. They consisted chiefly of priests: they were treated with the greatest humanity; subscriptions were set on foot for them, and in a few weeks the sum of 20,000*l.* was subscribed.

On account of the many cruelties which were daily exercised by the drovers of cattle into the metropolis, some excellent regulations were adopted by the court of aldermen to prevent such practices. Every drover was compelled to wear a badge, numbered, on the penalty of twenty shillings, to which every person not licensed as a drover was liable, on driving, or assisting in driving, cattle, if ten or more are in a flock. No goads were to be used of more than a quarter of an inch long; nor were the cattle to be struck on or below the hock, on the like penalty. At a court of common council, held the latter end of the month of November, a number of resolutions were moved, declaratory of the opinion of the court that an alarming crisis was at hand. One company of the London militia was ordered in consequence to be kept on duty at the Artillery-house night and day, at a moment's notice, in case any disturbance should happen in the city, a thing much to be apprehended. Upwards of 8000 persons signed a declaration expressive of their determination to support the constitution in these arduous times. A meeting at Merchant Taylors' hall was held for that purpose, consisting of some of the most eminent merchants, bankers, traders, and others. Several hundred men were employed at the Tower, about the walls. The stones which were upon various parts of Tower-hill were collected, together with quantities of earth, into old puncheons, and used in forming barricadoes. The gates  
were



were shut at nine o'clock, two hours before the usual time. A stranger could with difficulty gain admittance in the daytime, and none but officers and sentinels were suffered to appear upon the ramparts. The trial of Thomas Paine for publishing a seditious pamphlet, under the title of the Second Part of the Rights of Man, before lord Kenyon and a special jury at Guildhall, excited the greatest interest in the metropolis and country, as the author had been the chief inciter, by his writings, of the popular disturbances which had taken place, and he was as much detested by one party as he was extolled, and secretly countenanced, by the other. The pamphlet in question contained abuse on the government, traduced the revolution effected by William the Third, the acceptance of the crown by that prince and queen Mary, the convention parliament which had conferred it upon them, and the bill of rights including the settlement of the succession. It endeavoured to represent that these were respectively contrary to the rights and interests of the people; that the hereditary legal government was a tyranny; that the parliament was a wicked, corrupt, and illegal establishment; and that the king, lords, and commons, tyrannized over the people. Mr. Erskine made a very eloquent defence for the defendant, but the jury instantly found him guilty. Besides the declaration at Merchant Taylors' hall, delegates from the protestant dissenters now assembled from various parts; a large body met at the King's Arms tavern in the Poultry; and the protestant dissenting ministers, at their library in Red Cross-street, made similar declarations. The different wards and parishes of the metropolis, and cities and towns in the kingdom, entered into associations to suppress seditious meetings and publications. A society also, called the Friends of the Freedom of the Press, met at Freemasons' tavern, in order to inculcate the necessity of adhering, in the midst of all the effusions of loyalty, to the great constitutional principles handed down respecting that important object.

After all amicable overtures with regard to the court of France had been rejected, the English ambassador was recalled. The deposition of the French king had left that country without an established government, such as our minister could acknowledge, and the return of the ambassador was equivalent to a declaration of war. The court of London, irritated against the measures of France, now prepared for defence, and the militia of the kingdom was ordered to be embodied. At the same time a proclamation was issued for convening the parliament, which stood prorogued to the 3d of January 1793, on the 13th of December; the law requiring, that if the militia be drawn out during the recess of parliament, and this can be only done in case of invasion.

sion or insurrection, parliament must assemble within the space of fourteen days. The public alarm caused by these proceedings was inexpressible. Every one was convinced of the existence of a plot, which was the more terrible from its being invisible: nothing but a general insurrection was apprehended. The whig party, who had ridiculed these fears, as being totally groundless, now appeared to differ from each other. The opposition had lately suffered a great defection. At the head of the seceders in the upper house, were the prince of Wales, the duke of Portland, and lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and Loughborough, who, on the resignation of lord Thurlow as chancellor, was advanced to that dignity; and in the lower house, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Anstruther, and others, who now acquired the name of alarmists. In December, Mr. Fox moved that a minister be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the executive government of France: this motion was negatived without a division. In consequence of the great number of foreigners who were flocking continually, not only into the metropolis, but into every part of the kingdom, the matter became seriously an object of the attention of parliament, and an act was passed for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom and resident therein, in certain cases, more generally known by the name of the alien-bill. In order to put a stop to the torrent of French principles which were daily gaining ground in the country, no step was left untried; addresses were publishing continually from the different societies in this kingdom, and public examples were made without delay. Advertisements were pasted up in different parts of London from these clubs, and the persons concerned in such proceedings were punished. Seditious words and treasonable actions were the chief causes now which engrossed the courts of judicature.

The war with France was no sooner commenced, than the fatal effects of it were manifested in the commercial world; from the sudden stagnation of trade, the disappointment in the immense speculations into which the merchants and manufacturers had entered, and from the sudden stoppage of the exportation to France, the country in general seemed to be paralyzed, and the number of bankruptcies exceeded all that had ever happened in the most calamitous times. An immense number of families were reduced to ruin, not only in the city of London, but throughout the kingdom. Many emigrated, numbers enlisted into the army; and such was the general distress, that each man looked upon his neighbour with suspicion; those who were possessed of property, were at a loss where to deposit it, and those who experienced pecuniary distress



distress, knew not where to apply for relief. A measure was adopted by parliament, which proved very effectual in aiding private credit by the means of exchequer bills. Though it was said that five millions would be a sum too small for the purpose, and that nothing could stop the tide of bankruptcy, yet of the five millions of exchequer bills that were allowed, there were applied for before the 5th of August to no greater amount than 3,724,824*l.* of which were granted 2,129,200*l.* The two first payments of this loan were punctually paid; a fact which proved that temporary relief alone was wanted, and that to no great amount. The alacrity of parliament to support the credit of the country was of itself relief. The month of May was the epoch of the greatest bankruptcies; they greatly decreased in June; they decreased still more in July; they continued to decrease in August, and in September they fell to be nearly on a par with the numbers in September 1792. The merchants in London received something less than one million; at Manchester about 250,000*l.* at Liverpool 130,000*l.* and at Bristol only 40,000*l.* It appeared subsequently that most of the bankruptcies arose from illegal speculations, and an avaricious extension of capital.

No event occurred to demand particular attention till the meeting of parliament, which took place on the 21st of January 1794. In the speech from the throne, his majesty called the attention of the two houses to the issue of the war, on which he observed, the support of our constitution depended, of our laws, religion, and the security of all civil society, to the advantages which had attended our arms by sea and by land, as the expectation of ultimate success; as the operations of our enemies were alone derived from an arbitrary system, which enabled them unjustly to dispose of the lives and properties of the people, which must necessarily induce internal discontent and confusion. His majesty proceeded to state the impossibility of making peace upon the only grounds on which it ought to be concluded, the permanent safety of the country, and the tranquillity of all other nations. He noticed the treaties and conventions into which he had entered for this purpose with foreign powers; and mentioned the general loyalty which prevailed among all ranks, notwithstanding the continued efforts made to mislead and seduce the people. The minds of men, both within and without the walls of parliament, continued to be agitated with the interesting question of peace or war, and the consideration of the impediments which obstructed the restoration of that tranquil system of policy which had produced happiness and prosperity to the nation.

The alarms which had arisen in the latter end of the year 1792, concerning the dangerous conspiracies of the democratic party in England, had now generally subsided, and no prosecution had been instituted, nor any measures taken to bring the supposed traitors to punishment, till the session of parliament in this year had been far advanced. The first report of a conspiracy, in 1792, when Mr. Pitt pledged himself that such a conspiracy did not exist, seems only to have applied to the practices of certain undiscovered foreign agents dispersed throughout the country; for upon that plea the alien-bill had passed. Regardless of the royal proclamation, and of the loyal associations in the beginning of 1793, the Society for Constitutional Information, and the Corresponding Society, which was more extensive, and was divided into branches and districts, including an immense number of members of the middle and lower classes of society in London, had issued several advertisements and publications offensive to government; the avowed object of which, however, was a parliamentary reform in the representation of the people. They had also held some public meetings, and particularly one at Chalk Farm, in the neighbourhood of Hampstead, where some intemperate speeches had been made, and toasts bordering upon sedition had been given. They had also held communication with other societies, at Sheffield, Norwich, and other places; and had deputed delegates to a celebrated Scottish convention, which they speedily proposed to replace by another of a similar description. No time was now lost in proceeding against the principal members of these meetings. In pursuance of the determination of ministers to discover the chief authors of these societies, in the month of May, Mr. Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker in Piccadilly, who had acted as secretary to the London Corresponding Society, and Mr. Daniel Adams, the secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information, were apprehended by order of a warrant from Mr. Dundas, for treasonable practices, and their books and papers seized. Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Jeremiah Joyce, tutor to lord Mahon, and Mr. John Thelwall, who had for some time entertained the town, and various principal places of the country, with his political lectures, were afterwards, in the course of the week, arrested, and committed to the Tower, on a charge of high treason. At the same time, Mr. Dundas brought down to the house a message from the king, importing that seditious practices had been carried on by the societies in London corresponding with other societies, and that they had increased to an enormous height, in contempt and defiance of parliament, in principles subversive of the government and constitution of the kingdom, which tended to introduce an anarchy and confusion, similar to

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the system adopted in France. His majesty gave orders for the papers and books of these societies to be seized, which were to be laid before the house. These papers were brought down to the house, and the address was moved for by the chancellor of the exchequer, who mentioned his intention of afterwards proposing that the whole of the transactions might not be prematurely laid before the public, till they had been referred to a committee of secrecy, in order that future necessary measures might not be rendered abortive. This address passed without a dissentient voice. But a committee of secrecy was opposed by Mr. Fox, who called upon the minister to cite a precedent for the measure, or to show sufficient grounds for deviating from all rule. Mr. Dundas declared the warrants to be grounded on allegations for treasonable practices; and the affair was referred to a secret committee of twenty-one members, chosen by ballot. In the course of a few days the report of the committee was brought up. It contained an account of the proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information, and of the London corresponding societies, together with other communications from other societies, from the year 1791. Mr. Pitt stated, that it had appeared to the committee that a plan had been digested and acted upon, and was then in forwardness for its execution, the object of which was to assemble a pretended convention of the people, for the purposes of assuming the character of a general representation of the nation, superseding the representative capacity of the house, and arrogating the legislative power of the country at large. He observed, that not a moment should be lost in arming the executive power with such additional means as should effectually prevent the execution of such a plan. It was necessary to revert to a date antecedent to the time when the societies assumed a serious aspect of practical treason, to show that, from the first, their views were the same, and that a parliamentary reform was far from being the object of their real intentions. The plan of a convention, he said, had been contemplated from the outset, and the practice only reserved till a favourable opportunity should offer. The whole system of insurrection was laid in the monstrous doctrine of the Rights of Man, which seduced the weak and ignorant to overturn government, law, property, security, and whatever was valuable, and which had endangered the safety of every nation in Europe, if not its very existence. The corresponding French brethren were the instruments for disseminating it in France, and extending it by carnage into all other parts of Europe. Prior to the enormities carried on in France, a correspondence had been held between these societies and the jacobin clubs,

and delegates had been sent by them to the national convention, which were formally received. The manufacturing towns in England had adopted their plans, from the vast concourse of profligate and ignorant men in these places. The convention at Edinburgh styled themselves the representatives of the people, invested with all the rights to reform the representation. They asserted the innocence of those men who fell under the sentence of the law, and pronounced them objects of envy and panegyric. They came directly to the question, whether they should obey the laws of their country, or oppose them by insurrection. A society in London, which, though composed of the meanest and most despicable people of the city, who acted upon the worst jacobin principles, had within it the means of the most unbounded extension and rapid increase. It had already reached to thirty divisions in London, some containing six hundred persons, and was connected by a systematical chain of correspondence with other societies scattered throughout the manufacturing towns. That society had arisen to such enormous boldness, as to declare itself a power to watch over the progress of parliament, to scan its proceedings, and prescribe limits for its actions, beyond which if it presumed to advance, an end was to be put to the existence of parliament itself. About six weeks previous to this, a new æra had arisen in the history of insurrection; at that period the corresponding societies had, in due form, laid before the Constitutional Society a deliberate and deep-concerted plan for assembling a convention for all England, and evidently to exercise legislative and judicial capacities, to overturn the established system of government, and wrest from the parliament the power lodged in their hands. Within a few weeks the plan was to be carried into execution; and in their circular letter they stated that no time was to be lost. This letter was addressed to all parts of the island, and circulated with a vigour and address truly astonishing. It declared that a central spot was fixed upon, which they would not venture to name, till they had assurances of the fidelity of those to whom they were to disclose it. The central spot was chosen for the purpose of facilitating the assembling of the delegates from the whole island; and a request was sent to each society to give in an account of their numbers, that their force might be estimated. In the month of April, they had held a meeting for the purpose of passing resolutions, arraigning every branch of the government, threatening the sovereign, insulting the house of peers, and accusing the commons of insufficiency. Notice had been taken of those measures of parliament which had previously been made the signal of insurrection.

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The report of the committee stated, that arms had been actually procured and distributed by these societies. Mr. Pitt then moved for leave to bring in a bill, empowering his majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of designs against his crown and government. These statements were considered by the opposition to be incorrect, and the measures to be admitted met their disapprobation. After many debates, in both houses, the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act passed. Soon after this, a motion for an attempt to obtain peace was brought forward by the duke of Bedford in the lords, and by Mr. Fox in the commons, but the motions were negatived by a very great majority.

In the house of commons, in the month of June, Sir Watkin Lewes brought forward a motion for the better regulation of the city militia. In the manner in which the militia of the metropolis was then regulated, there were many disadvantages attending, so that they were not adequate to the defence of the city. Their force was nine thousand men. In place of this force, it was proposed to substitute two regiments of militia, which were to be under the control of the king, consisting of six hundred men each. The bill passed without any opposition. Immediately upon the rising of parliament, some changes took place in administration, which, however they might surprise some persons at a distance from the scene of action, were fully expected by all who were at all conversant with the state of parties in the two houses of parliament. The new appointments were not announced to the public till the day on which the parliament was prorogued, though it is probable that the cabinet-system was settled some time. On that day lord Fitzwilliam was declared lord-president of the council, the duke of Portland one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and Mr. Wyndham secretary at war; earl Spencer was at the same time sworn into the council, and in July was appointed lord privy-seal; the earl of Mansfield was soon after created a supernumerary member of the cabinet; Sir George Young was removed from the secretaryship of war to the mastership of the mint, and some inferior changes took place. Before the close of the year, however, earl Fitzwilliam was appointed viceroy of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Westmoreland. The earl of Mansfield was at the same time made privy-seal. Another alteration took place in the course of the year; the earl of Chatham and earl Spencer having changed places, the latter was put at the head of the admiralty, and the former created lord privy-seal. Mr. Dundas having complained of the  
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pressure of public business, with which at various times he was overburdened, the duke of Portland was appointed third secretary of state.

In the month of September, a special commission was issued for the trial of the prisoners committed for high treason in the Tower of London. Lord chief justice Eyre presided, and the jury found a bill against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, J. A. Bonney, Stewart Kidd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardell, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, R. Hodson, and John Baxter. John Martin, attorney, was afterwards indicted in a separate bill. Mr. Holcroft, who had not been previously in custody, at the same time surrendered himself. While these affairs were in agitation, a new alarm was excited, and the sympathy of the people was interested by the sudden rumour of a detestable conspiracy to assassinate their sovereign. The persons implicated in this plot were John Peter Lemaitre, a native of Jersey, and an apprentice to a watch-case-maker in Denmark-street, St. Giles's; William Higgins, an apprentice to a chemist in Fleet-market; and a man of the name of Smith, who kept a book-stall in the neighbourhood of Lincoln's-inn. Their accuser was one Upton, an apprentice to a watch-maker. Lemaitre, Higgins, and Smith, were apprehended under a warrant from the duke of Portland, and were examined before the privy-council. The charge, supported by the testimony of Upton, was to the following effect:—An instrument was said to have been constructed by the informer Upton, in the form of a walking-stick, in which was to have been inserted a brass tube, of about two feet in length; through this tube a poisoned arrow, or dart, was to have been blown by the breath of the conspirator Lemaitre, at his majesty, either on the terrace at Windsor, or in the playhouse. The poison prepared was to have been of so subtle a nature, that if the point but glanced upon the king, it was to have produced instantaneous death. The execution of Watt, who had been condemned for high treason, took place immediately previous to the trials of those who had been indicted in London. The evening before his execution, he signed a confession, which was published, and contained some extravagant accounts of the extent of the conspiracy, of which he was to have been the principal mover. He risked his fate upon very incredible discoveries. He pretended that matters were brought to such maturity, that nothing remained for the execution of the whole scheme of insurrection, but a visit to England of intelligent and confidential persons. The first movement was intended to have been made in  
Edinburgh,



Edinburgh, Dublin, and London, while every town throughout the whole kingdom was in readiness to act according to the plan on the first notice, which was to have been given by couriers, dispatched express. Probably the greater part of the paper which had been signed by Watt was for the purpose of deception, as his last effort to escape the gallows. On the 25th of October, some of the above-mentioned persons were tried at the Old Bailey, and arraigned before the special commissions. Of the twelve who were included in the first indictment, three were not in custody. As the prisoners desired to be tried separately, the attorney-general said he would try Mr. Hardy first. The indictment was unusually long, and consisted of nine overt acts of high treason. It does not belong to our province to enter into the detail of the cause, but Mr. Hardy was acquitted. Perhaps the public mind was never so much interested in the trial of an obscure individual as in this. The hall of the Old Bailey was surrounded during the whole trial by a numerous mob, who every evening drew Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, the counsel for the prisoners, to their chambers, amidst the loudest huzzas; and it was with difficulty that they were prevented from mal-treating the counsel on the other side. When Mr. Hardy was acquitted, the mob drew him in a coach to his house, in Piccadilly, making the tour of Pall-mall and St. James's-street. They then conveyed him to his brother's house in the Strand, and retired home very quietly. Mr. Hardy was acquitted on the 5th of November, at four in the afternoon; the trial lasted eight days. After an interval of eleven days, Mr. John Horne Tooke was put upon his trial; it commenced on the 17th of November: the charge was opened by the solicitor-general, Mr. Mitford. The defence, by Mr. Erskine, was a masterly piece of eloquence; he was followed by Mr. Gibbs. Many witnesses of high rank were called to the bar for examination on the part of the prisoner. The jury found a verdict of Not guilty. The populace at the event dragged home the counsel in their carriage, and did the same to Mr. Tooke. The jury, on their return from the Old Bailey, after their verdict in favour of Mr. Tooke, had a lane formed for them all the way to the London Coffee-house. Mr. Erskine desired the mob to disperse quietly, as they had now obtained a victory, at an attempt to overthrow the great bulwarks of the constitution. After the acquittal of Mr. Tooke, which took place on the 22d of November, the attorney-general declined any further prosecution of the remaining members of the Constitutional Society; and on the first of December, a jury being impannelled *pro formâ*, Messrs. Bonney, Joyce, Kyd, and Holcroft, were acquitted and

and discharged. The trial of Mr. Thelwall commenced the same day. The charge was opened with great ability by Mr. serjeant Adair, but no new evidence was adduced upon the trial, except some intemperate expressions at Chalk Farm, and other places, and at his lecture-room, which were supported by the testimony of Messrs. Lynham and Taylor, the spies of government, whose evidence was afterwards rendered nugatory, by that of two other witnesses. The prisoner was defended by Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, with their usual ability; and this jury also brought in a verdict of Not guilty. At the conclusion of the trial, Mr. Thelwall addressed the court and jury, in which he thanked them for their judgment and patience. He confessed that he had acted with imprudence, and had sometimes perhaps exceeded his intentions, but he had never acted with a criminal design. Of an irritable temper, and endowed with strong passions, it was hardly possible for him sometimes to repress that indignation which was purposely provoked by his accusers, to draw him into a snare. The other prosecutions were abandoned by the crown-lawyers, and those who had been indicted were liberated from their confinement.

The proceedings of the societies in question could not be approved of by any thinking mind; the idea entertained by some of them of annual parliaments, and universal suffrage, appeared to be, in those circumstances of the country, an extravagant idea. It would certainly have been more prudent to have pursued the advice of Mr. Horne Tooke, “to lie upon their oars, till prejudice should be dissipated, and the ferment of the moment subsided.”

In the course of the year, the magnificent structure of Drury-lane theatre was raised, on the site of the old house, and opened for public amusement. There is nothing to catch the eye in the external appearance of this large building; on the contrary, it appears to be a pile of ill-formed workmanship, but the inside will compensate for its exterior. It unites a splendid combination of taste, elegance, and grandeur, which renders it a monument of fame to the architect, Mr. Holland; and when its exterior shall be completely finished, it will be a national ornament. There are four tiers of boxes, a pit, and two galleries, with a number of private boxes ranged on each side of the pit, and so constructed as to afford a perfect view of the stage, and yet conceal the persons who occupy them from observation. The stage is an hundred and five feet in length, seventy-five feet wide, and forty-five feet between the stage doors. Under the pit is a large range of lofty vaults, and immediately over it a spacious store-room; another for scenery-painting, about seventy feet



feet wide, and fifty-three feet long. Above the galleries is another painting-room, about seventy-five feet by forty. To facilitate the working of some part of the scenery, there is another stage, about ten feet below the upper one. Under this second stage there is a depth of about forty feet, furnished with various mechanical engines. There are two green-rooms, elegantly fitted up. The pit is fifty-four feet in length, and forty-six in breadth; it has twenty-five rows of benches, and is so well constructed, that those next the orchestra command an uninterrupted view of the stage, and the avenues to it are both safe and commodious. The interior shape of the theatre resembles the form of a horse-shoe. At the back of the front boxes is a semicircular saloon, forty-one feet in length, containing, at a proper elevation, a handsome statue of Garrick, between the tragic and comic muse. Here proper persons attend with refreshments; and over this is a smaller one, for the same purpose; and above that an immense cistern, containing water, which, in case of fire, may be instantly conveyed to any part of the house. There are three entrances to the boxes, and two to the pit and galleries. One of the entrances leads to a saloon, seventy-five feet by twenty-one, called the Egyptian hall. Sixteen pillars of the Doric order, in imitation of porphyry, are a splendid ornament, and support the back boxes, to which a flight of stairs leads at each end. On particular occasions, the boxes of the house have held 1960 persons, including those on the free list, which amount to a considerable number; the pit has contained 930 persons; the first gallery 632; and the upper gallery 426. The receipts of the house, on particular nights, have been upwards of 750*l*.

Ludgate prison was this year opened for the reception of prisoners. It is situated close behind the Giltspur-street compter, which was formerly destroyed by fire, and rebuilt; and in 1791 changed its name and situation. Ludgate prison is appropriated to debtors. The old Ludgate, on Ludgate-hill, like Newgate, had been one of the gates in the wall that encompassed the city. The prison is very small, but has every accommodation and indulgence of which such narrow premises will admit. The court is only twenty-five feet by ten, but there are two pumps in it. There are in all eleven rooms, of which one is a hall, where the debtors may be in the daytime. There is also another room, admitting six inhabitants; and another, the women's ward, which admits two. There is a small chapel. The prison is appropriated to debtors free of the city of London, to clergymen, proctors, and

attornies. The ground on which it stands was intended originally as a court for women debtors in Giltspur-street compter.

The parliament met on the 30th of December: his majesty, in the speech from the throne, urged the necessity of continuing the war, however unsuccessful it had been, and noticed the rapid decay of the resources of the enemy. Early in the month of January 1795, at a meeting of the Society of Friends of the People, it was determined, in consequence of the danger of the country, to suspend for the present all proceedings on the subject of parliamentary reform. At a court of common-council it was moved, that an address be presented to the king from this court, expressive of its firm and steady attachment to his majesty and family, and of its veneration for, and anxious solicitude to preserve, the excellent constitution, as established at the revolution; and to beseech his majesty to employ every means that he in his wisdom might think fit and consistent with the honour and dignity of the state, to terminate the war, and that the blessings of peace might be restored to the country, which the court was persuaded were essential to its trade, commerce, and prosperity. Long debates ensued upon the occasion, when an amendment was carried, on a division of 143 to 47. The amendment purported, that they would maintain it against all such attempts as had been lately made to subvert it; and to express their confidence, that, grounded on his majesty's uniform and benevolent concern for the interests of his people, such means would be employed as should be most proper to defend the country against its foreign and domestic enemies, and to restore the blessings of peace whenever it could be done consistently with the honour and dignity of the state. Soon after this a common-hall was held, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning the house of commons to promote the object of a speedy peace. The hall was uncommonly crowded. The meeting was extremely clamorous when any gentleman rose to speak against the motion. The question being put, after much altercation, it was carried for a speedy peace, by a vast majority. Alderman Anderson undertook to carry the petition to parliament. A counter-petition, by way of protest, was afterwards agreed to, and ordered to lie at the London tavern for signatures.

The town had at this time been much amused, and some part of it had been much interrupted, by a person of the name of Brothers, who had called himself the nephew of God, the man who was to be revealed to the Jews as their prince and deliverer,



deliverer, and who had prophesied the destruction of all sovereigns, and of the naval power of Great Britain, by the year 1798. The uncommon noise which these idle ravings had occasioned, caused him to be taken into custody, by virtue of a warrant from the duke of Portland. Upon being shewn the warrant, he declared he should not go, unless compelled; nor could the officers, without some force, get possession of his papers. When he reached the street-door, being at last convinced that he must submit, he declared he would not go into the coach unless obliged, as then his prophecy would be fulfilled; and when seated in the coach, he exclaimed, with much energy, "Now my prophecy is fulfilled;" after which he was silent and submissive. He afterwards underwent a long examination, comported himself with great dignity and coolness, persisting in the divinity of his 'legation, and maintaining that he held an immediate communication with God, as he had asserted in his writings. A commission was then held to ascertain the state of mind of Mr. Brothens, the pretended prophet, when the jury, after hearing the opinions of two physicians appointed by the privy-council to attend him, found him a lunatic, and gave their verdict accordingly.

The marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of Brunswick, was now a subject which occupied the attention of the nation. On the 28th of March, her serene highness embarked at Cuxhaven, on board the *Jupiter* of 50 guns; and on the 5th of April her highness disembarked, and went on board one of the royal yachts, and landed at Greenwich-hospital. She was there received by the governor, and from thence proceeded, in one of the king's coaches, guarded and attended till she came to St. James's, where she alighted, and was introduced into apartments prepared for her reception. On the 8th, the solemnity of the marriage took place, and was performed in the chapel-royal, by the archbishop of Canterbury. The ceremony was conducted with great state, and the day concluded with every public demonstration of joy throughout the cities of London and Westminster. On the 25th of this month, the trial of Mr. Hastings was concluded. The lords met in their house at twelve; the peeresses' gallery in Westminster-hall was immediately filled. The commons, with their speaker, came into their seats soon after. The stadtholder and his family were received into the queen's apartment. The Turkish ambassador and his retinue took their seats, and all the ambassadors from the several courts of Europe were present. At half-past one the procession of lords moved to Westminster-hall. The managers having taken their seats, proclamation for

silence was made, and Mr. Hastings called to the bar. Mr. Hastings came to the bar, attended by the usher of the black rod, and having made his obeisance to the court, was ordered to withdraw. The lord-chancellor then put the questions to their lordships; the articles which followed were sixteen in number. The youngest baron then declared his opinion whether Mr. Hastings was guilty or not guilty. After the votes had all been given, the lord-chancellor declared that he was acquitted of all the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors which had been preferred against him, by a large majority of the peers. Mr. Hastings was then conducted to the bar, and he and his bail discharged, upon paying his fees. Thus ended this impeachment, which for length of time has exceeded any trial in the history of the world, having lasted seven years and three months. Soon after, a general court was held at the East India-house, to determine by ballot the following question, carried at the last court; they recommended to the court of directors to apply to Warren Hastings, esq. for a statement of the legal expenses incurred by him in making his defence, and after having ascertained the same, by a full and satisfactory investigation, to discharge the amount of them not exceeding the sum of 71,080*l*. The ballot commenced, and on casting up the numbers, for the question there appeared 544, against it 244. At a general court held for determining the following question, it was the opinion, that in consideration of the long, faithful, and important services of Warren Hastings, esq. and to mark the grateful sense entertained by the company for the extensive benefits which they have received from those services, a grant of an annuity of 5000*l*. from the 1st of January 1795, issued from the territorial revenues, during the term of the company's present exclusive trade, to Warren Hastings, esq. his executors, administrators, and assigns, be prepared by the court of directors, and submitted to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, for their approval and confirmation, according to act of parliament; on casting up the votes, there were for the question 508, against it 220.

The beautiful church of St. Paul's, Covent-garden, was, in the month of September, through the carelessness of some workmen employed in finishing the interior, reduced to ashes. A column of fire was observed to burst forth from the cupola, which soon communicated with the roof, the timber-work of which was very complex; the flames with inconceivable rapidity communicated to the body, and the lead upon the roof of the building poured off with the rapidity of a flood. The beams which sustained the immense roof of the church, in a short time began to fall



fall in, not at once, but gradually. All attempts to check the flames were vain; every effort therefore was directed to the neighbouring houses and buildings, which were with difficulty preserved from taking fire, so intense was the heat from the church, which was wrapt in an immense pyramid of flame, rising thrice the height of the building; the heat was felt to the end of Russell-street, and was scarcely to be supported within fifty yards of it. The communion-plate alone was saved, but every thing else belonging to the building, including the valuable and celebrated organ, the clock, and other things, were devoured by the unconquerable fury of the destructive element. The church had lately experienced a renovation in all its parts; it had also been decorated within-side, in a style of uncommon magnificence. Several workmen who had been employed in repairing the church, were afterwards examined respecting the cause of the fire, when, from what transpired, there is every reason to think that it originated from a charcoal-fire made in an iron ladle in the cupola, for the plumbers to heat metal and irons; to effect which they were obliged to use a bellows, which caused a number of sparks to fly; and it is conjectured that some fell amongst the timber of that part of the building, as the men declared that they brought the ladle in which the fire had been made, and the ashes in it, down with them, when they left their work.

We have already given a short account of the conspiracy which was supposed to have been formed against the government. Upon the liberation of the supposed conspirators, it was hoped that the matter had been consigned to oblivion; but circumstances occurred which brought this subject again before the public. With Higgins, Smith, and Lemaitre, a man of the name of Crossfield, a surgeon, had been implicated, on the evidence of Upton the informer. Upon the arrest of the other parties, it appeared that this person had fled to Bristol, and some little time after had proceeded to Portsmouth, and engaged himself there as surgeon on board a ship bound to the southern whale-fishery. In the course of her voyage the vessel was taken, and carried into Brest, where Crossfield openly professed himself to be one of those who had been accused of a conspiracy to assassinate the king of Great Britain; and made use of expressions which served to excite a suspicion in some of his fellow-prisoners, that he had been really guilty, though the fact was denied by other witnesses. In one of the cartels he was exchanged amongst other prisoners; and on his return to England, conscious probably of the imprudence of his language whilst in France,

France, he assumed the name of Wilton. An information having been lodged against him, by some of the sailors who had been confined with him in France, he was apprehended in the month of September, and with much solemnity committed to the Tower. Higgins, Smith, and Lemaitre, were also, in an unprecedented manner, re-committed to prison some time after; they were, however, after a trial, acquitted. The apprehensions of the credulous and timid part of society were greatly excited in the course of the year by some numerous assemblages of the populace convened by the London Corresponding Society. The most remarkable of these was on the 26th of October, in a field near Copenhagen-house, at a small distance from Pancras church. The meeting consisted, it is supposed, of not less than 40,000 persons; but their conduct was perfectly decent, and uniformly peaceable. Some of the orators of the society harangued the multitude; and an address and remonstrance to his majesty on the subject of peace and parliamentary reform, was unanimously voted. As the Corresponding Society became an object interesting to the curiosity of the public, it may not be unacceptable to say something concerning this institution. If report is not erroneous, the plan originated entirely with an obscure tradesman of London, whose imagination being forcibly impressed by the perusal of a pamphlet of the late Mr. Day, conceived, some years since, the project of instituting a club of unrepresented citizens, who should occasionally meet and converse on the subject of parliamentary reform, and consider of the legal means of reclaiming, what they considered as their birthright, the right of suffrage. He communicated his plan to a near relation, and some other acquaintances, and the first night of the institution they assembled, to the number of eight, at an obscure alehouse in the vicinity of Temple-bar. A rude code of laws was drawn up for the regulation of the society; and they agreed to assemble weekly at the same place, and to subscribe at the rate of two-pence each, weekly, for the support of the society. The projector was unanimously chosen treasurer, and their treasury at the first institution contained sixteen-pence. The following meeting their numbers were increased by sixteen new members, and they agreed no longer to confine the meeting to the unrepresented, but to extend it to all who were friends of parliamentary reform. In process of time the society became so numerous, that it was found necessary to separate into divisions or districts; and in order to maintain the correspondence between the different branches, they formed what they called a central committee.



The numbers, as well as the influence, of this society have, however, been grossly misrepresented; but their public meetings were numerously attended, and they considerably influenced the opinions of the multitude.

In the latter end of October, the king, accompanied by the earl of Westmoreland and lord Onslow, went in the usual state to the house of peers, amidst an astonishing concourse of people. As the procession moved from St. James's, several persons expressed their loyalty, but the great majority vociferated, "No war, no war; give us peace and bread." In Parliament-street, in particular, the mob still more grossly insulted his majesty; and near the ordnance-office, in St. Margaret's-street, one of the coach-windows was perforated by a round stone, or bullet, which happily did no other damage. On his majesty's return, he experienced the like very outrageous treatment; and the mob becoming more riotous, the earl of Harrington ordered the troops to patrol the park. Some time after the king had alighted at St. James's, he set off privately in his family-coach for the queen's palace; but the mob discovering this, pursued the carriage, stopped it before it could leave the Mall, and attempted to force open the door. The king, perceiving his danger, called out to his footmen to beckon to the guards. The horse immediately galloped up to the carriage, and rescued his majesty, and escorted him in safety to the queen's palace. The king, at this alarming moment, supported himself with manly fortitude; but when he arrived at the queen's palace, he was evidently under an impression of terror, from the apprehension that the queen might be informed of his danger. The mob, finding their purposes frustrated, wreaked their fury on the state-coach, on its return from St. James's to the mews, by breaking the windows and demolishing the figures placed on the top of the carriage. Three or four persons were apprehended, on suspicion of having thrown stones and other things at the king; and one of them was charged with having called out "No king," and other such expressions. In a few days, both houses of parliament presented a joint address to his majesty, on the subject of the daring outrages against his royal person; and on the same day a royal proclamation was issued, in pursuance of the joint address, offering a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of the authors, actors, and abettors, concerned in the outrages. Another proclamation was also issued against seditious meetings. And in the course of a few days, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, presented an address to the king, on the subject of the outrage committed against him. A  
form.

form of prayer and thanksgiving was ordered to be read in all the churches for the late preservation of the king.

In the month of November, in consequence of a public meeting having been called by the Corresponding Society, an immense concourse of people assembled behind Copenhagen-house. Five rostra, or tribunes, being raised in different parts of the field, the secretary informed the multitude, that at each a member of the society would offer to their consideration three petitions: first, to the king; secondly, to the house of lords; and thirdly, to the house of commons; which he entreated them to hear and receive with decorum, that should refute the misrepresentations of their enemies. At two o'clock the rostra were entirely filled, and not less than 100,000 persons surrounded them. The petitions were signed, and the multitude dispersed with perfect peace and good order.

In the course of a few days, Edward Collins was examined, for having thrown a stone into his majesty's carriage, and was fully committed to the Old Bailey to take his trial for high treason. Kidd Wake was also committed for trial, for having hissed and hooted at the king on his way to and from the parliament-house. A meeting was held, pursuant to public notice, signed by Mr. Fox, of the electors of Westminster, to consider of a petition to the house of commons against the two bills which were then pending in the house, for the better security of his majesty's person, and the suppression of seditious assemblies. The meeting was attended by members of both houses, of the first respectability and consequence; the duke of Bedford, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, were present, who inveighed against the bills, as utterly subversive of the liberties of the people. On the other side appeared lords Hood and Belgrave, Mr. Jenkinson, and others. The two former were the only dissentients from the proceedings of the meeting, and lord Hood protested against the present mode as unfair, insisting that the sense of the electors could only be known by meetings of their respective vestries. A petition was however agreed upon, by all but the two dissentients, to be presented to the house of commons, against the two bills in question; after which the meeting quietly dispersed. A court of common-council was soon after held at Guildhall, for the purpose of presenting a petition to the house of commons, praying them to take such measures as might be necessary to suppress seditious meetings. An amendment was proposed, that the two bills now pending in the house to that effect, might not pass into a law. A long debate ensued, and the amendment was negatived. Another amendment,



amendment, however, was carried, to insert the words, for a limited time; and a committee having been appointed, and the petition brought up, it was agreed to unanimously. Prior to the business, the thanks of the court to the late lord-mayor were voted in the most flattering terms, his upright and impartial administration of public justice in such arduous times, being a perfect model of imitation to his successors. In the course of a few days, another common-hall was held, to take into consideration the propriety of the two bills pending in parliament, when it was agreed by a majority of four to one, to instruct their representatives to oppose the bills. Early in December, the London Corresponding Society, together with an immense concourse of spectators, assembled in Mary-le-bone fields. About one o'clock, rostra were erected, and Mr. Browne was called to the chair. After an explanatory address to the people, a petition to the king was read, and approved of unanimously, together with a number of resolutions. Mr. Jones and Mr. Thelwall were the speakers. The petitions to the king and the resolutions were in firm and strong language, but loyal and respectful. The conduct of the multitude was temperate and orderly. They signed the papers in great numbers, and separated without the least tumult.

Towards the close of the year, an alarming scarcity pervaded the kingdom; several persons perished for want in the metropolis, and the poor in the country were every where desponding and desperate. It was probably from this cause, together with the unpopularity of the war in the minds of the common people, that the multitude were excited to such acts of violence as have been just described. They were, no doubt, also stimulated to these measures by the arts of designing men, whose restless and turbulent minds would have enjoyed no peace, had even the alteration in the government taken place, which they pretended it was their only desire to obtain. Mutual recriminations from the opposite parties took place; the enemies of government observing that, according to the unguarded admission of Mr. secretary Dundas, bills were immediately upon this event to be introduced into parliament, for restricting the liberty of the press, and for preventing public meetings; that these had been in the contemplation of ministers ever since the failure of the prosecution of Hardy and others; and that a fair opportunity was only wanting to bring them forth. They remarked, that in other countries similar outrages had been committed, not by the populace, but by persons hired for particular views; that an attack on the late king of Portugal, which there proved the destruction of the

popular party, was generally considered as a stratagem of one of his ministers. They asserted, that in the late outrage on the king of England, the persons who were most violent, were men hired for that purpose; and that those who attended the royal carriage were the most clamorous, and had frequent opportunities of assaulting the king, but, on the contrary, were most anxious to keep off the rest of the mob. The Whig club at their meeting resolved, that they would give every aid to the civil magistrate in detecting and bringing to punishment the persons concerned in the late attack upon his majesty; but lamenting as they did this act, they saw with the utmost concern that it had been used as a pretext for introducing into parliament a bill striking at the liberty of the press, and the freedom of public discussion, in substance and effect destroying the right of the subject to petition the branches of the legislature for the redress of grievances, and utterly subversive of the genuine principles of the constitution; and for proposing another measure calculated to produce similar effects, by means still more exceptionable. They resolved that it was highly expedient that meetings of the people should be immediately called in their respective districts, to consider this important subject, and for the purpose of petitioning parliament against the bill, or any other measure which might infringe upon the just rights of the people of Great Britain. This meeting was remarkably full: all the members of both houses of parliament belonging to the club were present, to the number of nearly fifty lords, and a large body of the members of the house of commons. The association against republicans and levellers, known by the appellation of Mr. Reeves's Society, met at the Crown and Anchor, and agreed to an address to the king, highly approving the measures which had been adopted, and of the bills pending in parliament. The example of the Whig club was immediately followed by the livery of London, the electors of Westminster, the freeholders of Middlesex, and by several counties, and almost every considerable town in the kingdom. Wherever a meeting was called, the decision was almost unanimous, but counter-petitions were in several places handed about clandestinely.

On the 7th of January 1796, the princess of Wales was delivered of a princess, the future heir of the throne of Great Britain. At a court of common-council held at Guildhall, a letter was read from lord Cholmondely to the city remembrancer, wherein his lordship intimated that the prince of Wales declined receiving an address from the corporation at Carlton-house, and stating that the prince had commanded him to say, that being under the necessity of reducing his establishment, he was pre-



cluded from receiving addresses in a manner suitable to his situation ; and his lordship requested to have copies of the address. The letter was entered on the journals of the court. It was then moved, that as his royal highness had stated the inadequacy of his establishment, as precluding him from receiving the compliments of congratulation voted to be presented to their royal highnesses in a manner suitable to his situation, the court could not, consistently with their own dignity, suffer the said compliments to be presented otherwise than in the customary form. This motion was agreed to, after some conversation, and the remembrancer was ordered to convey a copy of it to his royal highness.

A cause of great importance to all dissenting congregations throughout the kingdom, came on this month. The protestant dissenting chapel of Kensington had been rated to the poor by the overseers of that parish. The trustees of the chapel first paid the tax, but afterwards objected, and appealed to the parochial vestry-meeting, when the rate was confirmed. From this decision, the trustees of the chapel appealed to the former quarter-sessions, but by motion of counsel for the parish, the appeal was adjourned over to the following quarter-sessions. After the arguments of counsel had been heard on both sides, the justices determined in favour of the trustees of the chapel. A similar decision took place last year at Guildhall, on an appeal of the trustees of the meeting-house in Hare-court, Aldersgate-street, against the demand for rates, by the officers of that parish.

In the month of May, a common-hall was held at Guildhall for the purpose of nominating proper representatives for the city of London to serve in parliament ; the candidates were, the lord-mayor, Sir Watkin Lewes, aldermen Anderson, Lushington, Combe, and Pickett. The four first were returned. The candidates for Westminster were Mr. Fox, admiral Gardner, and John Horne Tooke, esq. The two first were returned.

Although the stock of wheat in hand was very considerable, and great quantities were still importing, and the harvest had been attended with very fine weather, and, from universal report, with abundant crops, yet the price of flour was at that time very high, and disproportioned to that of wheat. The mills in the southern part of the kingdom, which formerly supplied the London markets with flour, now, through the medium of canals, sent their produce to the country markets ; and by the destruction of the Albion-mills, which had supplied the markets with flour, and which had challenged a fair-competition with other venders of flour, that source

had failed. The capital had now depended on its supply of flour from a confined body of men, whose motives might be perfectly fair and honourable ; but from the comparative statement of the different prices of wheat and flour at different periods with the present, these things were difficult to be reconciled. In the year 1778, the price of wheat for the year was forty shillings and ninepence three farthings, and flour was sold at thirty-six shillings and sixpence. In 1787, wheat was sold at forty-one shillings and three halfpence ; flour at thirty-two shillings and eleven pence halfpenny. But on the 15th of August 1796, when wheat was sold at forty shillings and threepence three farthings, flour was returned at fifty shillings. Some inquiry was therefore necessary to be set on foot, or some method adopted, to give every consumer of bread a fair opportunity of purchasing that necessary commodity at the most moderate price. A committee was in consequence appointed, to take into consideration the causes of the high price of flour, while grain was cheap, and to make a speedy return of the best means of providing against so oppressive an evil.

In October, a court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when a motion which had been made for an address and petition to his majesty, relative to the situation of the nation, and to pray him to dismiss his ministers from his presence and councils for ever, was withdrawn, as his majesty's speech fully expressed all that was wished to be explained in the address. It was afterwards moved, that a loyal and dutiful address be presented to his majesty, to express the thanks of the court for his gracious communication to both houses of parliament, of his intentions to send a person to Paris with powers to negotiate a general peace, and to express their sanguine hopes that the measures might tend to an honourable and solid peace for Great Britain and her allies : to congratulate his majesty on the general attachment of his people to the British constitution, and on the energy and wisdom of the established laws, which have repressed the endeavours of those who wished to introduce anarchy and confusion over the country : to assure his majesty, that if the event of the negotiation should prove ineffectual, and frustrate his endeavours to secure and maintain for the future the general tranquillity, the court would, to the utmost of their power, support and assist his majesty to oppose with increased activity the further efforts of the enemy with which this kingdom may have to contend, as the only means of obtaining, at a future period, the substantial peace which the nation has a right to expect. The amendment was carried by the large majority of 135 against



14. On the 27<sup>th</sup>, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, with about fifty of the common-council, attended with the address at St. James's, and were then introduced to the king. The honour of knighthood was conferred on the two sheriffs.

At a subscription of eighteen millions sterling, for the service of the year ensuing, such was the general desire to subscribe, that the court-room was a scene of the most general confusion. Many persons who wished to put down their names for the subscription were disappointed. A great number of orders had been received by the cashier, Mr. Newland, in the morning of the day, from the country, which claimed a preference. A court of common-council was held at Guildhall in December, to consider a motion for granting an aid to government in the present exigencies of affairs. The lord-mayor laid before the court the requisition which he had received from several members of the court, and a letter from Mr. Pitt, with his lordship's answer. A proposition was made, that 100,000*l.* should be subscribed on the terms proposed by the bank; which was agreed to without a division. A committee of all the aldermen, and a commoner out of each ward, was appointed to consider the best means of raising the money on the credit of the city. The chamberlain having stated the balance of cash in hand to be nearly 40,000*l.* an amendment was moved, that the corporation should reserve its pecuniary aid to be brought forward hereafter, according to the ability of the chamber, and the exigency of the state, which, after a long debate, was withdrawn, and the original question for a committee was put and negatived. In the course of this month a meeting of the livery was held in common-hall, when a motion was made that the representatives of the city in parliament should be instructed to move or support a motion in the house of commons, for censuring the ministers for having taken upon themselves to send the money of the people of Great Britain to the emperor of Germany, during the sitting of parliament, without the consent of parliament. Some of the aldermen opposed the motion, on the ground of the necessity of having Mr. Pitt's reasons. After a debate of two hours, the hall was divided, when the motion was carried by a great majority. At a subsequent court of common-council, a motion was made, that an address be presented to his majesty, to thank him for the measures which he thought proper graciously to communicate to both houses of parliament, on the recent manifesto of the court of Madrid, declaratory of war against Great Britain; and to assure his majesty of the steady and firm determination of the court to support the most vigorous measures to repel any hostilities that might be made against his majesty's crown,  
and

and the prosperity of the kingdom. The motion was agreed to, and a committee appointed to draw up the address; and it was ordered to be presented by the whole corporation. On the 21st, a common-council was held at Guildhall, when a motion was brought forward, that it was the opinion of the court, that the pecuniary aid recently furnished by his majesty's ministers to the emperor, had been productive of great advantage to Great Britain, and had enabled the emperor not only to withstand the desperate attempts of the French armies to overrun Germany, but also had given a decided and favourable turn to the war, and opened a fairer prospect of obtaining an honourable peace to this country and her allies. Some opposition was made to this, and an amendment proposed, namely, that no circumstance whatever should alienate the corporation from its firm support of the three estates of these realms, in their distinct and sound rights, agreeably to the principles of our happy constitution. This was negatived. The former motion was then carried by a great majority, and ordered to be published.

The state of parties had been fairly put to the trial at the general election in June and July. With a few exceptions, where the character of the candidate, or the influence of family connexions, weighed against his political sentiments, the tide of success in the counties and boroughs ran proudly in favour of the minister and his friends. In some populous places, where the electors was numerous, an appearance of opposition was displayed. In the city of London, Mr. Combe, one of the popular candidates, was elected by a great majority; and what is still more extraordinary, nearly three thousand liverymen came forward, almost unsolicited, and without the usual inducements, to the support of alderman Pickett. The new parliament had been called together at an early period of the year. The speech from the throne had afforded much satisfaction to the nation, and was welcomed as the harbinger of peace. A person was to be sent over to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object; but it was evident that nothing could give it so much effect, as the parliament manifesting both their determination and resources to oppose the enemy. By the skill and exertions of the navy, the commerce of the country had been protected almost beyond example; the fleets of the enemy had been blocked up in their own ports; the operations in the East and West Indies had been productive of great advantages to the nation; and though the fortune of the war on the continent had been more various, such a turn had been given to our affairs by the spirit of the Austrian forces under the archduke Charles, as might inspire confidence, that the end of the campaign would  
prove



prove as disastrous to the enemy, as its commencement had been auspicious. The country was now considerably alarmed with the idea of an invasion from the French. The natural defence of this kingdom was its naval strength, which at this moment was more formidable than ever it had been at any other period in the history of the country. But strong and powerful as it was, it was capable of considerable increase, could an additional supply of seamen, or even of landsmen, be procured: a levy of fifteen thousand men from the different parishes for the sea-service, and for recruiting the regiments of the line, was therefore proposed to be raised. A supplementary levy of militia, to be grafted upon the old establishment, to consist of sixty thousand men, was also to be adopted, not immediately to be called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and gradually trained, so as to be fit for service in a moment of danger. One sixth part only was to be trained at a time, so that only ten thousand would be taken from their employment at once. They were to be provided with arms and uniforms. The next measure to be adopted was to provide a considerable force of irregular cavalry. The regular cavalry on the establishment was by no means inconsiderable; and the yeomanry cavalry, which, from their numbers, were very respectable, had proved to be highly useful in securing the internal quiet and tranquillity of the country. The number of horses kept for pleasure in the kingdom were computed at two hundred thousand; every person therefore who kept ten horses, was to be obliged to provide one horse and one horseman, to serve in a corps of cavalry: and those who kept more than ten should provide in the same proportion; those who kept fewer than ten were to form themselves into classes, in which it should be decided by ballot, who, at the common expense, should provide the horse and horseman. These troops were to be provided with a uniform and accoutrements, to be formed into corps, and put under proper officers. The whole number of cavalry to be raised by these means were twenty thousand. The game-keepers also were eleven thousand in number, and would form a large body; but this measure was postponed. The other bills passed the two houses, and were made into a law.

The national debt had now amounted to above four hundred millions, and the necessaries of life were becoming daily more expensive to be procured. New taxes were now imposed; and in the course of the next year, a second budget was opened with additional taxes, at a time when they were not expected. To add to these circumstances, the negotiation for peace had failed, and lord Malmesbury, the ambassador, had returned. Various were the opinions entertained upon the subject; the principle that formed the basis of the negotiation was that of proportional

tional restitution, and the restoration of the Austrian Netherlands was a *sine quâ non*, on the part of his British majesty. Ministers regretted the stop which had been put to the measures, and declared that nothing had been wanting on our part, to restore peace on the grounds on which alone it could be desirable.

In the beginning of January 1797, the address from the city of London was presented to his majesty, to return thanks for his communication to parliament, of the measures adopted on account of the recent manifesto of the court of Madrid, which was abruptly declaratory of an unprovoked war with Great Britain.

Whilst the tranquillity of the nation was disturbed, and its existence endangered, by the mutinous disposition of the seamen, an evil which at first appeared of scarcely inferior magnitude, threatened at once to overwhelm its financial arrangements, and to bury, in one prodigious ruin, the resources and commerce of the country. By the continued sanction of public opinion, the Bank of England had long been considered as the palladium of Great Britain; and the confidence which was attached to this object of national veneration, approached to unreserved superstition. Amongst the political wonders which the present year gave birth to, the failure of the Bank of England in fulfilling its engagements, and yet the public credit to remain unshaken, may justly be reckoned as a mystery, for which it may be difficult to account; that confidence, which before rested on an ideal basis, is now supported by the sanction of the legislature, and by a developement of the affairs of this great monied body.

In the course of the present war, the remittances to the emperor and other foreign powers, pressed so heavily upon the Bank of England, that so early as the month of January 1795, the court of directors informed the chancellor of the exchequer, that it was their wish that he would arrange his finances for the year in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from them. These remonstrances were renewed in the months of April and July, in the same year: and on the 6th of October following, they sent a written paper to the minister, which concluded by stating the absolute necessity which they conceived to exist, for diminishing the sum of their present advances to government, the last having been granted, with great reluctance, on their part, on his pressing solicitations. In an interview with the chancellor of the exchequer, which took place on the 23d of the same month, on the loans to the emperor being mentioned, the governor assured Mr. Pitt, that another loan of that sort might go nigh to ruin the country. And



on the 9th of February 1797, the directors ordered the governor to inform the minister, that under the present state of the bank's advances to government, to agree with his request, of making a further advance of 1,500,000*l.* as a loan to Ireland, would threaten ruin to the bank, and most probably bring the directors to shut up their doors. With this cause, another is supposed by some to have powerfully co-operated with the late event, and that was the dread of an invasion, which had induced the farmers, and other persons resident in the parts distant from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of those bankers with whom it was deposited. The run, therefore, commenced upon the country-banks, and the demand for specie soon reached the metropolis. In this alarming state, the ministers thought themselves obliged to interfere, and an order of the privy-council was issued on the 26th of February, prohibiting the directors of the bank from issuing any cash in payment, till the sense of parliament could be taken on that subject, and the proper measures adopted thereon for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important juncture. As the parliament was fortunately sitting at this moment, no time was lost in laying these proceedings before it. On the following day, therefore, the 27th of February, a message was delivered from his majesty to both houses of parliament, stating, that an unusual demand for specie having been made from different parts of the country on the metropolis, it had been found necessary to make an order of council to prohibit the issuing of any cash in payment till the sense of parliament could be taken on the subject. After many debates in both houses on the matter, a committee of nine lords was appointed to examine and report on the outstanding demands against the bank, and the state of the funds to discharge the same, and also to inquire the cause which rendered the order of council necessary. The report of the committee was then made, and ordered to be printed. A committee was also appointed by the commons for an inquiry into the affairs of the bank. A bill was passed, to enable the bank to issue small notes. On the 3d of March, the first report of the committee was brought up: they stated that they had examined the outstanding claims against the bank with the corresponding assets; and found that on the 25th of February, the day to which the accounts could be made up with accuracy, the total amount of demands on the bank was 13,770,390*l.* Assets not including the sum of 11,686,800*l.* of permanent debt, due by government, amounted to 17,597,280*l.* So that there was a surplus of

3,826,890*l*. The second report was brought up on the 7th of March, when the committee stated it as their opinion, that it was necessary to provide for the continuance and confirmation for a limited time, of the order of council; and they submitted to parliament to determine the time for which such order should be continued. The general sufficiency and solidity of the funds was now unquestionably determined. The opinion of those who were most interested in subjects of a pecuniary nature, unequivocally manifested to the world the solidity of the bank, by adopting a line of conduct which evinced their confidence in its security. A bill was then brought in to confirm and continue for a limited time the restriction against the issuing of money in specie by the bank. A bill was also passed for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange, under a limited sum. A bill of indemnity was also passed, and a clause added, the purport of which was to allow the bank to repay at different periods in cash, those who might at their discretion hereafter deposit cash with the directors of the bank, so that no more than three-fourths of that sum should be repaid by the bank in cash, during the continuance of the bill. After the 24th of June, the bank was to pay their demands in cash. With regard to the public, they might now consider the bank as a solvent company, whose assets were at least three millions more than all the demands that could possibly be brought against them.

The city of London had been divided between the two parties, which now opposed each other on every occasion. Common-halls were called, in order to request his majesty to dismiss the present ministers; and these meetings were fully attended, and long debates ensued. The ministerial party, however, kept the sway, and the motions of the other party were generally set aside. Meetings also of the inhabitants of Westminster took place for the same purpose. Similar meetings were also held in many counties and cities; and no steps were left untried to obtain the measures which they proposed. A petition to the king from the inhabitants of Westminster was drawn up, the substance of which was to address his majesty on the calamitous condition of the country. On the 12th of April, a common-hall was held to receive the sheriffs' report of his majesty's answer, as to the time of presenting the address of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery. The report was read, and it stated, that the sheriffs had taken an early opportunity of waiting upon his majesty, and had been admitted to the usual audience in the closet. His majesty's answer was, that this not being the address of the city of London in a corporate body, he could not



receive it upon the throne, that the answer given by the duke of Portland was given by his order, and that he would receive the address of the livery of London on the following levee-day, provided that it was presented by no more than ten persons. This measure excited considerable disapprobation in the party which had prepared the address, who attributed the refusal of the king to receive it on the throne as the plan of the ministers, and declared that they attempted to deprive the city of one of its most invaluable rights. A resolution was then moved, that when a petition be presented to his majesty on the throne, the petitioners have the satisfaction of knowing that his majesty must hear their complaints, by the petition being read to him, and that they will receive some answer; but when a petition is presented at the levee, they receive no answer, and they are not certain that his majesty is ever made acquainted with its contents, as it is always delivered into the hands of the lord in waiting. The lord-mayor objected to the motion. A violent debate ensued, and the popular party urged all their efforts to carry their point; but the lord-mayor put an end to all further proceedings, and formally dissolved the common-hall.

On the 11th of May, another common-hall was held at Guildhall, when several strong resolutions were entered into, declaratory of the rights of the livery, asserting that the ministers had plunged the nation into an unjust and unnecessary war, which had produced a series of calamities unprecedented in history; that an enormous increase of public debt had been produced; an alarming diminution of trade and manufactures; an abridgment of rights and privileges; a shameful profusion of national wealth, by subsidizing the allies abroad, and supporting a system of corruption at home, to the destruction of public credit; and directing their representatives in parliament to move for an address to the king, to dismiss the present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a speedy and permanent peace; and concluding with a censure on the lord-mayor, who, by dissolving the last common-hall on a frivolous and ungrounded pretence of the irrelevance of the resolution which was moved on the occasion on which the hall was assembled; by refusing to convene another hall for all the purposes specified, on a like frivolous and unfounded pretence of the livery of London not being a deliberative body; and by convening the present common-hall for purposes short of those which are specified in the requisition, had violated the rights of the livery, had suffered his political attachments to warp his official conduct, and proved himself to be utterly undeserving of the confidence of his constituents. These resolutions having been carried by a large majority,

city, were ordered to be published once in all the newspapers of Great Britain. A counter-declaration of the livery was at the same time agreed to at the common-hall, in which that body signified their disapprobation of the several violent proceedings at the three last common-halls. They deplored the evils of war, and earnestly prayed for the return of peace; they beheld with satisfaction the repeated efforts of government to put an end to hostilities, and declared their abhorrence of all measures tending to discord, at a time when unanimity was so essentially necessary; they invited their brethren in the livery to join in giving that support to their sovereign which they owed to him, and in an endeavour to preserve to themselves and their posterity the advantages of their free constitution. About 2000 of the livery signed this declaration.

On the 18th of May, the marriage was celebrated between his serene highness the prince of Wirtemberg-Stutgard, and the princess royal of England, Charlotte Augusta Matilda.

Notwithstanding the notices which had been issued by the magistrates of the various police-offices, and in despite of a large military detachment, a very numerous meeting had taken place in a field adjoining to the Veterinary-college in Pancras, of the London Corresponding Society. To accommodate the vast assemblage of people who had collected, three tribunes were erected in different quarters of the field, round the principal of which the police-magistrates, with a large body of constables, took their stand. Sir William Addington, the magistrate, informed the persons in the tribune that the meeting had been illegally convoked, and declared his intention of reading the riot-act, to which he was assured no opposition would be given. The advertisement of the London Corresponding Society being read, and the notice from Bow-street, the magistrates were called upon to declare in what circumstances the meeting was illegal, and what provisions of the late act had not been duly complied with, promising that if the illegality should be substantiated, the society would immediately and peaceably retire. No answer having been returned to this request, a chairman for the day was proposed, who, after returning thanks for the honour conferred upon him, proceeded to read the petition and remonstrance to the king. Scarcely however had he entered upon its contents, when an interruption took place. Sir William Addington insisting that the riot-act had been read, a gentleman on the tribune declared that he had not heard it; and in this declaration he was joined by the whole multitude. Sir William Addington persisted to aver the fact. "Then, my fellow citizens,"



said the gentleman, "we are bound to disperse in peace within one hour; I conjure you to depart, and believe that it will be shortly seen, whether Bow-street magistrates are to be the interpreters of the laws of England." Upon this, many persons retired from the ground; and Sir William Addington commanded the constables to take into custody the above-mentioned gentleman and the chairman. The military were ordered to enter into the field, and after having galloped about it for near an hour, and taking up several persons more, the meeting was dissolved. Those taken were admitted to bail, and when they left the office, were drawn to their homes by the populace. All the divisions of the police-officers were ordered out, and assembled early in the morning at Somerstown and Pancras. The London and Westminster associations assembled in the Foundling-field; and the West London militia, after having exercised in White-Conduit fields, were planted in the Veterinary-college.

A society for bettering the condition of the poor had been established in the preceding year in Parliament-street, Westminster. Its object was to embrace every thing which concerned the happiness of the poor; to remove the difficulties attending parochial relief, and the discouragement of industry and economy, by the modes of distributing it; to correct the abuses of workhouses, and to assist the poor in placing out their children in the world; in the improvements of their habitations, gardens, the use of fuel, and other beneficial purposes. These advantages had now, from a year's experience, been sensibly felt and acknowledged. The subjects of information upon which the society desired to obtain and to circulate knowledge, were, parish relief, friendly societies, parish workhouses, cottages, cottage gardens, parish mills, village shops, village kitchens, fuel and fireplaces, apprentices, county gaols, and beggars. Upon all these subjects, and others connected with them, the reports of this society spoke amply, and presented a body of knowledge at once practicable, interesting, and important, highly to the credit of the promoters of this institution. It commenced when the distresses of the poor were most urgent, and when the dearth of all articles of subsistence required every possible plan of economy to be studied, and earnestly enforced through every class of the community. Subscriptions were received at the bankers in Pall Mall; and a donation of ten guineas at once, or one guinea annually, entitled the subscriber to two copies of each publication of the society, and so in proportion upon a larger sum. Societies of these kinds were gaining ground yearly in the metropolis. One called the Samaritan society, at the London hospital, had been instituted a few years previous to this. It was intended for

the relief of the patients discharged cured from the London hospital, and not immediately able to get into service. It consisted of about fifty annual subscribers of one guinea, and seventy-five life directors, who gave donations of five guineas each. It has with this aid established itself, and afforded effectual relief to many hundred persons, and put them in a course of livelihood, who must otherwise have been driven to beggary, if not to criminal courses, for subsistence. The governors of the hospital permitted an apartment there to be devoted to the purpose of the society.

On the 19th of December, a national thanksgiving for the three great naval victories of lords Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan, took place in the morning. Never perhaps was so fine a spectacle exhibited; and the recollection of the ever-memorable events which gave rise to it, added in no small degree to the splendour of the scene. Before daylight, the streets and houses through which the procession was to pass were filled with spectators. The military and volunteer corps, both of the London and Westminster light-horse, attended on the occasion. The foot-guards took the duty from St. James's to Temple-bar, in the inside of which the streets were lined by the two regiments of East India volunteers, and several other corps of the same description. The seamen and marines who carried the colours formed before the Admiralty, and the trophies of their victories were labelled with the different dates of their valour. The procession began with two colours taken from the French, three from the Spaniards, and four from the Dutch; the colours were carried on artillery-waggons, and each set followed by a party of naval lieutenants on foot, who had served in the engagements in which they were won. A large detachment of marines with music followed, and the whole corps was ranged in the cathedral from the west door to the choir. A number of admirals brought up the rear of the procession; the lords and commons followed, and after them their majesties and the royal family, with all their attendants. The horses of the carriages of state amounted to 122, and formed the grandest equestrian spectacle ever beheld in this country. The crowd was immense; but no delay or interruption took place. The city-militia, light-horse association, and the gentlemen of the artillery-company, kept the strictest regularity in the city, while the various other detachments of troops in the different quarters added to the grandeur of the scene, and preserved the utmost order. During the procession of the house of commons down Fleet-street, the lord-mayor, two sheriffs, and four of the common-council as representatives of the corporation, in their carriages, preceded by the marshals and the city officers, went to Temple-

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bar, where they waited to receive his majesty, to whom the lord-mayor delivered the city-sword, which being graciously returned by the king, the lord-mayor, with the sheriffs and city-deputation, all dressed in their robes of office, rode bareheaded before the king to the cathedral church. His majesty was received with the greatest attention, respect, and applause; and particular marks of respect were bestowed on others, especially on Mr. Pitt. When the procession reached St. Paul's, the colours were deposited there, and divine service performed; which being finished, the procession returned. No accident happened which could throw a cloud over the splendour of the day. The soldiers who lined the streets behaved with the utmost decorum, and the people conducted themselves with sobriety and good order, although with much eagerness and anxiety to enjoy the magnificent sight.

A very short period intervened between the abrupt termination of the negotiation at Lisle, and the meeting of the British parliament. On the opening of the session on the 2d of November, the benches of opposition were totally deserted, and the memorable secession which had taken place towards the conclusion of the preceding session, was strictly observed by the most distinguished leaders of the Whig party. A plan was introduced for the increase of the assessed taxes, the product of which was then estimated at 2,700,000*l.* These taxes were of two descriptions; the first comprehended the tax on houses, windows, the commutation-tax, and the two additional ten per cent. duties upon these; the other description contained all the same charges upon houses, windows, the commutation-act, and the 20 per cent. additional duties; while 1,300,000*l.* was raised upon male servants, horses, carriages, dogs, and watches. The amount of the new assessment was estimated at 7,000,000*l.* This bill, which was called the treble assessment bill, passed the two houses. But the favourite measure of the chancellor of the exchequer for the year 1798 was the redemption of the land-tax, or, more properly, for its perpetuation and sale. The object of this was to absorb a large quantity of stock, and in the process to transfer a portion of the national debt into landed security. The quantity of stock thus to be transferred, was to equal at least, in its amount, the quantity of land-tax which by these means would be extinguished, and would be applicable to the public service. But the great benefit which was to arise to the public, would be the diminution of the stock, which at this moment pressed so hard upon the public credit. The amount of the land-tax was about 2,000,000*l.* a-year, which had for near a century been annually granted; by this measure so much of the public debt would be reduced,

as would leave an income of 2,400,000*l.* applicable to the public service. The public would thus dispose of a revenue of 2,000,000*l.* and the situation of the person purchasing the land-tax would be that of having a landed security for his property, and that at a rate so favourable, that it would be a very desirable object, and eighty millions would be taken out of the market. The terms of purchase were to be regulated by the price of stock. The land-tax was to be taken at twenty years purchase, and if the stocks rose to 75, then at thirty years purchase. The payment was to be regulated by the price of stock. On particular estates a fluctuation of the land-tax was certainly liable. The places most liable to variation were towns, and parts where new buildings were establishing. In the metropolis it was very considerable. In Mary-le-bone the tax was every day lighter. It is impossible to enter largely into this subject; but these were the outlines of the bill, which soon after passed both houses. A second budget also, which contained new duties on salt and teas, was brought forward in the course of the spring.

The death of the celebrated Mr. Wilkes caused an election for an alderman of the ward of Farringdon-without, which terminated in favour of Mr. Price, in the beginning of the month of January. In the month of February, a general court of proprietors of bank-stock was held at the bank, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of a subscription to the books now opened for receiving the contributions for the public service, to be made by the bank in its corporate capacity, when the sum of 200,000*l.* was voted to be subscribed. On the 9th of February the lord-mayor, attended by a numerous body of respectable merchants, bankers, and others, attended upon a temporary hustings erected in the Royal Exchange, for the purpose of promoting the voluntary contributions for the service of the country. The whole area of the Exchange was crowded with merchants and traders of every description, to the amount of many hundreds. It was proposed, that books should be opened at the Exchange for subscriptions, to be afterwards forwarded to the bank of England, and it was recommended to all corporate bodies to promote a similar subscription in their respective districts. The resolutions were unanimously agreed to, amidst loud shouts of applause. The books were immediately opened, and immense numbers flocked to put down their names. As soon as the meeting was dissolved, four separate books were opened on the hustings; and at the close of the day the sum of 46,534*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* was subscribed in cash, which, if calculated for the time the books were opened, was at the rate of 400*l.* a minute.

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The number of subscribers was 218, and the subscriptions from one guinea to 3000*l.* which last sum was the donation of the house of Boyd and Benfield, with the promise of continuing it during the war. Several other subscriptions also were set down as annual, and the whole were free gifts, without any reference to a composition in lieu of taxes. The manager of the theatre at Covent-garden devoted the profits of the night's entertainment to the subscription. A court of common-council was also held for the purpose of considering a motion for voting a sum in aid of the voluntary contributions at the bank of England. The court unanimously agreed to subscribe the sum of 10,000*l.* After the court broke up, several of the aldermen and commoners subscribed their names for various sums.

The continued alarms of an invasion from the enemy excited the apprehensions, and roused the attention of the ministry, soon after the meeting of parliament. It was some time, however, before a plan could be matured for the defence of the country, and the execution of it was postponed till the face of affairs in Europe began to assume a different appearance, and till the kingdom was in part relieved from those fears which had been raised. By the voluntary exertions of the people of the country, large bodies of yeomanry and county cavalry were formed, with military associations of almost every description, throughout the nation; and a bill was brought into parliament to provide more effectually for the defence of the realm, and to indemnify persons who might suffer injury in their property by the operation of such measures. The alien-bill was revived, and also the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, in consequence of the supposed connexion of the united Irishmen with the traitors of this country; and in April, after a message had been received, stating further accounts relative to the preparations for invasion making in France, the house of commons was informed that the lords had passed a bill to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as he might suspect of conspiring against his person and government. A bill for the more effectually manning the navy was also passed, and the subject of the slave-trade was revived by Mr. Wilberforce. As parliament had not thought proper to enforce their own resolution, that the slave-trade should be abolished in the year 1796, it became necessary to renew for a limited time the slave-trade carrying-bill. In May, counsel was heard at the bar of the house in behalf of the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, relative to some clauses introduced into the bill. The question was, however, adjourned for some months, and

thus ended the proceedings of the session on a subject of the utmost magnitude and importance to the interests of humanity and justice.

By the seizure of the division of the London Corresponding Society, and their papers, at Clerkenwell, discoveries were made relative to the proceedings of this society. Fourteen persons had been seized, by virtue of a warrant from the secretary of state, and underwent an examination, after having been committed to Clerkenwell prison. The heads of the society, called the executive, were also arrested; they had long met very secretly in a large old building in a passage leading out of Newcastle-street, Strand, into Craven-buildings. In that place sixteen members were found sitting, with a box, book, papers, and several desks, as if the secretaries of the different divisions were there to take down the minutes of the resolutions of the executive committee. There was also an elevated seat, like a pulpit; and in this situation the members were apprehended.

At a subsequent meeting of the merchants, bankers, traders, and others of the city, held at the Mansion-house, the following declaration was unanimously subscribed to: that the principle of finance resorted to in the late session of parliament, of raising within the year a considerable portion of the sum necessary for the public service, had contributed in an eminent degree to the improvement of public credit, and the advantage of the community: that the meeting was, notwithstanding, of opinion, that the criterion then assumed, as the basis of that extraordinary supply, had been found unequal in its operation, inasmuch as it had failed to call forth a due ratio of contribution from many descriptions of persons. They declared their readiness to support such measures as the legislature might deem calculated to protect the nation.

Another glorious victory was this year added to the national honours by admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, on the 1st of August, off the mouth of the Nile, over the fleet of the enemy.

On the 24th of October, the parliament was prorogued to the 20th of November. An embargo on ships and vessels, which had been laid on in July, was also ordered to be taken off. On the 13th of December, a general court of the proprietors of the bank of England was held at that place, on special affairs. The governor informed the proprietors, that the court of directors had convened them for the purpose of laying two matters before them for their approbation. The first  
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was respecting the annual advance of 2,000,000*l.* to government on the land and malt tax. The former of those taxes having been disposed of, it was necessary to substitute some other security for the advance; for this purpose the chancellor of the exchequer had applied for the usual advance to be made on the duties to be imposed on malt, snuff, tobacco, and sugar. The amount of these duties would be about 2,425,000*l.* being 425,000*l.* more than the land-tax. The court of directors thought themselves competent to make the advance of 2,000,000*l.* on the proposed duties, in lieu of the land-tax. The other matter related to the payment of the exchequer-bills issued last year, payable out of the loan, and, at the request of the chancellor of the exchequer, protracted, to be paid out of the Irish money to be raised in the present year. The chancellor of the exchequer had applied for a further delay. To this the court had resolved that the loan of 3,000,000*l.* which had been received out of the money raised this year, by fresh exchequer-bills at the rate of 5 per cent. should be continued. At a court held at Guildhall, it was resolved that the income-tax-bill, which was depending in parliament, was in its principle to be approved; but that the bill by which it was proposed to tax the precarious and fluctuating income arising from the labour and industry of persons in trade and professions, in the same proportion as the permanent annual income proceeding from landed and funded property, was partial, cruel, and unjust. This subject, which produced much altercation, proved the sentiments of the bulk of the citizens of London.

On the 20th of December, the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act produced much discussion in the house of commons. In the course of the debate, the prisons of the metropolis were represented to contain upwards of seventy persons, who were confined there for high treason, under the suspension of that act. The prison in Coldbath-fields was particularly mentioned as a place where rigour of the severest kind was practised, and which loudly called for redress. These topics afterwards led to subjects of a serious nature, and the matter was fully investigated, when the accounts proved to be erroneous and unfounded.

On the 22d of January 1799, the subject of an union with Ireland was introduced into the house of commons, under the form of an address from his majesty. In consequence of the bill for the tax on income having passed both houses, the court of common-council came to a resolution, that a request should be made to

parliament that a clause might be inserted in the bill, obliging the assessors, and others concerned in carrying the act into execution, to take an oath of secrecy.

In March, by the sinking of the pavement nearly opposite to the front gate of the Royal Exchange, a very large deep well, of great antiquity, was discovered. The water was of an excellent quality, and the ward of Cornhill proposed to erect a pump near the spot. From Stowe's History of London, it appears to have been covered more than 600 years, for he notices a conduit and watch-house standing there, together with a place of confinement for disorderly persons, at the top of which was placed the pillory, for their punishment; all which, he says, were removed in 1380. What is remarkable, the top of the well was not secured, either by arch or brick-work, but only covered with planks. The fourth of June, being the anniversary of the king's birth, was celebrated this year with more splendid demonstrations of joy than usual. Fifteen thousand volunteers had been raised, of whom eight thousand two hundred were of the associations of London and Westminster, and had formed themselves into this military association for the purpose of defending their native country: they now appeared in Hyde-park, standing forward to support his majesty's person, and to maintain his rights, as well as their own liberties. The line was formed in three columns, and a grand review took place. The sight was truly grand, and highly grateful. The people who assembled on the occasion amounted to 15,000 persons, including all the beauty and fashion of the metropolis.

About the middle of July, the north-west wing of the King's Bench prison was discovered to be on fire. The flames burst forth with incredible fury, and were driven by the wind to the centre of the building. The consternation which took place is hardly to be described, not only within, but without. Many of the prisoners' wives and relations who resided in the rules, alarmed at so dreadful a conflagration, appeared under the walls shrieking, and demanding the release of those whom their fears represented to be in such imminent danger; but at the first intimation of the accident, the St. George's, Bermondsey, St. Saviour's, Lambeth, Christchurch, and Newington volunteers, with a party of the Surrey cavalry, attended, and prevented the populace from using violence. Within the prison not the slightest attempt was made on the part of any one to escape beyond the walls; all were engaged in assisting those who were in immediate danger. About an hour had elapsed before

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the engines arrived, and began to work, by which time the flames had risen to an ungovernable height : they raged with such violence, that it was with difficulty a part of the prisoners' furniture and effects could be saved. Many indigent families, whose whole property was contained in their rooms, were compelled to leave it a prey to the devouring element. Between eighty and one hundred rooms were destroyed, and no one knew how the fire originated. When this building was erected, the floor of the upper story was not vaulted ; had this been done, the accident would have been comparatively trifling.

Nothing happened during the months of October and November in the metropolis worthy to be recorded. In December, a meeting took place at the London tavern, to take into consideration measures for the relief of the poor of London and Westminster, and the borough of Southwark. A subscription for the relief of the industrious poor was proposed, similar to that of the year 1795, from which thousands had been relieved, and, from having their hunger satisfied, they had improved their morals. The erection of soup-houses had particularly contributed to this end, for in the course of the winter and spring months of the year 1798, 481,336 meals were distributed at three soup-houses in Spital-fields, to about 8400 poor families, at an expense of only 895*l.* 12*s.* from the funds subscribed, exclusive of the first cost of the erections, repairs, and other works. And in the months ending April 27, 1799, the number of persons who received benefit from the fund was 40,000 ; the number of meals distributed 750,918, of all which the aggregate expense had been only 3476*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* Several resolutions were put and agreed to, towards the further relief of the distressed.

The close of the year 1799 was distinguished by a remarkable revolution in the government of France. One of the first measures of the new government was to solicit reconciliation and peace with the British nation. With that view, a letter was sent by a special messenger from Bonaparte, the chief consul, for that purpose. This letter, and lord Grenville's answer, which declared that no solid security existed, on which a peace could be obtained, were communicated to parliament by a message from his majesty on the 22d of January 1800. On this momentous question, the debates in both houses were long and interesting, but the ministers carried the measure by a majority of 260 voices against 64.

A general court of proprietors of the bank of England was held in the month of January, upon the adjourned debate relative to the resolution of the court of directors,

directors, to accommodate government with a loan of 3,000,000*l.* for six years without interest, but liable to be called in at any time within that period, if the three per cents should be at 80, upon condition of the charter of the corporation of the bank being renewed for a further term of 21 years, to be computed from the 1st day of August 1812, when the present charter expires. After many debates the question was put, when the show of hands in favour of it was nearly unanimous, there being not more than five against it, and to all appearance between three and four hundred for it. At a meeting of the mayor, aldermen, and livery, held in Guildhall, consisting of more than 2000 persons, it was resolved, that a petition should be presented to the house of commons upon the situation of public affairs, praying them to adopt such measures as they might think proper towards promoting an immediate negotiation with the government of France, for the purpose of restoring peace. The representatives of the city were instructed to support the petition, which the lord-mayor promised to do; the other three members declared, that as it was contrary to their own decided opinions, they could not comply with the request. A counter-petition was afterwards drawn up, and signed by a very considerable number of the livery.

On the 11th March a society, under the title of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and under the patronage of his majesty, commenced its sittings. Its proposed object was to direct the public attention to the arts, by an establishment for diffusing the knowledge, and facilitating the general introduction of useful mechanical inventions and improvements. It owes its origin to the noblemen and gentlemen composing the society for bettering the condition of the poor, at whose meetings the plan of its foundation was laid, and afterwards matured by the talents and exertions of count Rumford. The government of the institution is vested in the committee of fifteen managers, and the secretary is chosen by and from among the proprietors; of these managers one third are elected annually, on the 1st of May. There is also a committee of visitors, consisting of the president, fifteen visitors, and the treasurer, elected at the same time with the managers, one third of whom are elected annually. The house of the institution is in Albemarle-street. Lectures are here read on various subjects. The proprietors subscribing 100*l.* or upwards, are hereditary patrons; and those subscribing 50*l.* or upwards, are patrons for life. Each of the patrons has authority to introduce or recommend one scientific or literary person to the library. The repository, containing the models of various curious and  
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useful machines, and productions of the arts, is extremely interesting. The funds of the institution arise from the payments made by the proprietors and subscribers, which last are divided into two classes, those for life, and those who pay an annual sum. The proprietors originally paid the sum of fifty guineas for each share, which since has been gradually increased, till it has reached two hundred, and the number of proprietors are limited to four hundred. The whole of the property of the institution is vested solely in the proprietors, who have each a right of personal admission to the lectures, and the reading-rooms; and also one transferable ticket annually renewed, which admits the bearer to the lectures and public experiments, and to the repository, but not to the reading-rooms. The life and annual subscribers have personal admission to the institution in the same manner as the proprietors. A professor of chemistry reads lectures on philosophical chemistry three days in the week, to crowded audiences. In addition to these lectures, the managers every season engage several gentlemen, who have rendered themselves conspicuous by their abilities, to deliver lectures on various subjects connected with the objects of the institution. The library is fitted up with a gallery, for the convenience of reaching the books. It is fourteen feet high, and sixty feet long. The patrons have furnished it with a great number of scarce and valuable historical, classical, and scientific works. By the death of Thomas Astle, esq. an opportunity was presented of enriching the collection with his inestimable library, consisting of all the most valuable books relating to topography, antiquities, parliamentary and numismatic history, and subjects that relate to the history of Great Britain, which the patrons purchased of his executors, and which has since been considerably increased from other quarters. There is also a good mineralogical collection. The apparatus-room communicates with the theatre, in which the lectures are delivered, the entrance to which is by a gallery surrounding it. The theatre is semicircular; it is fitted up with rising benches and cushions, for the accommodation of seven hundred persons; and there is a gallery round it, which will hold two hundred more. It is lighted from a dome, which has a moveable screen, for the purpose of shutting out the light, which is sometimes necessary in showing particular experiments. The chemical laboratory is fitted up on a scale of magnitude not before attempted in this country.

An accident happened in Hyde-park during a field-day of the grenadier battalion of the foot-guards, which gave rise to unpleasant surmises. A shot was accidentally discharged from the ranks, which unfortunately wounded a gentleman who happened

pened to be a spectator. The coincidence of this event, with an atrocious attempt at night in the theatre, tended to strengthen an opinion which was previously entertained by some, that it did not arise from accident, but from a design against his majesty's person. There was not, however, the least reason to suppose that this was the case. The king was within twenty yards of the battalion, and about eight yards upon a parallel line from the gentleman who was wounded. His majesty was on horseback, and the musquet which fired the ball must not only have been pointed low, but could not have been directed against his person, otherwise it was impossible to have missed him by so many yards, and hit a gentleman not standing behind, but in the same line with him. The ball perforated the gentleman's thigh, but did not injure the bone or arteries. His majesty's life was afterwards exposed to the most imminent danger, from which he providentially escaped. The king and queen, and the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Amelia, with their usual attendants, honoured the theatre of Drury-lane with their presence. Just as his majesty had entered the box, and while he was bowing to the audience, with his usual condescension, a person who sat in the second row from the orchestra, but towards the middle of the pit, stood up, and levelling a horse-pistol towards the king's box, fired it. It was so instantaneous, as to prevent all persons near him from seeing his design in time to defeat it, though providentially a gentleman, who sat next him, had the good fortune to raise the arm of the assassin, so as to direct the contents of the pistol towards the roof of the box. The audience remained for a few seconds in silence and suspense. The queen was at that time entering, and the curtain rising, as generally is arranged on those occasions. His majesty, with the greatest presence of mind and tenderness, waved his hand as a signal to dissuade his royal consort from her immediate appearance, and instantly standing erect, raised his right hand to his breast, and continued for some time in a bowing attitude to the spectators, to remove their perturbation of mind for his safety. Her majesty now entered, and appeared much agitated, clasping her hands with great emotion. On the entry of the princesses, the confusion attendant upon the outrage had not subsided, and on being informed of the cause, the princess Augusta fainted away, but was soon recovered by the tender attention of her sister Elizabeth, and the ladies in waiting. By this time, however, the princess Mary became no less affected at the alarming communication, and the same means to effect her recovery were had recourse to, with equal success. After the first moment of stupor, the persons around him, and some musicians from the orchestra,



orchestra, seized the man, and hurried him over the palisades into the music-room. The pistol was found dropped under the seat. The play then commenced, and the villain was taken into custody. The audience, with the greatest rapture, demanded God save the King to be played, and it was repeated with enthusiastic applause at the end of the farce. The royal party then left the theatre, amidst the prayers and plaudits of the crowded circles. When the carriage returned home, a person, by trade a shoemaker, hooted and hissed the king in a most audacious manner, and was taken into custody. The duke and duchess of York were in the box at the theatre at the time of this affair, and his royal highness, who was an eye-witness of the transaction, immediately left it, and attended the examination of the offender in the room into which he had been conducted, and where he had been searched. The man was then recognised to be a soldier, and on pulling open his coat, he had on a military waistcoat, with the button of the 15th light dragoons. His name was James Hadfield; he had served his time as a working-silversmith, but had enlisted into the 15th light dragoons, and had fought for his king and country. At this time the prince of Wales and duke of York entered the room. He immediately turned to the duke, and said, "I know your highness—God bless you. I have served with your highness," and pointing to a deep cut over his eye, and another long scar on his cheek, said, "I got these, and more than these, in fighting by your side. At Lincelles, I was left three hours among the dead, in a ditch, and was taken prisoner by the French. I had my arm broken by a shot, and eight sabre-wounds in my head; but I recovered—and here I am." On his further examination, he said he had been discharged from the army on account of his wounds, and being weary of life, he had last week bought a pair of pistols; he had cast the slugs himself, and loading the pistols, came with them to the theatre. On being asked what had induced him to attempt to take away the life of the king, he answered, that he had not attempted to kill the king, he had fired his pistol over the royal box. He was as good a shot as any in England, but he was himself weary of life, and he wished for death, but not to die by his own hands. He was desirous to raise an alarm, but wished that the spectators might fall upon him. He hoped that his life was forfeited. Being asked if he had any accomplices, he said no; and called God to witness, with great energy, and laid his hand upon his heart. From this time he began to show manifest signs of mental derangement. He talked in a mysterious way of dreams, and of a great commission which he had received in his sleep; and said he knew that he

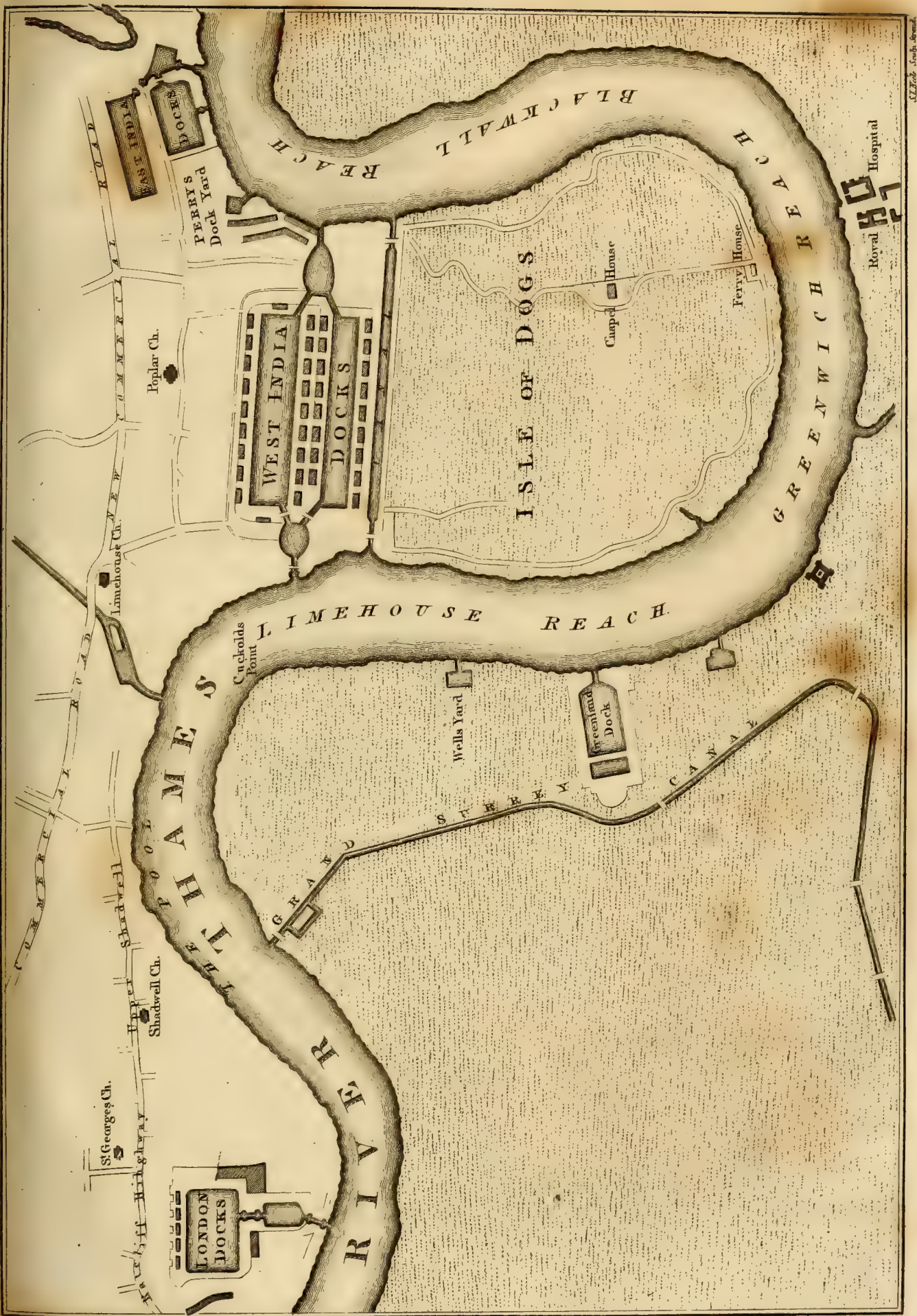


was to be a martyr, and persecuted like his great master Jesus Christ. He then talked very incoherently. Evidence was called to prove that the least thing deranged him, from the wounds he had received on his head. He was then committed for re-examination, and was afterwards confined as a lunatic. A loyal and affectionate address of the lords and commons united in parliament, was agreed to *nemine contradicente*; and in the city of London a common-council having been summoned to meet for general business, a very loyal address of congratulation was in like manner unanimously voted.

On the 12th of July a new wet-dock near the Isle of Dogs was opened. A grand aquatic procession took place on the occasion. These immense works were intended to receive the whole of the ships in the West India trade. An act of parliament passed in 1799, entitled the Wet-docks Act. The entrances into them are at Blackwall and Limehouse-hole; their site is wholly on the Isle of Dogs; and upon the wharfs and quays adjoining them, all West India ships are to load and unload their cargoes. The northern dock for unloading inwards, covers a space of thirty acres, and is capable of containing from two to three hundred sail of ships. The smaller dock, situated to the south of the other, covers an area of twenty-four acres, and is solely devoted to the business of loading outwards. Both docks are surrounded by a series of immense warehouses. The proprietors of these capital improvements are styled the West India Dock Company; they commenced their undertaking with a subscription of 500,000*l.* and are empowered to increase it to 600,000*l.* if needful. They are reimbursed by a tonnage of six shillings upon the burden of every ship which enters the docks, for wharfage, landing, housing, weighing, cooperage, and warehouse-room; they are entitled to certain rates upon all goods that are discharged, such as eight-pence a hundred weight upon sugar, one penny a gallon upon rum, eighteen-pence a hundred weight on coffee, two and sixpence a hundred weight on cotton, wool, and various other articles. Although these docks occasion a very important trade to be removed to a considerable, and even inconvenient distance from the metropolis, yet the advantages to the port of London will in time be incalculable. The West India trade arrives in general in fleets, and occasions so much crowding, confusion, and damage, in the river, that these ships being disposed of in the docks, the overgrown trade of the port may be carried on with much convenience. To enable shipping, in their passage up and down the Thames, to avoid the circuitous and inconvenient course round the Isle of Dogs, a canal is

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now cut across this peninsula, through which, upon paying certain moderate rates, all ships, vessels, and craft, will be permitted to pass in their passage up and down the Thames. For three years after its completion, ships above two hundred tons will be required to pay one penny per ton; from two hundred to one hundred tons one penny halfpenny per ton; from one hundred to fifty tons, ten shillings per vessel; from fifty to twenty tons, five shillings per vessel; and for boats and craft one shilling each.

A refractory spirit among the felons in Coldbath-fields made its appearance in the month of August, and threatened to lead to serious consequences. It was chiefly attributed to the various publications which had appeared of late on the state of the gaol. About sixty of the prisoners were liberated from their cells, as usual, in the morning, and suffered to take the air in the most open places in the prison, but not without a strict eye being kept on their conduct. When the bell rung as the signal for locking up, they mustered together, instead of separating, and appeared to have some plan to execute, but were afraid to begin their operations. After a trifling resistance, they suffered themselves, however, to be locked up in their cells; and it was then that they began to encourage each other to cry murder, starving, with other exclamations of that kind. They also abused the magistrates in the grossest terms. Their noise was so great, as to collect a large mob round the prison, who answered them in loud shouts. When they heard the shouting, they again called out to the mob to force open the gates, and pull down the wall. This conduct alarmed the governor, and he immediately sent for the night-constable, who readily attended, with a number of assistant constables; at the same time the Clerkenwell association came to the prison, and it was a considerable length of time before they succeeded in dispersing the populace, which then consisted of five or six thousand people. One man only was apprehended for riotous conduct on the outside, and taken into the prison. After the felons had become more silent, some of them were heard to call to each other, that it would be best to remain quiet for that night, lest they should not be let out the next day, which was the chapel morning, and that would be a good opportunity to knock down the keepers, and force the gates. This circumstance being communicated to the magistrates, it was thought prudent not to let the prisoners out of their cells the next day as usual, a few excepted, who were not refractory. Some of the magistrates attended, and inspected the prison, and almost every cell, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their complaint; but they either

could not, or would not, give any explanation, except one person, who said he was starved; but on examining the basket in which he kept his bread, there was found a pound and a half of that article, which he had saved from his daily allowance, and what his friends had been permitted to send him. Different associations attended by turns to watch the prison; and thus the prisoners were reduced to subjection.

Many infamous attempts were made in September to induce the populace of the metropolis to follow the example of the provincial towns, where outrages had been committed in the markets. Hand-bills in writing were thrown about the town, particularly in the public markets, provoking the people to rise, and inviting them, as they valued their rights as Englishmen, to attend at the corn-market, which would soon produce a diminution in the price of bread of sixpence in the quartern loaf. Two hand-bills of this kind were stuck up against the Monument. These provocations to popular outrage induced the lord-mayor to take the necessary measures of precaution to secure the public peace. He collected all his civil officers, and received an assurance from the united volunteer corps of the Tower, Langbourne, Billingsgate, and Bridge wards, that they would be ready to await his orders. On the next day, large groups collected before the corn-exchange, which soon increased to about 1000 persons. They immediately began to hiss the mealmen and cornfactors who attended the market. Many acts of personal violence were committed; and the disturbances began to wear a serious appearance, when the lord-mayor, with the sheriffs, attended, and endeavoured to put a stop to that spirit of discontent which prevailed, but in vain. An especial court of aldermen was then held upon the subject, who determined to protect the metropolis, and to give security to those dealers who should bring the corn into the markets. A proclamation was also immediately issued, to afford security to the dealers, and to punish the rioters; and directing all justices and lord-lieutenants of counties, with other civil officers, to take the most effectual means of suppressing riots, and punishing the offenders. These tumults having subsided for a few days, they burst forth again with greater fury; corn-dealers, butchers, bakers, and cheefemongers, were the particular objects of popular fury; but the vigour and promptitude of the chief magistrate, aided by the zeal and alacrity of the volunteer associations, prevented the mob, except in two or three instances, from effecting any greater mischief than the breaking of windows and lamps.

It was unanimously resolved, at a common-hall, to petition the king to convene the parliament, to take into consideration the high price of provisions; and the

sheriffs



sheriffs were directed to attend his majesty for that purpose. The king was at this time at Weymouth, whither they repaired, and obtained an audience immediately upon their arrival. In answer to their request, his majesty said, that he would receive the address and petition at St. James's on the 15th of the month; and on the remembrancer's reading the resolutions of the livery, his majesty observed, that he was always ready to receive the petitions of his faithful subjects, but that he should be the best judge where he should do so. On this the common-hall resolved, that whoever advised his majesty to persist in refusing to his subjects free access in these times of danger and difficulty, was equally unworthy of his majesty's confidence, and an enemy to the rights and privileges of the citizens of London.

On the 16th of October, the lord-mayor and corporation waited on his majesty with the address, which being presented to the king on the throne, a gracious answer was returned, in which the corporation was informed, that, previous to their petition being received, directions had been given for the convention of parliament, for the dispatch of business. Preparatory to the meeting of that body, many alterations in the house of commons took place. The wainscoting of oak on each side was removed, and produced to view the walls of what was once St. Stephen's chapel. The Gothic pillars, the finished scroll-work, and the laboured carvings, were found in general to be in good preservation. The paintings which fill the interstices, having been protected from the action of the air for many centuries, were in most parts as fresh and vivid as if they had been executed only a few years. In the right-hand corner, behind the speaker's chair, and about five feet from the ground, there is a Virgin and child, with Joseph bending over him, well preserved, and tolerably executed in colour; and Edward III. and his queen and suite, making their offering to the Virgin. Under them, in six niches, are as many knights in armour, with their tabards of arms; and in each angle is an acolyte holding a taper. Adjoining these, and on the same level, are two whole-length figures of angels, their heads reclining on the shoulders, and holding each, extended before them, a piece of drapery or mantle, charged with various devices or armorial bearings, their wings composed of peacocks' feathers, very highly finished, and in which the green and gold are, in general, as lively as if they had been newly laid on. The same may be said of the gilding of the cornices, which are richly decorated. On each side of the altar are pictures of the nativity, the presentation in the temple, the marriage in Cana; and a fourth, in which the devil is introduced, coming through the air, probably

bably representing the temptation. On the south side, next the altar, are three beautiful stone stalls, with rich flowered arches; and west of them a narrower one reaching below them. Over the figures on each side, on an inverted frieze, are the arms of the royal family and nobility, in eighteen shields, and between each shield grotesque figures of men and animals. On the opposite side of the chapel are men in complete armour, with inscriptions under them, which are nearly illegible. The interior of the roof, which has at all times been visible over the house of commons, speaks sufficiently as to the style of architecture, and the laboured minutiae of the ornaments; but not having been covered in the same manner with the lower parts, it offers but a very faint idea of the superb finishing and expensive decoration bestowed by our ancestors upon a building, which has so strangely been perverted to a purpose very foreign indeed from its original use.

The administration, which had existed upwards of seventeen years, and which had baffled, and at length subdued, a most formidable opposition, was at length dissolved. On the 11th of January 1801, Mr. Pitt gave in his resignation to his majesty, which was immediately followed by that of lord Grenville, earl Spencer, the lord-chancellor, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham. The ostensible ground of this resignation was the question of catholic emancipation. Mr. Pitt, in having accomplished the union with Ireland, had engaged with the Irish catholics to complete their object, in case the act of union should meet with no opposition on their parts; and he took the earliest opportunity of bringing it forward in the cabinet-council. The measure was viewed with abhorrence by two parties. The English clergy feared the increase of popery, and the Irish protestants were apprehensive for themselves, lest popery should predominate. The king opposed the measure entirely, and through his interference the minister's plan was defeated. It was some time before the new administration was announced. Mr. Addington, who had been speaker of the commons, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Eldon was nominated to the office of lord high chancellor; lord St. Vincent to that of first lord of the admiralty; lord Hawkebury was appointed secretary of state for the foreign, lord Pelham for the home, department; and colonel Yorke was made secretary of war; Sir Richard Pepper Arden, who was created lord Alvanley, succeeded lord Eldon as chief justice of the Common Pleas; and Mr. Addington was succeeded by Sir John Mitford as speaker of the house of commons; Sir William Grant was made master of the rolls; and

Mr.



Mr. Law and Mr. Perceval attorney and solicitor generals. Before, however, the new ministers could enter regularly upon their respective offices, and before their appointment was announced in the Gazette, his majesty was seized with an alarming illness, and continued indisposed, so far as to be unable to transact public business, for a considerable time. Till that period, the old ministers continued to hold the reins of government, with the exception only of lord St. Vincent and lord Hawkesbury, who had been previously inducted into office. On the 22d of January, the imperial parliament was opened by commission, and the lord-chancellor informed the commons that they should proceed to the election of a speaker, when they made choice of Mr. Addington, who had not yet received the appointment of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The parliament, after this, adjourned to the 2d of February, and on that day was opened by his majesty in person. The king expressed his satisfaction in being able to avail himself of the advice of the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, as a convention had been concluded between the courts of Petersburg, Copenhagen, and Stockholm, in order to establish a code of maritime laws inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests, of this country.

On the 3d of January, the members of his majesty's council took the oaths as privy-counsellors for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty received the great seal from the lord-chancellor, and causing it to be defaced, presented to him a new seal for the united kingdom. The royal style and title was also changed, and this form was adopted, "George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland king, defender of the faith." On the occasion of the union, the lord-mayor, attended by some of the aldermen, commons, sheriffs, and recorder, proceeded from Guildhall to St. James's, where they presented an address to his majesty. They congratulated him upon the measure, and contemplated with satisfaction the accomplishment of this great object. The king returned a most gracious answer.

The high price and scarcity of provisions, which had in part arisen from the failure of the crops of the preceding year, and which still continued, kept the metropolis in considerable alarm, and early engaged the attention of parliament. After many debates, on the 4th of March, the house, which had resolved itself into a committee, agreed to a resolution, that the united kingdom should be divided into twelve districts, and that premiums, not exceeding 12,000*l.* should be offered for the cultivation of potatoes, by proprietors and occupiers of land not being cottagers. The  
distresses

distresses of the lower classes of housekeepers, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, and the pressure of taxes, had extended to such an alarming excess, that humane minds became interested in procuring for them some further relief than the laws in being had provided. A bill was introduced into parliament, the object of which was to invest magistrates with the power of relieving such persons from paying the rates as should appear to deserve such exception; but in order to guard against the abuse of that discretionary power, such relief should be confined to those who paid under a certain rent, not over 5*l.* and they were to make affidavit of their incapacity to pay the poor's rates, in order to obtain relief. This bill, not without considerable opposition, at length passed through the houses.

A cause which had long been depending between the parishioners of St. Gregory, London, and the warden and minor canons of St. Paul, was decided in the court of exchequer in favour of the latter. The parishioners contended, that from time immemorial, previous to the 37th year of Henry VIII. down to the year 1795, they had been accustomed to pay no more than about 90*l.* as a composition for tithes, and that therefore they were not in the provision of the act. The jury however decided that they were within the statute of Henry VIII. and consequently liable to the payment of 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound, making in the whole the sum of 1300*l.* per annum, of which six years arrears were due. Parliament passed a vote this month for the erection of two monuments in St. Paul's cathedral to the memories of captains Riou and Moss, who fell in the action off Copenhagen. In the month of May, at a court of common-council held at Guildhall, the committee of ways and means reported that the income of the city for the last year was 92,062*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* and that its expenditure was 87,828*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; the balance being the city's net income, 4234*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*; upon which the report stated, that the city was to pay to the commissioners for income the sum of 423*l.* The first stone of a building to be erected in Capel-court for the transaction of business in the public funds, was laid at this time in the presence of the proprietors, by the chairman of the committee of managers.

On the 10th of July, the canal to Paddington was opened for trade with a grand procession along the Paddington line to Bull's-bridge, at Uxbridge. At Bull's-bridge the company were met by the city shallop, having on board the sub-committee of the Thames navigation, and several pleasure-boats. A long range of warehouses for the reception of goods, ornamented the side of the canal, and a public road of 100 feet wide, a few paces from the Edgeware road, is made to the quay. All differences  
between



between the court of Russia and this country and their Danish and Swedish majesties, were this month amicably adjusted.

In the beginning of October, preliminaries of peace between his majesty and the French republic were signed officially; and on the 10th, general Lauriston, first aid-de-camp to general Bonaparte, arrived in London, with the ratification of the preliminaries. The populace, who had assembled in numerous crowds to wait his arrival at the town residence of M. Otto, the ambassador, took the horses from his carriage, and drew it to Downing-street, expressing on the occasion the most tumultuous joy. At night there was a general illumination throughout the metropolis and its vicinity, which was renewed the next evening.

The year 1802 opened a prospect of future prosperity, which might be expected to be derived from the union of this country with that of Ireland. By this measure which had been adopted, those objects of commerce, agriculture, and of improvements in general, which alone could render them opulent and happy, seemed now to be earnestly pursued. No longer distracted with parties, the sister country appeared to be concentrating her attention to those pursuits which in a few years would give her a far greater consequence in the scale of nations, than she had ever yet attained. Early in February, a deputation of the principal inhabitants of Malta arrived in London. The object of their mission was to put their country under the government and protection of his majesty, a measure which was subsequently adopted.

On the 29th of April, peace being fully confirmed, it was proclaimed with great pomp throughout London and Westminster. The illuminations on the occasion were very general, and never before surpassed.

The city of London having claimed a right of interference with the grand junction canal company in their intended hay and straw market at Paddington, a project of universal and acknowledged utility, lost that object, as it was now decided, that they had no grounds for such a right. On the 26th, the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Wapping docks was attended by the chancellor of the exchequer, and several other persons high in office. The first stone was laid by Mr. Addington, with an inscription upon it to this purport: "This stone was laid on Saturday, the 26th day of June, Ann. Dom. 1802, in the foundation of the entrance basin of the London docks, undertaken by private subscription for the greater accommodation and security of shipping, commerce, and revenue, within the port of London; and pursuant to an act passed on the 20th day of June, Ann. Dom. 1800, in the 40th year of

the reign of George III." This important national improvement is made in the angle formed by the Thames between Shadwell-dock and Hermitage-dock. One immense dock, called St. George's-dock, covers the space extending from Virginia-street almost to Old Gravel-lane, in one direction ; and in the other from Artichoke-lane to the south side of Pennington-street. This dock alone is capable of holding two hundred ships, with room for shifting. Another dock, called Shadwell-dock, and which adjoins the other, will hold about fifty ships. The entrance to the docks is from the Thames by three basons, capable of containing an immense quantity of small craft, and the inlets from the Thames into the basons are at the Old Hermitage-dock, at Old Wapping-dock, and Old Shadwell-dock. The capital of the company is 1,200,000*l*. The shares bear a premium. The ultimate profits upon the scheme are limited to ten per cent. an interest which it cannot fail to realize. The tobacco-warehouse is the largest in the world, the roof of which covers six acres of ground. There is also a range of warehouses for general merchandise. The former are situated at the eastern extremity, and are two in number. The largest is 762 feet long, and 160 feet wide, equally divided by a strong partition wall, with double iron doors ; the smallest is 250 feet by 200. Both of them consist of a ground-floor and vaults ; the first is applied for the reception of tobacco ; the cellars in the smaller are appropriated for housing wines. They are solely under the care and control of the officers of the customs ; the proprietors of the docks have only the care of receiving the rents.

On the 28th, the second session of the imperial parliament was terminated, with a speech from the throne by his majesty, in which he announced his intention of dissolving this, and calling a new parliament. This was the eighteenth parliament of Great Britain, and the second of the united kingdom. A general election in consequence took place throughout Great Britain. The candidates for the city of London were Mr. alderman Combe, Mr. alderman Price, Mr. alderman Curtis, Sir William Anderson, Mr. Travers, Sir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Lushington. The poll closed on the 13th of July, when the four first were returned representatives to parliament. The Middlesex election commenced on the same day. The candidates were Mr. Byng, Mr. Mainwaring, and Sir Francis Burdett. The town, as usual, presented a scene of the greatest confusion and violence. The populace amused themselves with a great variety of exhibitions, at the expense of the unpopular candidate. The election did not close till the 29th, when the two former were declared duly elected.



The contest for Westminster was between Mr. Fox, lord Gardner, and a Mr. Graham, who was an auctioneer and a sheriff's broker. The two former were elected.

An unfortunate event took place in the works carrying on at Blackwall, in the new docks. In order to bay out the water at the entrance of the basin next the Thames, a coffer-dam had been constructed, which had hitherto protected them from every returning tide. The workmen, however, having continually diminished the buttresses which kept out the waters, had at length approached so near the barriers between the works and the river, and had so much weakened them, that it was apprehended the waters would rush in and inundate the finished canals. The tide setting in with uncommon force, in an instant the barriers were thrown down, and the waters rushed in with incredible fury, carrying in every thing before them. It was at first supposed that the whole of the docks would have been prematurely filled, and a great national injury sustained. This idea was however happily dissipated, by the effectual resistance of the inner dam, which stopped the progress of the destructive inundation. Unfortunately, many of the workmen who were incapable of extricating themselves from this perilous situation were drowned. Fifteen were supposed to have been lost. The lives of many others were preserved by the timely warning of a person on the spot, who saw the doors beginning to burst, and called out to the men engaged in the works. The expense incurred, and the damage sustained by this accident, were very considerable. On the 30th of August, the West India dock was opened, intended for the homeward-bound ships, and in which they were not to be allowed to remain after their cargoes were discharged. It is 1600 feet in length, 514 in width, and 29 feet in depth, built round with brickwork five feet in thickness at top, and covered with large square stones, as coping to the wall. Another dock is also to be made for the outward-bound ships, which will be of the same length, but narrower by 100 feet. A magnificent gateway to the quays is also built with allegorical devices; and there is also a high wall round the whole, besides a sloping ditch. The number of houses for the residence of the clerks and workmen has converted the marsh into a town, so that London extends from Paddington turnpike to Blackwall, without any interruption.

From the abundant harvest which was made in every part of the country, and the prodigious crops which in every district and parish prevailed, the metropolis and nation were this year delivered from that most dreadful of all evils inflicted by Pro-

vidence, the scarcity of food for man, which had been so sensibly felt for the two preceding years.

On the 6th of November, after an interval of nearly thirteen months since the preliminaries of peace with France were signed, that power thought fit to send an ambassador to this country, general Andreossi. He took up his residence in Portland-place; and lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, proceeded for Paris immediately.

The year 1803 opened under very different circumstances from those which the preceding year had produced. A reliance on the continuance of the peace had been one of the prominent marks of the latter æra. In January 1802, the public funds had risen very high, and the spirit of commercial adventure, raised by the hopes of facilitating an intercourse between this country and France, had universally pervaded the British dominions. In January 1803, the stocks began gradually to decrease in price, and no commercial treaty had taken place between the two countries; on the contrary, our prisons were crowded with traitors, whose suspected purposes were to overthrow our establishment, by the assistance of the French nation.

A subject of the most interesting nature to mankind in general, and of the utmost advantage to their health and happiness, at this period engrossed the public attention. The dreadful havoc which had been occasioned by that horrid disorder the small-pox, and which in the united kingdom alone had annually swept away more than 40,000 persons, had been long the cause of deep regret to the humane and reflecting mind. The inoculation of this disease had opposed an ineffectual resistance to its career. A new species of inoculation now at length was providentially introduced by Dr. Jenner, which without being contagious, and without occasioning any material indisposition, or leaving any blemish, proved an effectual preservative against the future infection of the small-pox. The house of commons having investigated the subject with the most scrupulous attention, gave their sanction to the practice, the efficacy of which more than half a million of instances had confirmed. A very large and respectable meeting was held at the London Tavern, to consider of the best means to be adopted for the extermination of the disorder, on the 19th of January. After having passed many eulogiums upon the inventor of the vaccine inoculation, it was resolved that the thanks of the meeting should be given to Dr. Jenner; and that his majesty should be humbly petitioned to become the patron of a new institution, which should be called the Royal Jennerian Institution; and that a subscription should be



entered into to prosecute the laudable intentions of the society. This subscription was immediately opened, and has since proved of the utmost value, as it has so greatly benefited mankind. Parliament subsequently rewarded the doctor with a gift of 20,000/.

A further continuance of the bank restriction bill passed both houses of parliament; and in the month of February an address of congratulation was voted to his majesty on his escape from the machinations of traitors who had conspired to overthrow the government, and to destroy the life of one of the best sovereigns who had ever filled the English throne. A similar motion was made in the house of lords, and carried unanimously. The conspiracy which gave rise to this solemn testimony of the affection of both houses of the legislature to the person of our excellent monarch, and which was followed up by similar addresses from every public body in the united kingdom, was perhaps the most extraordinary that ever has been recorded in the page of history. Its objects were proved incontestably, by the clearest evidence, to have been no less than the seizure of the king's person, compassing his death, and dethroning him. For these purposes, combinations of small societies of disaffected persons were established in London in different quarters, and throughout the adjoining country. Oaths were solemnly administered, and engagements entered into by all those who could be induced to join in the confederacy. To effect this flagitious purpose, the seduction of the soldiery was in different instances attempted, and in some very few cases effectually; and to such a height and maturity had their treasonable projects advanced, that the mode, the time, and the place, for the assassination of the king was actually determined upon. Vast as these plans were, and comprehensive as were their designs, yet it does not appear that more than fifty or sixty individuals were ever concerned, and of those but one person, whose rank in life, education, or abilities, could be supposed to render him in the slightest degree formidable. The residue of these infatuated wretches consisted of some few of the guards, who had been seduced by the nefarious in London subsequently to their return from Chatham; and of some few of the lowest order of artisans and labourers. Colonel Despard, who was the chief of this banditti, had been last year arrested, with many of his associates, at an obscure public-house in Lambeth; and some days afterwards a few other persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices, but who were subsequently discharged.

On the 7th of February, the principal conspirator, and on the 9th, twelve other  
prisoners

prisoners were tried at the sessions-house in Horsemonger-lane, before a special commission, of which the lord chief justice of England was the principal, on an indictment for high treason. In the course of the trial it appeared, that in the spring of 1800, a detachment of the guards had returned from Chatham, and that shortly after several of the privates were induced to join in a conspiracy for the purpose of overthrowing the government. A society, at some unknown period, had been established for the specious purpose of promoting the extension of liberty; from whence issued what were called constitutional declarations, the forms of revolutionary engagement, tests and oaths. Meetings were established at various obscure public-houses, in order to avoid suspicion, at which the objects of their seduction were entertained, and to whom unlawful oaths were administered; where seditious songs were sung, and toasts of the most atrocious tendency drank.

Towards the end of the year 1802, when the actors in this plot thought their plans were matured, their confidence of success betrayed them into the grossest extravagancies; their audacity exceeded all bounds; a day was fixed for attacking the Tower, and the great blow was to be struck on the 16th of November, the day on which the king first intended to go to parliament. Hitherto their meetings had consisted of the lowest order of the people, but their manager and chief conspirator was now to make his appearance. This man, whose name was Despard, was a person of respectable family and connexions in Ireland, of which country he was a native. He had been bred to arms from his early youth, and in the service of his country had given the most distinguished proofs of zeal, courage, and conduct. He had attained to a high military rank; and the evidences of lord Nelson and Sir Alured Clark, as to his merit and character while employed under them, were testimonies to his credit, which it is to be lamented he afterwards so ill deserved. It was even proved, that the preservation of a valuable British possession was entirely owing to his valour and experience. This was the leader of the conspiracy; and it was supposed that, irritated by the delay or refusal of government to liquidate some claims which had occurred in the course of his services, and by a long and close confinement which he had undergone in Coldbath-fields, towards the close of the last war, to which, as an object of suspicion, on what grounds it had never appeared, he had been committed, and from whence he was only released by the expiration of the act for the suspension of the habeas corpus; he had brooded over his misfortunes and the injuries which he conceived himself to have undergone, till he had wrought up his mind, naturally enthu-

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fiastic and gloomy, to the idea that he could restore freedom to his country. It is impossible to conceive, that with his associates he could have formed any feasible plan for the overthrow of the British constitution; for seizing the person of the king; for attacking the fortrefs of the Tower; and taking possession of the bank, the public offices, the prisons, and the two houses of parliament. Such, however, by clear and incontrovertible testimony, were his designs; nor did it appear from the investigation, that he had acted in concert with foreign agents, or that there was any corresponding combination in any part of the united kingdom. It was however fully proved that colonel Despard had met some of the seduced soldiery, and other conspirators, and that he had spoken freely of their traitorous designs, and the best mode of putting them into execution; that the intercepting and shooting the king on his way to parliament was then discussed with him, as well as the probable difficulties attending such a plan, on which he made use of the expressions, "If nobody else will shoot him, I will;" adding, that "I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous." It also appeared that Despard had himself sworn, and attempted to swear soldiers and others to engagements, binding them to the destruction of the king and government. In short, the most overt acts of treason were fully proved against him. After a trial which lasted eighteen hours, the jury brought in their verdict Guilty. On the second day following, nine of his associates, on nearly the same evidence, were convicted, and three acquitted, making in the whole ten who were left for execution. In consequence of his services, colonel Despard was recommended to mercy; but it was not judged advisable by his majesty in council to extend the royal prerogative in favour of a person so deeply tainted with the crime of treason; and the law was suffered to take its course with respect to him. Three of the conspirators were finally pardoned.

On the 21st of February, Despard and six of his companions suffered. They were executed with the usual forms in cases of punishment for high treason, on the top of the new gaol in the Borough. The great majority of the culprits died with the utmost penitence and decorum; but the unhappy principal evinced, at this awful moment, the same steadiness of deportment and obstinate adherence to his opinions, which he had hitherto preserved. Neither during his confinement, nor after sentence of death had been passed upon him, had he availed himself of the spiritual assistance which was assiduously tendered, and of which his fellow-prisoners eagerly participated. On the scaffold, which he ascended with firmness, and without the  
least

least change of countenance, he addressed the surrounding people in an elevated and lofty voice; he pleaded his long and meritorious services to his country; denied in the most explicit and solemn terms the crime for which he was about to suffer; accused the king's ministers of availing themselves of legal pretext, notwithstanding their conviction of his innocence, to destroy him, because he was the avowed friend of the poor and the oppressed; and confidently predicted, notwithstanding his fate, and perhaps that of many who might follow him, the final triumph of the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, over falsehood, despotism, and delusion. He then took leave of all around him, wishing them that peace, happiness, and freedom, which he had ever made it his object to endeavour to procure for them, and for mankind in general. Immediately after this, the populace cheered; it was, however, a momentary impulse, which instantly subsided. The platform fell, and the whole were launched into eternity. This impressive and awful spectacle to a British multitude, terminated without the smallest confusion or riot. Thus ended a conspiracy, unexampled in the annals of history. The conduct of administration on the occasion deserves the highest commendations. Early aware of the conspiracy, they watched its progress with unceasing attention, and at the moment when the traitorous designs were ripe for execution, they brought them forward to light. Addresses were immediately offered from both branches of the legislature, from the clergy and laity, and the corporate bodies of the kingdom, on the joyful occasion to the sovereign; and perhaps there was never a period in which such universal satisfaction was so strongly evinced as upon the present. Public thanksgivings were offered up in all places of public worship throughout the united kingdom, and forms of prayer were composed expressive of gratitude and piety.

On the morning of the 5th of May, a most glaring instance of forgery was practised on the people of London. A notice was delivered at the Mansion-house to the lord-mayor, by a person representing himself as coming directly from lord Hawkesbury, the minister, to the following effect:—"Lord Hawkesbury presents his compliments to the lord-mayor, and has the honour to acquaint his lordship that the negotiation between this country and the French republic is brought to an amicable conclusion." His lordship, immediately on the receipt of intelligence of so important a kind, sent for a respectable stockbroker to announce it on the stock-exchange. The effect which it produced is inconceivable. In a very short time a rumour began to prevail, that the pretended letter from lord Hawkesbury was a forgery,



forgery, and this soon began to change the price of stock. The rumour did not gain much credit, and the fall was represented as originating from intelligence said to have been received in town the preceding evening by a respectable mercantile house in the city, that the French had been obliged to evacuate St. Domingo. About noon the lord-mayor received a letter from the treasury, stating, in direct terms, that the letter was a forgery, and that no communication had been sent from any of the offices of government. His lordship lost no time in going to the stock-exchange to communicate the contents of the treasury letter. The uproar and confusion which the explanation produced is not to be described. Amidst the tumult, very little business was done, but the funds fell back again. Resolutions were next day stuck up at the stock-exchange, signifying that all bargains, of every kind whatever, whether for money or time, should be considered as void, and that every member of the stock-exchange should be obliged that day to prepare and deliver in to a select committee, to be afterwards named, a copy or statement of every bargain transacted; and that if the committee should think proper to call on any member for his books, or the names of his principals, after the statement should have been left, the members should be obliged to produce and avow them; and that a subscription should be entered into by the members of the house, to be left entirely at the disposal of the committee.

On the 14th a messenger arrived from Paris with dispatches, which mentioned that lord Whitworth had received his passport, and was on the point of setting out from Paris when he came away. This intelligence was sent to the lord-mayor, and by him to the stock-exchange; and a declaration of war against France was issued on the 18th of May. A new table of rates, by which the fares of watermen are regulated, was this month made out by the court of aldermen.

An accident happened in July which threatened the destruction of that venerable pile, Westminster-abbey. The square tower in the centre of the cross-aisles, over that part which is between the pulpit and the altar, was discovered to be in flames, at an early hour of the afternoon. That part of the roof which is flat, supported by braces of timber and plaster, most curiously gilt, was in a short time in a blaze. From the great height, it was impossible to convey water speedily to it. To obviate this difficulty, the soldiers and volunteers ranged themselves from the abbey to the water-side, and a number of buckets were procured, which they filled, and handed from one to another, and afterwards raised to the top, by means of ropes. The fall

of the melted lead, and of the half-burned timber, was most tremendous, and would soon have laid the whole choir in ashes, but for the exertions of the engines, which arrived in time to play upon and extinguish the burning wood as it fell. The organ, and choir between it and the pulpit, and the monuments in general, escaped with very inconsiderable damage. The accident was occasioned by the carelessness of the plumbers, who having lighted a fire in their portable furnace, on the top of the square tower, neglected to have it secured while they went to dinner. It is to the elevation of the square roof alone that the building was indebted for its preservation; for had the fire extended to the long vaulted galleries, which run beneath the roof from east to west, and are principally composed of timber, no human power could have preserved the edifice from destruction.

As peace was now no longer to be maintained with the ambitious government of France, the English nation unanimously exerted themselves in every preparation for hostilities. The militia were embodied; a warm impress was carried on; and we had a naval force nearly double in number, and in force of metal, to what we had possessed at the commencement of any former war. An act also passed for raising an army of reserve, which, in the course of a few months, added 30,000 men to the regular force of the country. An act had also passed, enabling his majesty to call out the whole mass of the people fit to bear arms, in different classes, and to put a certain proportion of them into immediate training. The measure, however, was rendered unnecessary, by the spontaneous zeal of the people. In some cases the zeal of the government was anticipated, and volunteer associations were formed, even before they knew that their services would be accepted. Loyal meetings were called in London, and all the great towns; and large subscriptions were raised to bear the expenses of the volunteer associations. Immense preparations were made on the other side of the channel, to invade this country, and at Boulogne an army of 300,000 men was assembled round that coast for a considerable distance. But so general was the harmony and unanimity, at this moment, of the British nation, that although these formidable appearances were constantly before them, they only seemed the more to confirm the zeal of the people to defend their native island.

The 19th of October being appointed for a general fast, it was observed in the metropolis with the greatest decorum. The volunteer corps of London and Westminster assembled at St. Paul's, with the artillery company, attended by the lord-mayor, sheriffs, and other city officers; the two troops of London cavalry, with  
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the London volunteers, and the third regiment, which assembled under the dome, and took the oath of allegiance, administered to the officers, and afterwards to the privates, six at a time. Three other regiments attended divine service in their respective wards. The number of corps which attended this day it is impossible to enumerate. Every principal church was crowded with them; and those who had not before taken the oaths of their allegiance, did so upon this day. Among the number, upwards of 300 of the most respectable individuals of the Jewish persuasion took the oaths to government. They were sworn upon the book of Leviticus, instead of the New Testament, having their heads covered; and as their high priest prohibited them from taking the oath in our churches, they did so upon the drill-grounds of their respective corps. On the 26th, the king in person reviewed the volunteers in Hyde-park, the whole number of which amounted to 12,401. The number of spectators, with the volunteers, in the park, could not amount to less than 200,000 persons. On the 28th, the Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark corps, in arms, were reviewed. The eclat with which the grand review of the London district went off was, if possible, surpassed by that of the former bodies. Unfortunately, a fog of the thickest nature enveloped the whole atmosphere, as had been the case on the preceding 26th. It was too dark to discern the countenances of the men at an early part of the morning, but the sun burst forth towards nine o'clock, and the day began to appear. The same excellent order was preserved as before. The park was shut up all night, and the gates were not opened for the admission of the populace till eight o'clock. The crowd and pressure was immense. The regiments reviewed amounted, in their total number of men, to 14,676. The total number of troops inspected on both days amounted to 27,077 men; but in many instances a fourth part of the corps were absent on business, or otherwise; as the returns of the effective strength of the different battalions made the number of volunteers amount within the city to more than 35,000. The corps in the vicinity of the metropolis exceeded 11,000, making in the whole a force of 46,000 men.

A dreadful fire in a long range of auction-rooms, manufactories, and warehouses, between Frith-street and Dean-street, Soho, did considerable mischief; and a severe hurricane a few days after closed the year 1803. The tops of chimnies were blown down in the metropolis, and several houses nearly unroofed. Many lives were lost; it was dangerous to walk in the streets; and much damage was done on the river. Ships were driven from their moorings, and many barges and wherries sunk.

An event took place in the month of February 1804, which excited sensations of universal regret in the public mind. For some days his majesty had laboured under a dangerous illness, and upon the alarming appearance of the disorder, it was found necessary that the subject should be brought before parliament. On the 27th of February, his majesty's ministers were called upon for an explicit declaration of the real state of the king's health. The whole nation was for a considerable time kept in a state of suspense, which was happily terminated on the 9th of March, when the lord-chancellor communicated to the house the important information that he had had an interview with his majesty, and that the result of all which took place was, that the king was in a state of convalescence, and had given his royal assent to the bills specified in the commission. This circumstance diffused universal joy throughout the country; and a general fast was soon after observed in every part of the kingdom. The solemnity which pervaded the metropolis was such as might be expected on the occasion.

Nothing material occurred in the early part of the year; but on the 12th of May, Mr. Pitt was appointed to the offices of chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Addington. The first business of any importance which took place after the appointment of the new administration, was the passing of the volunteer-consolidation-bill, about which parliament had been occupied for a considerable length of time. It appeared that no great advantage would be derived from the bill, yet still it contained the provision for calling out the volunteers on permanent duty. On the 30th of May, Mr. Wilberforce, whose exertions in the cause of freedom had been indefatigable, again submitted a motion relative to the slave-trade. Sixteen years had now elapsed since this subject had been agitated in parliament, and it was now again deferred to another session. On the 31st of July the parliament was prorogued by his majesty in person.

The London docks were opened in the year 1805; the scene exhibited a proud display of national wealth and magnificence. An alarming fire some time after consumed the Royal Circus in St. George's-fields; the loss was estimated at 6000*l*. The conflagration was tremendous. But the most interesting, as well as the most disastrous, event which this year took place, was the death of lord Nelson. This lamentable circumstance took place on the 21st of August, off Trafalgar, on the coast of Spain, where the gallant admiral obtained one of the most brilliant victories which ever graced the annals of history. His funeral, which took place some time after,



was attended with all that public solemnity and honour which his great achievements merited from a grateful nation. The body was buried at St. Paul's cathedral, where a most superb monument has been erected to his memory.

In the spring of 1806 a loan of twenty millions was negotiated ; and the property-tax was increased from six and a quarter to ten per cent. The trial of lord Melville occupied the public attention at this period, and the inhabitants of the metropolis were anxious to hear the event and fate of a man who was accused of misapplying the public property. It terminated in the month of June. His lordship was acquitted of the charges produced against him. The majority in his favour was very considerable. The trial took place in Westminster-hall, which was properly fitted up for the occasion. Two political characters of the highest celebrity which ever ornamented any nation of the globe, those distinguished statesmen, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, were this year destined to finish their mortal career.

The parliament assembled early in January ; his majesty's speech referred to the success of the British arms in the victory of Trafalgar, and the adherence of Russia to the general cause. On the 23d of January, two days after the assembling of parliament, Mr. Pitt died. The impartiality of history will record his extraordinary talents. His vigilance in the duties of his office, his incessant industry, and great abilities, will ensure him that tribute which he so deservedly obtained. Free from corruption, he stood inaccessible to the intrigues of venality. He was the first of orators, and the most enlightened of statesmen. His administration was employed in the reparation of the ill consequences which ensued to the country from the calamities of the American war. His plan for the liquidation of the national debt ; his subjugation of the hydra of faction ; his opposition to the views of aggrandizing France ; his advancement of the glory of the navy to a pre-eminence of splendour hitherto unknown in the annals of the history of the world ; his prevention of a rebellion in the sister kingdom ; and his consolidation of the strength of this country with Ireland, have added a lustre to a character which hardly ever was equalled—never surpassed. His associates in office, though men of talents, experienced on his death the termination of their ministerial career. In the month of February, lord Grenville was appointed to succeed him as first lord of the treasury ; Mr. Fox was nominated secretary of state for the foreign department, in the room of lord Mulgrave ; earl Spencer, in the room of lord Hawkesbury, was appointed secretary for the home department ; Mr. Windham succeeded lord Castlereagh ; lord Erskine was appointed

appointed chancellor, in the place of lord Eldon; earl Fitzwilliam was made president of the council, in the place of earl Camden; lord Sidmouth succeeded to the privy-seal, on the resignation of lord Westmoreland; lord Henry Petty was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, with various other minor changes. This administration was to be formed upon a liberal basis of all the talents of the country; but it was quickly discovered to be composed, with very few exceptions, of men who were entirely whigs. The duke of Bedford was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

On the 22d of February, a public funeral was bestowed on that illustrious character who had caused these changes, and his body was interred with the greatest pomp and solemnity in Westminster-abbey, attended by most of the principal nobility, who had admired his talents and political administration. As a further testimony of his very eminent services, his debts were paid from the public purse, a homage to great and transcendent talents, and a mark of gratitude for disinterestedness of the most eminent nature.

The new ministers, soon after their entering into office, formed the plan of an accomplishment of a peace with France. A negotiation was immediately commenced, and lord Yarmouth appointed to conduct it. The negotiation, however, which had occupied the attention of the two governments for nearly six months, terminated unfavourably.

The accession of Mr. Fox to power had excited in the nation sensations of the greatest hope. But on his advance to office, the fatigues and perplexities which he was obliged to undergo increased a complaint under which he was labouring, and in a few months he closed his connexion with the world. His great powers and abilities are too well known to be enlarged upon. His eloquence and energy, his perseverance in political principles, and his steady adherence to his party, gained him the admiration of those with whom he was connected. His disposition was amiable in the extreme; his mind well stored with every species of literature; his wit was sparkling, and his genius splendid; his mind was as independent as that of his great opponent, but it was of a different cast. His disposition was unmixed with asperity, while the frankness of his manners and generosity of his feelings testified the candour and sincerity of his heart. He began life with principles of toryism, which he derived from his father, but being dismissed from office, as commissioner of the treasury, he sided with the opposition, and effectually, with his colleagues, brought the war with America to a termination. His duration in office was of so short a period,



period, that it afforded very few opportunities for displaying those talents which his enlarged mind was capable of producing. His funeral, which took place on the first of October, was performed at private expense, but was attended by the most distinguished nobility, great numbers of the house of commons, and an immense assemblage of the inhabitants of the metropolis.

The representation of Westminster being vacated by the death of the late minister, earl Percy was elected, without opposition, in his place. This nobleman was the eldest son of the duke of Northumberland. Mr. Sheridan had refused to become a candidate, although particularly requested by a great part of the electors. Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Curran, were also pressed to offer themselves, but declined on similar grounds to those which induced Mr. Sheridan to refuse.

In the course of October the parliament was dissolved; and on this occasion lord Percy declined again standing for Westminster. His motives remain unexplained. Three candidates soon appeared, Sir Samuel Hood, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Paull; by a junction of interests between Sir Samuel and Mr. Sheridan, they were returned. Sir Francis Burdett offered himself for Middlesex, but as he refused to be at any expense, he was thrown out. Mr. Tierney, by popular influence alone, was unsuccessful in Southwark. The new house of commons was convoked on the 16th of December, when the debates became very animated. The majority, however, was decisive, which had been formed under the late Mr. Fox and Mr. Grenville. A bill for the more extensive toleration of the catholics gave umbrage to the sovereign, who felt alarmed for the safety of the country, should this indulgence take place; and an appeal was again made to the feelings of the public.

During the course of the year the parliament of Great Britain had referred to the college of physicians for its opinion on the subject of vaccination, which had been brought into the most extensive practice, notwithstanding the many prejudices which had been formed against it. The college of physicians on this occasion applied to all the medical and surgical societies of the kingdom, and requested also the contributions of experienced persons, whether private or professional. After having received an immense accumulation of authentic evidence, they made their report, that vaccination appeared in almost every case to be perfectly safe, exciting only a slight disease, which did not prevent the patients from following their ordinary occupations. It had been communicated to pregnant women, and to infants in a state of dentition, with the most complete security. The safety derived from vaccination

the small-pox is as nearly perfect as can possibly be expected from any human discovery. Its benefits to society are, that it spreads no infection, and can be communicated only by inoculation. Nearly one tenth of the whole mortality in London was occasioned by the small-pox; and beneficial as the practice of inoculation has been to individuals, it has preserved a constant source of contagion, and has increased the number of deaths by the natural disease. The great superiority of vaccination consists in not communicating any casual infection, and in affording protection to the individual, without being prejudicial to the public. The opposers of the system of vaccination were examined by the college with particular attention. Their arguments were found to be hypothetical, and the statements which they made were either misrepresented, or inadmissible for want of validity. The successful practice of vaccination throughout every part of Europe, and the extensive continents of Asia and America, must be strongly considered as testimonies of the utility of its operation, and the advantages of the practice appear to be finally established, and the ravages of a fatal disease have been terminated by the universal consent of mankind.

The ministers had attempted to secure to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament, and for permitting them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. A long and animated debate took place on the occasion; and upon the day fixed for the second reading of the bill, it was by the minister postponed to an indefinite time, from reasons which he stated he was not at liberty to disclose. During this time, a new administration had been forming; and in the month of March the late ministers gave in their resignation, when the duke of Portland was appointed first lord of the treasury; the earl of Westmoreland lord privy-seal; lord Hawkesbury secretary for the home department; Mr. Canning for the foreign; lord Castlereagh secretary of war; Mr. Perceval chancellor of the exchequer; earl Camden president of the council. Lord Mulgrave was placed at the head of the admiralty, and various other appointments took place.

A dissolution of the newly-elected parliament was followed by another general election, being the space of six months and one week from the first assembling of the former parliament. The new parliament met for the dispatch of business on the 22d of June.

In April an address was presented from the corporation on the subject of these changes, and for the defence of the protestant religion. The election for the city closed





A St. Sepulchres  
B St. Bridget  
C St. Ann Black Friars  
D St. Martin  
E Apothecaries Hall  
F Christ Church  
G St. George  
H the Convocation House  
I St. Andrews Wardrobe  
K St. Anne  
L St. Leonard  
M St. Peter  
N St. Michael Quern  
O Pauls School  
P St. Austine  
Q St. Martin  
R St. Francis  
S St. Peter

T St. Nicholas School  
V St. Mary Mathew  
W St. Mary Somerset  
X St. Nicholas Chancery  
Y St. Margaret Moors  
Z St. John Baptists  
a St. George  
b St. Andrew Standing House  
c St. George  
d St. Mary Spinning  
e St. Martin  
f St. Mary  
g St. Michael  
h St. John Zachary  
i St. Michael  
k St. Peter  
l St. Maudslay

St. Nicholas School  
St. Mary Mathew  
St. Mary Somerset  
St. Nicholas Chancery  
St. Margaret Moors  
St. John Baptists

# LONDON.

after the Fire Anno Domini 1666.

m Allhallows  
n St. Andrew  
o St. Mary le Bow  
p Cornhill Hall  
q Peter Quays  
r the Standard  
s St. Michael  
t Howard Office  
u Tanners Hall  
v St. Andrew Hall and Chapel  
w St. Michael  
x Trinity Church

y St. Lawrence Jewry  
z St. Stephen  
A St. Margaret  
B St. Martin  
C St. Anne  
D St. Mary Cole  
E St. Michael  
F St. Christopher  
G St. Bartholomew  
H St. Peter  
I French Church  
K St. Pancras

L St. Paul  
M St. Mary Wool  
N St. Mary Woolbroth  
O St. Michael  
P St. Andrew  
Q Allhallows  
R St. Mary Alderman  
S St. Andrew  
T St. Stephen  
U St. Mary Ab Church  
V St. Martin  
W St. Andrew  
X St. Thomas  
Y St. Thomas Apostle  
Z St. John Baptist  
a St. Mary Bechan  
b St. Lawrence  
c St. Martin  
d St. Michael





closed in May, when Sir Charles Price, Sir William Curtis, Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Combe, were returned as members. Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane were returned for Westminster; Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Elliot, the other candidates, being left in a large minority. During the short session which followed, the animosities of the two parties excited considerable interest. The power of the new ministers prevailed, however, to the utmost extent; and the election for members to represent the city of London, clearly demonstrated the sentiments of that metropolis. Alderman Combe, the popular member, gained his election only from the death of alderman Hankey, which happened at an early period of the contest; this circumstance procured him that seat which he otherwise must inevitably have lost. He stood by far the lowest on the poll.

By the efforts of the new ministry, the abolition of the slave-trade was completed; a subject which for the last twenty years had produced discussions in every point of view, and which had now ultimately terminated with so much honour to the nation. In order that a connexion might be formed with Africa, that might tend in some measure to compensate for the ravages which that quarter of the world had sustained from its intercourse with the British nation, a numerous meeting was held in London for the purpose of considering of the best means of improving the opportunities presented by the conclusion of the slave-trade, for promoting a commerce with Africa, and of extending towards that country the blessings of civilization. The result of the meeting was, that they immediately formed themselves into a society called the African Institution, and laws and regulations were drawn up for its government. The introduction of the social arts was an object, in every point of view, worthy the exertions of a great and polished nation.

Early in the month of January 1808, Sir John Stuart and Sir Home Popham were presented with elegant swords, voted to them by the corporation of London; and on this occasion the gallant officers were presented with the freedom of the city, and to each the chamberlain made an appropriate speech, in the course of which he said, "In the present situation of public affairs, it is highly gratifying to a Briton to perceive that the superiority of British courage and discipline, under the guidance of able and experienced commanders, has been gloriously displayed in almost every region of the habitable world. Egypt witnessed it under the immortal Abercrombie: India has recently experienced it under the conduct of a Lake; and since the action on the plains of Maida, the descendants of those, who, led by the

Cæsars, once made a conquest of this island, will be ready to confess, that nothing can withstand the courage and discipline of British soldiers, when under the direction of a wise general."

On the same day in which this business was conducting in the city, another attempt was made by a maniac to obtain an interview with his majesty, under the pretence of his being able to lay before the sovereign a number of facts relating to abuses in the conduct of his ministers. The manners of the poor man betrayed the infirmities of his mind, and he was conducted to the magistrates, before whom he confessed that he had escaped from a private mad-house on Bethnal-green.

We notice the trial of William Chapman, captain of a slave-ship, at the Old Bailey, on the 11th of January, on account of its connexion with some subsequent events which ought not to be overlooked in the occurrences of the year. The prisoner was indicted for the wilful murder of Robert Dunn, by starvation, and other ill treatment. The trial lasted the whole day, and excited the most lively interest both in and out of court. The facts sworn to by the witnesses kindled emotions of horror in every breast, but there was an eagerness displayed in their testimony to convict the captain, which convinced every impartial person that their evidence could not be received with implicit confidence: there were moreover decided and palpable contradictions in the testimony of the surgeon, who was the principal witness, and who seemed to be actuated by a spirit of revenge rather than by a love of justice, which led the judge to make this distinction in his summing up;—"If the jury believed the facts deposed on the part of the prosecution, they certainly amounted to murder; but if they thought the facts had been overcharged, and that the case had been made up of pique, rather than public justice, then they would take the improbability of the case into consideration, and say whether, under all the circumstances, the prisoner was not entitled to their acquittal." The jury were not agreed in their verdict: they withdrew, and after six hours consideration of the case, they pronounced the prisoner NOT GUILTY. One of the editors of the New Annual Register, who seems to have been present at the trial (see vol. for 1808, p. 16. Public Occurrences), says, it was impossible for an honest juryman to have pronounced, on his oath, a different verdict. Perhaps no person in court had any doubt as to the character and conduct of this captain; but jurymen are sworn to give their verdict according to the evidence, being at the same time bound to scrutinize into the motives of the several witnesses: when therefore they perceived that

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the testimony was manifestly contradictory ;—when they found that the several witnesses had, for misbehaviour, and even mutiny, in the ship, been subject to corporal punishment by Chapman's orders, and that they had avowed a resolution to be revenged on him upon their return to England, it would, surely, under such suspicious circumstances, have been the height of injustice to have found a man guilty of murder. The verdict was, however, arraigned in some of the papers with great severity, and the conduct of the judge was made the subject of certain improper and indecent strictures. The printer and publisher of these were prosecuted in the court of King's Bench, and, being convicted, were sentenced to very long imprisonments. The editors and printers of several other papers, who had copied the articles alluded to into their journals, were also prosecuted ; as, however, they made no defence, but suffered judgment to go by default, they were only fined 25*l.* each, and dismissed.

On the 28th of January, the trial of general Whitelocke fixed the attention of all ranks of people : the character of the British arms had suffered so deep a wound in the unsuccessful attack on Buenos Ayres ; the lives of many brave men had been sacrificed, and the ill-will of the Spanish colonies had been roused in a manner fatal to every expectation of our future amicable connexion with them, that the trial of the man from whom all these evils were known to have proceeded, was looked to with the gloomy hope, that by his fate some atonement would be made for them. Four charges of the most serious nature were exhibited against the general : the court-martial sat thirty-one days, viz. till the 15th of March, and on the 24th of the same month, the sentence, as approved by his majesty, was made known to all concerned, which was, “ That lieutenant-general Whitelocke be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever.” The public were not well satisfied with the sentence ; they had felt the injury inflicted on the national honour very strongly, and did expect that a more ample punishment would have attached to the crime than that which results from the loss of honour and emolument.

In the month of February, the grand jury of the county of Middlesex, as part of their duty, examined very minutely the economy of the Cold Bath Fields prison, vulgarly denominated the Bastile : upon due investigation of the facts, they found abundant reason for dissatisfaction and complaint, and accordingly presented a petition to the house of commons on the subject. The substance of this petition was,



that nine members of the grand jury had, on a certain day, visited the prison, and that they had found the loaves intended for distribution among the prisoners deficient in quantity; that the prison weights were under the legal standard; that these circumstances had been communicated to Mr. Mainwaring, the chairman of the quarter-sessions; that many of the cells were not only confined and crowded, but unprovided with fire, and badly aired; that persons were confined in such cells, against whom no verdict had been found, and who of course were not guilty in the eye of the law; that the bills against some individuals, so confined, had been thrown out by the grand jury; that persons confined for debt were treated with unjustifiable hardship; that one foreigner had lost his reason, from the severity of the treatment exercised upon him; that one female prisoner had been debauched by the son of the chief jailor, who then held an office of trust in the prison; that six innocent persons, the bills against whom had been thrown out by the grand jury, were dragged from Cold Bath Fields prison to Hicks's Hall, in open day, first manacled, and then fastened together by a rope, to be discharged by proclamation. Against these grievances, as foreign to the mild spirit of the constitution, the petition craved relief. After some difficulties, in point of form, the petition was admitted to lie on the table of the house, but we believe nothing was effected in the way of reform.

In the year 1804, a society was established in London, the exclusive object of which was to promote and assist the circulation of the Scriptures, both at home and abroad. By a report made from this society, in the present year, 1808, it appears, that in the short space of three years it had, by its aid and encouragement, produced societies similar to its own in Germany and Prussia: that by the former of these 5000 copies of a German New Testament had been printed, and by the latter the Bohemian Bible was in the course of printing for the use of the protestants in Bohemia, Berlin, and elsewhere: that two thousand copies of St. John's gospel, in the Mohawk language, had been printed in London, at the society's expense: that three thousand copies of the Icelandic New Testament had been printed at Copenhagen by the London society, who had also granted 300*l.* in aid of a fund then raising in Denmark, for printing the whole Bible in the Icelandic language: the 2000*l.* had been granted towards the translations of the Scriptures going on in Bengal, into ten Oriental languages, among which are the Shanscrit and Chinese: that Arabic types and paper had been sent out by the society for the purpose of printing 5000 copies of the New Testament in the Turkish language, at Karass, on the borders of the Caspian



Caspian sea, a favourable opportunity having offered for introducing the Scriptures among a people amounting to nearly thirty millions, who speak that language, and who inhabit from the banks of the Wolga to the shores of the Euxine: that 5000 copies of the Spanish Testament have been printed by the society, and 9000 of the French; besides several thousands of the Welsh Bibles and Testaments, and 20,000 copies of a neat Gaelic Bible, together with 10,000 New Testaments for the Highlands of Scotland.

A prosecution for heresy had been instituted against the Rev. F. Stone, in the consistory court of the bishop of London, and the proceedings advancing from stage to stage almost two years, when on the 13th of May the defendant, Mr. Stone, was called up to receive judgment. The charge against him was, that he had preached a visitation sermon in the parish church of Danbury, which sermon he had afterwards printed and published: in this he had denied the doctrine of the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the atonement, &c. The evidence against him was complete, and the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, on which he was tried, enacted, "That if any person shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine contrary to any of the articles of religion, and shall persist in the same, and not revoke his error, he shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical preferments." Mr. Stone made a defence of considerable length, and the court adjourned for a week, to afford him an opportunity of revoking his error; but on the 20th of May, when called upon to recant, he declared, that he was not aware that he had, by preaching the sermon referred to, offended against the act of parliament passed in the reign of Elizabeth; that he was well persuaded that the ordaining bishop authorized him to preach as he did, and that he promised and engaged not to offend again in like manner. This was deemed an insufficient apology, and he was told that he must make a verbal declaration of his belief in the 39 articles, or that judgment must be passed. To which the reverend gentleman replied, that he could not sacrifice his duty to God, though a wife and seven unprovided children were dependant on him for the means of subsistence. This being unsatisfactory to the court, Sir William Scott said he had no alternative left; he must certify his case to the diocesan to whom he belonged, who would pronounce the sentence of the law: and in a few seconds the bishop of London, who in early life had been a most active and zealous petitioner to parliament, to be relieved from subscription to the 39 articles, and the bishop of Lincoln, accompanied by other dignified clergy, entered



the court, and the bishop of London read, and afterwards signed, the sentence, which deprived Mr. Stone of his ecclesiastical preferments. Immediately after the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Stone lifted up his eyes to heaven, and exclaimed, most pathetically, "May God's will be done!"

We may notice, as a testimony of the public feeling in behalf of the patriots of Spain, who were contending for their liberties against the power of France, that all the principal merchants of the city of London met on the 4th of August, for the purpose of bearing their testimony to the patriotic cause. The deputies from Spain, and the principal persons connected with the governments of Spain and Portugal, were invited to join in wishing success to the cause. The sentiments of the party were expressed in toasts, after one of the most magnificent dinners that was ever given, even in London. On the 30th of the same month, a meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex was convened at Hackney, for a similar purpose; but instead of toasts, certain loyal and spirited resolutions were made the vehicle for conveying the sentiments of a most numerous assemblage of the chief persons of the county. The business was introduced by major Cartwright, who took an animated view of the present situation of Spain, applauding the exertions of government in assisting the Spaniards in throwing off their chains. The resolutions passed on this occasion were, 1st, That, for aiding the Spanish patriots, the king is entitled to the gratitude of mankind: 2dly, That a people who will fight for their liberties, are alone worthy the friendship of a free nation: 3dly, That to have found such allies is an event truly gratifying: 4thly, That we ardently desire to see established in Spain the ancient government of a king and independent cortez, so balanced as to secure their ancient liberties: 5thly, That in the example of Spain is seen how a nation is to be defended, and how Europe is to be delivered: 6thly, That what has been lost to the sacred cause of human liberty, by the levity, the vices, and the excesses of France, since from that she departed, we trust may be regained by the gravity, the virtues, and the moderation of Spain."

In a History of London cannot be wholly omitted the evils which have, for a long series of years, occurred by the encouragement of state lotteries, which are among the annual means of the minister for raising the supplies of the kingdom. This public nuisance, for so it has been emphatically called, has roused the exertions of many members of parliament, who have, from time to time, taken measures to abolish the evil. During the present year, the house of commons appointed



pointed a committee to inquire how far the evils attending lotteries had been remedied by the laws passed respecting the same. This committee, in their second report on the subject, say, that "the foundation of the lottery is radically vicious, and that parliament cannot adopt any system of regulations to make it an efficient source of revenue, and at the same time divest it of all the evils and calamities of which it has hitherto proved so baneful a source. All the punishments inflicted by the statutes upon offenders against the lottery act, fall only on the ignorant and destitute, while the wealthy offenders hold them in contempt. The effects of the lottery, even under its present restrictions, viz. idleness, dissipation, and poverty, have materially increased; sacred and confidential trusts are betrayed; domestic comfort is destroyed; madness is often created; crimes subjecting the perpetrators of them to the punishment of death, and even suicide itself, are committed, as fully appear by evidence submitted to the committee. Such fatal attendants upon state lotteries, this committee are afraid will always continue, so long as state lotteries are permitted to exist." The committee conclude by giving it as their opinion, that the money paid to government by the contractors is not equivalent to the distress occasioned to many persons, ultimately forced to apply for parochial relief.

On the 20th of September, about four o'clock in the morning, Covent Garden theatre was discovered to be in flames; and so fierce and rapid was the fire, that no exertions could stop its course. Within the short space of two or three hours, the whole of the interior was completely destroyed. Engines attended in great numbers, but there was a total want of water for some time, the main pipe having been cut off with the intention of laying down a new one. In about an hour means were found to obtain an abundant supply of water, when the engines played with the utmost effect, but it was too late to save the building, and in a short time the roof of the theatre fell in, with a dreadful crash. A number of other houses were either entirely destroyed, or very much damaged by the flames; but the most melancholy part of the tale remains to be described. At an early stage of the fire, a party of firemen broke open the great door under the Piazza, Covent Garden, and having introduced an engine belonging to the Phœnix fire-office, they directed it to the galleries, where the fire appeared to burn most fiercely; when, without the smallest notice, the burning roof of the passage fell in, and buried them, with a number of spectators, in the ruins. It was a considerable time before the rubbish could be cleared away, and when it was effected, a most miserable spectacle presented itself; the mangled bodies



of the dead and dying were discovered in each advance to remove it. By twelve o'clock, eleven dead bodies had been carried to the neighbouring church, and a still greater number were taken to different hospitals with broken limbs, or bodies nearly burnt to the entrails. So dreadfully were they lacerated, as scarcely to be recognised by their nearest relatives; and in some instances the flesh peeled from their bones. In this conflagration nearly thirty persons lost their lives, many of them leaving large families to deplore their untimely fate.

Early in the month of October, a deputation from the city of London, consisting of the lord-mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, &c. presented to his majesty an humble and dutiful address respecting the convention at Cintra, which had been passed unanimously. In this address the common-council, after dwelling with considerable force and feeling upon the splendid achievements which the valour of British troops had performed;—the expectations in the public mind, to which the intelligence of the result of their valour had given birth;—the dishonourable and disgraceful terms to which the British commanders had acceded in the convention;—and the consequent disappointment and indignation of the nation; concluded with humbly praying his majesty, in justice to the outraged feelings of a brave, injured, and indignant people, whose blood and treasure had been expended, as well as to retrieve the wounded honour of the country, and to remove from its character so foul a stain in the eyes of Europe—immediately to institute such an inquiry into this dishonourable and unprecedented transaction, as would lead to the discovery and punishment of those by whose misconduct and incapacity the cause of the country and its allies had been so shamefully sacrificed. His majesty's answer was by no means commendatory or encouraging. He gave credit to the purity of the motives which had given birth to the address; but he reminded the common-council, that it was inconsistent with the principles of British justice to pronounce judgment without previous investigation. His majesty also expressed his surprise, that the petitioners had not been convinced, by recent occurrences, of his readiness, at all times, “to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of his arms, was concerned; and the interposition of the city of London could not be necessary for inducing him to direct due inquiry to be made into a transaction which had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation.” This answer, being considered as proceeding from ministers, was received by the nation in general, as well as by the common-council, with strong feelings of discontent and disapprobation. It



was admitted that the expectations and hopes of the public had been disappointed; assuredly, therefore, the blame or guilt of disappointing their expectations must attach somewhere, and they conceived that they had a right to request that such an investigation might be set on foot, as would effectually discover and punish the authors of the convention. The common-council did not pronounce judgment; they gave it merely as their opinion, that the convention was disgraceful to the British name, and prejudicial to the cause of our allies. They did not mean to imply a doubt of his majesty's readiness to do what was proper on this occasion; they only communicated to him what they, in common with the rest of the nation, wished to take place, presuming that his majesty, when he was made acquainted with the feelings of his people, would, if possible, be still more anxious to set on foot an immediate and efficient investigation. Such was the general reply to the answer which they had received; but on the 27th of October, a court of common-council was held for the purpose of taking into consideration his majesty's answer to the address, when resolutions to the following effect were moved, and passed by a great majority: "The common-council, conceiving it to be the constitutional right of the subjects to petition his majesty, and being persuaded that there was nothing improper or disrespectful in their late address, are at a loss to know why they should have been accused, in his majesty's answer, of a desire or intention to pronounce judgment without previous investigation. To charge them with acting in a manner inconsistent with the principles of British justice, has a manifest tendency to throw odium on the corporation of London; an odium which they are conscious they do not deserve, and to raise a barrier between the crown and the free and constitutional inquiry of the subject. They are particularly sorry that his majesty should have appealed to recent occurrences, as a proof that the interposition of the city of London was not necessary to remind him of his duty, or incite him to the performance of it, in cases where the character of the country was concerned; since, during the eventful period of the last fifteen years, various expeditions had failed, in which the character of the country was concerned, without any 'due inquiry' having been made. During all these calamitous events, and amidst the most wasteful profusion of blood and treasure, the city of London did not interpose, nor call for inquiry, though they are convinced that it would have been beneficial to the nation. Considering the answer which they had received from his majesty as proceeding from the advice of his ministers, they cannot forbear expressing their conviction, that whoever advised his

majesty to put so unwarrantable an interpretation on their addrefs, has abused the confidence of his sovereign, and is equally an enemy to his majesty, and the just rights of the people." The common-council concluded their resolutions with an exprefs denial of the charge that they meant to attribute guilt to any one, or to pronounce judgment without previous investigation:—they required nothing but prompt and rigid inquiry, and the punishment of guilt wherever it might be found.

On the 14th of November, a court of inquiry was convened, by virtue of his majesty's warrant, in the great hall at Chelsea, to inquire into the circumstances that led to the convention of Cintra. The result of this inquiry was delivered to his majesty on the 22d of December, which was, that no farther military proceeding was necessary on this subject. With this decision the commander-in-chief was not satisfied, and he submitted the business again to the consideration of the court, the members of which gave their answers, to certain questions proposed to them, in writing. These were taken into consideration by the king, who, in the public paper circulated on the business, says, " While his majesty adopts the unanimous opinion of the board, that no farther military proceeding is necessary to be had upon the transactions referred to their investigation, his majesty does not mean to convey an expression of his majesty's satisfaction at the terms of the armistice and convention."

Scarcely had three months elapsed from the conflagration of the theatre in Covent-garden, before every thing was cleared away, and plans so far matured as to be enabled to commence another building. The foundation-stone of the new theatre was laid in December, by his royal highness the prince of Wales, as grand master of the freemasons; the duke of Suffex, earl Moira, and other distinguished noblemen, with some hundreds of the order, attended in the processions. Considerable importance and interest were given to the spectacle by the honour thus conferred upon it; and all necessary arrangements having been admirably attended to by the proprietors, and architect, Mr. Robert Smirke, the whole ceremony passed with much eclat. About a thousand spectators were admitted, and accommodated within the enclosed area, in a building erected opposite to the foundation-stone: another building was provided for the freemasons, and a marquee for his royal highness the prince of Wales. About 700 workmen belonging to the building stood on the surrounding scaffolds. Military detachments guarded the exterior, a regiment of  
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the guards was stationed within the ground, and the whole scene was enlivened by the music of various military bands. The foundation-stone is at the N. E. angle of the building, of an oblong shape, and weighs about three tons; it hung suspended over a basement-stone. Upon the arrival of the prince, he was presented, by the architect, with a plan of the building: his royal highness then advanced, and deposited, in the basement-stone, a brass box containing two medals, one of bronze, on which was the portrait of the prince, and on the reverse the following inscription:

“ Georgius  
Princeps. Walliarum  
Theatri  
Regiis. Instaurandi. Auspiciis  
In. Hortis. Benedictinis  
Londini  
Fundamenta  
Sua. Manu. Locavit  
MDCCCVIII.”

The other medal was deeply engraved in copper; on one side was inscribed,

“ Under the Auspices of  
His most sacred Majesty George III.  
King of the United Kingdom of  
Great Britain and Ireland,  
The foundation-stone of the  
Theatre, Covent-garden,  
Was laid by his Royal Highness  
George Prince of Wales,  
MDCCCVIII.”

On the other side is engraved,

“ Robert Smirke, Architect.”

There were deposited also, gold, silver, and copper British coins, of the latest coinage. Three masons then spread mortar over the lower stone, and earl Moira, deputy grand master, having presented the prince with a silver trowel, his royal highness, as grand master, finished spreading it, and the stone was slowly let down; its descent was proclaimed by a discharge of artillery. The plumb, the level, and the square, were then presented by the acting grand master, with which the prince

tried the position of the stone; after this he finished the laying of it, by three strokes of the mallet: he now poured over it the ancient offerings of corn, wine, and oil, from three silver vases. His royal highness, at the conclusion, returned the plan into the hands of the architect, desiring him to complete the edifice conformably to it; and addressing himself to Messrs. Harris and Kemble, he expressed his wishes for the success and prosperity of the undertaking.

On the 21st of January 1809, an alarming fire was discovered in the south-east angle of St. James's palace. Engines quickly arrived, but there was scarcely any water to be had. Furniture and articles of value were removed, from the fury of the flames, into the gardens and courts of the palace. The inhabitants were seen issuing in all directions, half naked; and though every effort was made to save the effects, yet much damage was done. The private apartments of the king, queen, and duke of Cambridge, were almost wholly destroyed, as were also those belonging to, or occupied by, many other persons of inferior condition. The fire, it was imagined, began in the apartments of Miss Rice, in the eastern wing. The maid-servant, the only person lost, or even injured, in this unhappy affair, was found in a day or two afterwards, not burned, but apparently suffocated in the apartment. The damage done by the fire has been estimated at 100,000/.

In the course of this month there had been a severe frost, and heavy fall of snow, and about the 27th there came on a most rapid thaw, accompanied with rain, which produced, in the streets of the metropolis, and the roads in its neighbourhood, floods that have scarcely been paralleled at any former period. The water thus rapidly produced, rendered some of the roads impassable, and the torrents did great damage. At Battle-bridge, and as far as St. Pancras church, the water rushed into the houses, and in many cases completely filled the kitchens, and other lower apartments; and the inhabitants were obliged to fly for protection to the upper stories, where they were kept prisoners for more than a day. The road in some places was impassable by carts and carriages, and in others passengers were carried from place to place in waggons. In the neighbourhood of Kensington and Vauxhall a torrent of water arose, which in its progress carried away furniture, trunks of trees, and every thing that was moveable. The Clapham road was for hours impassable, several houses were completely inundated by the water, and the inhabitants unable to obtain provisions, or get out of their houses.



We have now to notice the destruction of the Drury-lane theatre by fire. It must be regarded as a very extraordinary occurrence, that the two grand national theatres should have been completely destroyed by accident in the course of five months. The true causes of these conflagrations have never been ascertained; in both cases they were, no doubt, accidental, and imputable to carelessness, and not to any premeditated design. In the evening of the 24th of February, at about eleven o'clock, the appearance of fire was perceived at a window of the theatre looking into Brydges-street, but for the moment it was supposed to arise only from the light of candles. In a few minutes, the whole neighbourhood was in consternation at the sight of one continued and unbroken flame, which spread over the whole of the immense pile of building extending from Brydges-street to Drury-lane, and immediately afterwards the fire rose in a majestic column, not less than from 4 to 500 feet in height. Those who were witnesses of the scene describe it as the most magnificent spectacle that the mind can conceive. On the neighbouring hills of Hampstead and Highgate, people were awakened from their first sleep by the brilliancy of the light, which suddenly darted into their bed-rooms. Scarcely were they roused to inquire into the cause, when they beheld the Apollo, a gigantic statue at the top of the theatre, fall into the pit; the whole roof instantly gave way, and in its fall, with that of the immense leaden reservoir for water (but unfortunately empty), produced a shock like an earthquake, and the burning matter forced up into the air resembled a shower of rockets, and other artificial fireworks. Excepting the books of the theatre, and a single bureau, nothing was saved. The night was uncommonly fine, and the mass of flame spread such a blaze of light over the metropolis, that every surrounding object glittered with the brilliancy of gold. "The spectacle of desolation which this immense structure afforded, as contemplated from Blackfriars-bridge at twelve o'clock, far surpassed," says a spectator, "in magnificence, any of the mimic representations which were ever viewed within its walls. The shell of the building was then entire, and the upper range of windows, and the balustrade above, forming the whole length of the edifice, being raised above the adjoining buildings, and thrown into strong relief by the flame, resembled the ancient aqueducts. From the frame of the edifice arose a broad sheet of flame; no wind stirred to break the symmetry of its ascent, so that it terminated in a sort of fiery pyramid. This vast splendid body threw an interesting light on the surrounding objects. The river Thames and the cathedral of St. Paul's were rendered unusually beautiful. Thus the effect was rather

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that of an elaborate work of art, than of a fatal casualty, to be lamented by all the arts."

No event ever occurred in the history of London, or even of the whole country, more interesting than the investigation of the charges exhibited against the duke of York, as commander in chief, by colonel Wardle. Since the time of Richard the second, the unfortunate James is the only British prince who has stood in a similar predicament. The charge against the commander in chief, stripped of all its technical forms, and condensed within narrow limits, was, that, availing himself of his office, he knowingly permitted the woman, whom he kept as his mistress, to traffic in commissions in the army, and did participate in the emoluments which were derived from this corrupt and illegal traffic. The evidence on which the accuser endeavoured to support this most solemn and momentous charge, arose from the testimony of the principal agent in these transactions, filled up where it was defective, and corroborated where it was weak, by the testimony of those to whom she had disposed of the commissions, or by whose means the traffic was carried on, and by letters which she retained in her possession. The first charge related to an exchange, which Mrs. Clarke, the mistress of the duke of York, had undertaken to negotiate between colonels Brooke and Knight: for the exertion of her influence in this case, she received 200/. The second charge related to a levy of men, which colonel French was desirous of obtaining permission to raise. On the grant of the levy, Mrs. Clarke was to receive 500/., and 1500/. more in the course of its progress. The third charge related to major Tonym, for whom, on the payment of 500/. Mrs. Clarke had obtained a majority. When this charge was brought forward, it rested solely on the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, and the house of commons seemed to treat it as a fabrication of her own, to degrade his royal highness; but, in the course of the inquiry, a note was reluctantly forced from captain Sandon, which, though at first regarded as a forgery, was, after having been carefully examined by those who were perfectly acquainted with the duke's hand-writing, and compared by persons experienced in the detection of forgeries, with letters admitted to have been written by his royal highness, positively declared by many of the members of the house of commons, and tacitly received by the majority as genuine. This note, so unexpectedly brought to light, reconciled many parts of Mrs. Clarke's evidence, which, before its production, appeared false and improbable, and gave to the whole a much stronger claim upon the attention and belief of the house. The last charge related to  
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the appointment of a major Shaw to the situation of barrack-master of the Cape of Good Hope.

During the examination of these charges, many facts came to the knowledge of the house, which proved that Mrs. Clarke was conceived to have influence, and to have exerted that influence frequently with complete effect, with the duke of York, even where the claims of long and meritorious service, and the interference of persons of high rank, had proved of no avail:—that the belief of her influence was so deeply rooted, and rested, in the minds of the persons who entertained it, on what they were convinced was such clear and indubitable proof, that they did not hesitate to advance her large sums, on her sole promise that she would exert it; and to bind themselves to the payment of additional sums when they had obtained their object; and that when they did succeed, they never entertained the smallest doubt that their success was owing to the influence and interference of Mrs. Clarke with the commander in chief. Those who undertook to defend his royal highness against the charges brought against him, found themselves involved in a very difficult task. They had not been made acquainted with the whole truth of the case; they had been led to believe that the charges were the fabrication of a disappointed and malicious woman, and wholly without foundation. Assuming the truth of this misrepresentation, they courted publicity; they gave countenance to witnesses, whose evidence they could easily have suppressed; and they admitted notes, letters, and other written evidence, which, to the minds of the public, were completely satisfactory as to the imputed guilt of the case. Many attempts were made to destroy the credibility of Mrs. Clarke's evidence, but they were without avail, as it affected the cause. Her character no doubt was bad, but during the course of a long and complicated examination respecting facts and circumstances, conducted in a manner which would have puzzled and embarrassed the most cautious and experienced witness, the only inconsistencies and contradictions which could be fixed upon her, related to matters either wholly irrelevant, or very slightly and distantly connected with the matter in question.

By many members of the house the duke was acquitted of the most grave and serious part of the accusation: they did not admit that the evidence went so far as to fix upon his royal highness the charge of corruption. They did not believe that he participated, even indirectly, in the gains of the traffic which Mrs. Clarke carried on, or that he yielded to her influence in the recommendation and disposal of mili-

tary commissions, for the purpose of saving part of the expence of her establishment. There were other members in the house, who, willing to acquit the duke, not only of all participation in the profits, but even of all direct knowledge of the proceedings of Mrs. Clarke, still were disposed to maintain, that, on account of his negligence and inattention, in permitting Mrs. Clarke to appear to have improper influence over him, the consequent illegal traffic which had been introduced into the army, and the necessity that the person who held the situation of commander in chief should perform its high duties free, if possible, from the taint of suspicion, he ought to resign; and that the house, by a solemn vote, should express their opinion to that purpose. By a majority of the house of commons he was acquitted, but by the public at large a different verdict was given, and that expressed in terms so strong as to induce the duke to resign his office. The motives which his royal highness stated to have induced him to this step were, "that having obtained so complete an acquittal of all corrupt motives, and of all participation or connivance at corruption, with which he had been charged, he was desirous of giving way to that public sentiment which those charges, however ill-founded, had unfortunately drawn on him."

A court of common-council was held in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, within a few days after the decision of the house, at which a number of resolutions were unanimously passed expressive of gratitude to colonel Wardle, and those who had supported him in the investigation. Among others, the following resolutions may be noticed:

"Resolved unanimously, That G. L. Wardle, esq. having, unawed by ministerial threats, exhibited serious charges against the late commander in chief, which have been clearly substantiated, and which have, in fact, induced his royal highness to resign a situation of which he is unworthy, is entitled to the esteem and gratitude of this court and the country.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this court, and the freedom of this city in a gold box, of the value of 100 guineas, be presented to G. L. Wardle, esq. in grateful testimony of the high sense they entertain of the zeal, intrepidity, and patriotism, which are so eminently evinced in that arduous and laudable undertaking."

Perhaps the history of no place records the fatal effects of more duels than that of London. Scarcely a year passes but several persons, capable of serving their friends, their families, and their country, are snatched from life, under the pretence of justifying



tifying their honour. On the 1st of March, a meeting of this kind took place at Chalk Farm, between lord Falkland, a captain of the navy, and a Mr. Powell. The cause of the duel was not distinctly known, but it was generally imputed to the hauteur and violence of lord Falkland, who was shot in the right groin by his antagonist. His lordship instantly fell, and being taken home, he there learned that the wound was mortal. "I acquit," says he, "Mr. Powell of all blame in this transaction; I alone am culpable." He requested the surgeon to extract the ball, but was told the thing was impossible, without the operation causing instant death. He lived about eight-and-forty hours, and was sufficiently composed to make his will, and to settle other business relating to his family, before he died.

We may here notice another rencontre of a similar kind, though its termination was less alarming: a duel took place between Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh, in the summer of this year, at Wimbledon Common. These gentlemen were both ministers of the crown, and members of his majesty's right honourable privy-council. In this case the challenge was sent by lord Castlereagh, who conceived himself to have been ill-treated by his antagonist. Mr. Canning had, without the knowledge of his "right honourable friend," for so he styled him at the same moment, and long afterwards, insisted upon his removal from office, as a person wholly unqualified for its duties, without communicating the circumstance to his lordship. In lord Castlereagh's letter to Mr. Canning, he charges his antagonist with having persevered in a long course of deception. "You," says he, "were fully aware, that if my situation in the government had been disclosed to me, I could not have submitted to remain one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honour and public duty. You know I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me." In the duel Mr. Canning received a slight wound in the thigh; after which, statements were laid before the public from lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, and the earl of Camden, the duke of Portland, who also had been implicated in the business, being lately dead. When, however, the whole affair was well understood, the general voice was in favour of lord Castlereagh, who, though by no means popular before this business, was considered as having been very unhandsomely dealt with by his right honourable colleague.

We have just alluded to the death of his grace the duke of Portland: this nobleman had long held a considerable ministerial office, and, though a man of no great talents, was considered as "The minister," the leading man of his party. He had

been for some length of time in ill health, and about the middle of September he sent in his resignation to the king, which was, to use the courtly phrase, graciously received. Upon this occasion Mr. Perceval, the chancellor of the exchequer, the confidential minister of his majesty, by the direction of his sovereign, wrote to the lords Grey and Grenville, to request that they would join in the formation of an extended administration, at the same time acquainting them, that the duellists, lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, had resigned, or would resign, the official situations which they held. To Mr. Perceval's letter lord Grenville gave a very polite answer, and immediately came to London. But the earl Grey's reply was conceived in different terms: he refused to leave his country-seat on any such project, because he was sure he could not coalesce with those already in power, and who evidently meant to keep their places. "Had his majesty," says the high-minded and noble earl, "been pleased to signify that he had any commands for me personally, I should not have lost a moment in showing my duty and obedience, by a prompt attendance on the royal pleasure. But when it is proposed to me to communicate with his majesty's present ministers for the purpose of forming a combined administration with them, I feel that I should be wanting in duty to his majesty, and in fairness to them, if I did not frankly, and at once, declare, that such an union is, with respect to me, under the present circumstances, impossible."

Upon the arrival of lord Grenville in London, he seems to have had a different view of the subject from what he had before entertained, either by carefully considering it in all its bearings, or perhaps from having learnt the sentiments of the other noble lord; and now he wrote to Mr. Perceval, that he thought it his duty to decline the proposal: "To compose, not to inflame," said he, "the divisions of the empire, has always been my anxious wish, and is now more than ever the duty of every loyal subject; but my accession to the existing administration could, I am confident, in no respect contribute to this object, nor could it, I think, be considered in any other light than as a dereliction of public principle."

Mr. Perceval now was under the necessity, as he alleged, and as he has often since affirmed, of accepting the office of premier, that is, of the first lord of the treasury, and fixing such other persons in the subordinate offices as he could obtain, and who would, on all occasions, be tractable and complying to the advice of the government.

About this same period the public attention was roused by an occurrence which  
excited



excited much discussion, and in which almost every person seemed to take an interest. Mr. Barrett, a very respectable wine-merchant in the city, and of a most unblemished character, was brought to answer the charge exhibited against him by Miss Latham, daughter of a physician of large practice, for a rape, which was said to have been committed two or three months before, at her lodgings, at Worthing. The story of the young lady was at first heard with universal credit; and the most lively feelings of horror were excited against the perpetrator of the act.

The testimony of the prosecutrix was as follows:—She was walking along South-street, Worthing, about seven o'clock, on the 10th of July, after having left her brother and maid-servant at a bathing-machine, when she was overtaken by the defendant, who took her by the arm, and pressed his conversation to her. The young lady declined his company, but he still solicited her to grant him five minutes conversation. The defendant followed her to the door of her lodgings, where he left her. The next morning Miss Latham saw the defendant pass the house, but she supposed he did not see her. On the morning of the 12th the young lady had returned from bathing, and whilst sitting on her sofa, and perusing a book, she heard the lock of the door opened, and supposing it to be the son of Mr. King, of Bedford-row, she went down stairs, and to her surprise beheld the defendant, who followed her hastily into the drawing-room. He immediately began to take liberties, and Miss Latham fainted. She did not know what happened until some time after, when she partly recovered, and found herself on the sofa, with a handkerchief tied over her mouth. The defendant had taken off her white sash, and tied her hands at her wrist. He observed that she should not be hurt, and advised her not to be alarmed. After having violated her person, the defendant used pressing solicitations to prevail on her to elope, and added, that a post-chaise should be waiting for her at the door of Mr. Ogle. He assured her that he would treat her affectionately; she should go to his country-house, and have servants at her command. The defendant loosened the handkerchief from the young lady's mouth, in order, as she said, to receive a gratifying answer to the proposed elopement; but on her indignantly expressing her abhorrence of his conduct, he again fastened the handkerchief over her mouth, and left the room, after having placed the furniture, &c. in order. Miss Latham loosened the handkerchief, by placing herself against a table, and contrived to ring the bell for her servant, Lawrence, who untied the white sash, and loosened her hands. The prosecutrix swore positively to the defendant, as being the man

who had violated her person, and whom she had an opportunity of knowing from repeatedly seeing him.

Mr. Alley, in defence of his client, begged to offer such evidence to the magistrate, by alibi, as should convince him of the total innocence of Mr. Barrett, and which would be proved by a host of unimpeachable witnesses.

Mr. Francis Feltoe, an excise-officer, proved having executed two bonds in the presence of the defendant, on his premises in Thames-street, on the 12th of July (the day the rape was said to have been committed), between the hours of twelve and two, which bonds were produced, with the defendant's signature.

Mr. Robert Fullow saw and conversed with the defendant on the 13th.

Mr. Hale received a cheque of the defendant, signed by his own hand, which he paid into a banking-house on the 12th, as did also Mr. Grubb.

Mr. Dobson, a merchant, dined in a party, with the defendant, at the house of a friend in Cork-street, Bond-street, on the 12th of July.

Mr. Backhouse called on the defendant on the 10th of July, and ordered some ale, which was sent in on the 11th; and on the 12th the witness called again, and saw Mr. Barrett, with whom he had some conversation on the excellence of his ale, and gave him another order.

Mr. Morley, a merchant, effected a policy with the defendant on the morning of the 13th;—and several other witnesses proved an alibi, as completely as ever was proved in any court. These several witnesses, who were of the first respectability, described the defendant as a man of nice morals, an exemplary husband, and the father of five children. He admitted he had been at Worthing in the early part of the season, but it was with Mrs. Barrett and his family. The result of several examinations was the complete conviction of the magistrate, that the defendant was innocent, and that he had most incontrovertibly established an alibi. He was of course discharged. Still the friends of the young lady, relying upon her testimony, persisted in their belief of the facts stated by her on oath. Mr. Barrett, therefore, willing to justify himself in the eyes of the public, and to afford Dr. Latham an opportunity of vindicating his daughter in the charges she had laid, indicted her for perjury, at the same time instructing his counsel not to pursue her to punishment, provided her friends would admit, in public court, his innocence. To this they very readily acceded, and thus the matter dropped.

On the 18th of September, the new theatre at Covent-garden, of whose foundation



tion we have already given an account, was opened, and made a very fine appearance. Without attempting to describe the mere ornaments that will change with the taste and fashion of each succeeding year, we shall point out those specimens of the fine arts which are likely to remain, and the knowledge of which will be interesting to every spectator, perhaps, for ages to come.

The drop curtain represents a temple dedicated to Shakspeare, in the back of which is his statue from Westminster-abbey, supported by Tragedy and Comedy, and between the pillars on each side are statues of Æschylus, Plautus, Lopez de Vega, Ben Jonson, Moliere, &c. The entrance to the theatre is grand, and the noble stone portico on the outside has a fine effect. The architect, Mr. Smirke, has taken for his model a charming specimen of the Doric from the ruins of Athens, viz. the grand temple of Minerva, situated in the Acropolis, or castle of Athens. In the front are exhibited, in sculpture, representations of the ancient and modern drama in basso relievo. The piece representing the ancient drama is to the north of the portico, and that representing the modern drama is on the south side. In the ancient drama, in the centre, are three Greek poets; the two looking towards the portico are Aristophanes, representing the old comedy, and, nearest to the spectator, Menander, representing new comedy. Before them Thalia presents herself with her crook and comic mask, as the object of their imitation. She is followed by Polyhymnia, playing on the greater lyre, and by Euterpe on the lesser; Clio with the long pipes, and Terpsichore, the muse of action or pantomime. These are succeeded by three nymphs crowned with the leaves of the fir-pine, and in succinct tunics, representing the Hours or Seasons, governing and attending the winged horse Pegasus. The third sitting figure in the centre, looking from the portico, is Æschylus, the father of tragedy: he holds a scroll open on his knee; his attention is fixed on Wisdom, or Minerva, seated opposite to the poet. She is distinguished by her helmet and shield. Between Æschylus and Minerva, Bacchus stands leaning on his fawn, because the Greeks represented tragedies in honour of Bacchus. Behind Minerva stands Melpomene, or Tragedy, holding a sword and mask; then follow two furies, with snakes and torches, pursuing Orestes, who stretches out his hands to supplicate Apollo for protection. Apollo is represented in his four-horsed chariot of the sun. These last figures relate to part of Æschylus's tragedy entitled Eumenides.

In the centre of the modern drama is Shakspeare, sitting and looking to the portico:

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the comic and tragic masks, with the lyre, are about his feat; his right hand is raised, expressive of calling up the following characters in the *Tempest*: first, Caliban, laden with wood; next, Ferdinand, sheathing his sword; then Miranda, entreating Prospero in behalf of her lover:—they are led on by Ariel above, playing on a lyre. This part of the composition is terminated by Hecate, in her car drawn by oxen, descending. She is attended by Lady Macbeth with the daggers in her hands, followed by Macbeth turning in horror from the body of Duncan behind him. In the centre, looking to the portico, is Milton seated, contemplating Urania, according to his own description in the *Paradise Lost*. Urania is seated facing him above; at his feet is Sampson Agonistes chained. The remaining figures represent the masque of Comus; the two Brothers driving out three Bacchanals, with their staggering leader, Comus. The enchanted Lady is seated in her chair; and the series is ended by two tigers, representing the transformation of Comus's devotees. The designs of both basso relievos, and the models of the ancient drama, are by Mr. Flaxman. The models of the modern drama, and the execution in stone, are by Mr. Rossi. Statues seven feet in height, representing Tragedy and Comedy, are placed in niches in the wings of the theatre. Tragedy, on the south wing, holds the tragic mask and dagger. Comedy has the shepherd's crook, or pedum, on her right shoulder, and the comic mask in her left hand.

Such is the description of the standing ornaments: we have now a different task to perform, and to describe, if we can, the occurrences of the opening of the theatre, which, as we have already observed, took place on the 18th of September. Every thing had been done to accommodate the public: the night arrived, but not without much anxiety on the part of the managers. They had expended 150,000*l.* in their building; every article was raised in price; the actors, from the highest to the very lowest, expected, and probably received, an advance in their salaries; and the managers conceived, that these were sufficient reasons to call for a small increase of price to the pit and the boxes. This they had publicly avowed for many months before. The public, or at least the editors of the public papers, had different ideas on the subject: they contended that the magnitude of the theatre was more than sufficient to repay the managers all their expenses; and that the managers, having an exclusive right of exhibiting theatrical performances, had no plea nor title to call for advanced prices from the frequenters of the theatre.

Almost all the daily and weekly newspapers held the same language, and they, day  
after



after day, excited an opposition, which proved the most serious that was ever called forth on a like occasion. The moment the curtain was drawn up, in the evening of the 18th of September, the cry of "Old Prices !" seemed to issue from every part of the house. The shout was not like a sudden peal of thunder, which soon spends its rage. Silence could not be obtained the whole evening, nor could the voice of a single actor be heard throughout the performance. The same conduct, only increasing in violence, was pursued, night after night, till the 23d, when the managers perceived that the opposition was gaining ground, and that in aid of the lungs, the feet, and the hands, catcalls, accompanied by rattles, trumpets, whistles, &c. were brought into the theatre, and used to drown the voices of the actors, and that placards were circulated through the house, and displayed from sticks, in the way of standards. They therefore determined to shut up the house for a few nights. Mr. Kemble came forward in the course of the evening; and having, with great difficulty, obtained a hearing, he said, that the proprietors were most anxiously inclined to do every thing in their power to meet the public inclination, and to allay any ferment which might have been created. They were, therefore, willing that a committee of gentlemen should be appointed to inspect the state of the concern, and from the profits thence derived, to say whether the old or the new prices were the most fit and reasonable. He also stated, that it was the intention of the proprietors, that till the report of these gentlemen could be received, the theatre should continue shut.

The committee appointed by the proprietors consisted of men of business, and of gentlemen of the first respectability in life; among them were Sir Charles Price, the solicitor-general, the recorder of London, the governor of the bank, and Mr. Angerstein. The report made by these gentlemen stated, that the rate of profit for the last six years had been only  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. per ann. on the capital advanced: that the future profits of the new theatre, at the proposed advance in the prices of admission, would amount to only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per ann. upon the capital expended in the theatre, if the same be insured; and that, upon the same supposition of insurance, at the former prices of admission, the proprietors would annually sustain a loss of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on their capital. This report was unsatisfactory to a great part of the audience, who did not seem to give credit to the facts stated: the riots were instantly renewed; and we may add, that scarcely was there ever such a scene of confusion witnessed in any civilized country. Plays were announced, and regularly performed; but whether the words

of the piece were repeated by the actors, or whether the whole was an exhibition of dumb show, could not be ascertained for the incessant shouts, roaring, and other noises, which the audience, or rather the spectators, excited. Night after night, and week after week, was this disgraceful scene repeated. The managers were determined to pursue their course, thinking that the people would scarcely continue long to pay the price of entrance, and yet abandon the amusement for which they paid their money. They were disappointed, and resistance was continued uniformly, and without any abatement, for several weeks. At first the general voice, at least of those who did not join in the tumult, was decidedly with the managers; but when these had recourse to means the most hostile to humanity for their support, the public current set in against them:—when men of the most ferocious characters were planted in all parts of the house to overwhelm, with bludgeons and other destructive weapons, an irritated and defenceless populace, the proprietors became objects of general indignation. With those who were guilty, many innocent persons were taken up and imprisoned, some even without those forms which the laws of the land in all cases require; many were seriously maimed who had not the smallest concern in exciting the nightly disturbances; and some, even females, were treated with a brutality which reflected the greatest disgrace on those who authorized it. Bills of indictment in abundance were presented on one side, and on the other actions were entered by persons who thought themselves aggrieved, either by false imprisonment, or by illegal and injurious treatment. The grand jury threw out almost all the bills presented against those charged with being active in the riots; and in the mean time the box-keeper was cast in an action, and a verdict with damages given against him for an assault. The managers had indicted Mr. Clifford and others for a conspiracy; but when a verdict was obtained against their own servant, who had acted his part with marked violence, and the most bitter malevolence, they undoubtedly began to be apprehensive that their indictment would redound to their own discomfiture and disgrace, and were anxious for an opportunity of accommodating matters. A dinner was held at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, to celebrate the victory gained by Mr. Clifford over the box-keeper, and to devise, probably, the means of resisting the managers, and of defraying the expense which would be necessarily incurred in defending the persons indicted. To this meeting, after dinner, Mr. Kemble craved an admission, and terms of peace were digested and settled. It was agreed that the price of the pit should be restored to its former state, and that the

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new price for the boxes should be continued; that after the present season the private boxes should be laid open; that all prosecutions, on both sides, should be given up; and that the managers should express, publicly in the theatre, their regret at the events which had so long (between two and three months) disturbed the public harmony. The terms were ratified in the playhouse, excepting only, that the box-keeper was marked with public execration, and it was agreed that he should withdraw. At length, by means of a supplicatory letter, he was again restored to his office, and every thing went on in the usual routine.

October 25. In a work of this nature we must not omit an account of the celebration of the jubilee, on occasion of the happy event of the British monarch's entrance into the 50th year of his reign,—an event which has happened but twice before in the long history of our country. This rare occurrence was regarded, by all ranks of the people throughout every part of the united kingdom, in a manner worthy of an amiable, patriotic, and venerable king, and a loyal and enlightened nation. The day was one of the finest imaginable for the season, and favoured the public expressions of satisfaction in the highest degree. The celebration was announced in this great metropolis by the pealing of bells, the hoisting of flags, and the assembling of the various bodies of regular troops, and the different corps of volunteers throughout the town. The forenoon was dedicated to public worship, and the acknowledgment of the Divine Providence (exemplified in the protection of his majesty's person, and of the many national blessings almost exclusively enjoyed by the inhabitants of the united kingdom) in every parish-church and chapel: and we may add, that among the various classes of dissenters, of all persuasions, we have heard of no exception to the general loyalty and piety of the day. Indeed, we sincerely believe, that the blessings of toleration are too deeply felt, and the advantages of the British constitution too generally acknowledged, to give room for any material difference of opinion in any respectable portion of society. All the shops were closed. The lord-mayor, and the whole civic body, went in procession to St. Paul's; and it was truly gratifying, amidst the multitudes in the streets, of both sexes of every rank and description, to see the children of our innumerable charitable institutions walking to their respective places of divine worship. Piety and charity must ever go hand in hand; and for this reason the celebration of an event, which was the cause of general and national hospitality and benevolence, was peculiarly delightful. This was the true nature, the best blessing, and the nearest resemblance to the origin and

ancient practice of a jubilee. The annals of no nation, we fondly believe, will be found to have exhibited greater marks of the best virtues that enrich the human heart. The debtor was set free, the hungry fed, and the naked in many instances clothed! In all such cases, vanity and fashion might lead some to acts of generosity; but we should not be over-scrupulous in our inquiries into the motives of conferring general benefit, and producing happiness to thousands, though it be but for a day. We are satisfied, that to the general character of our countrymen and countrywomen, no such suspicion even attached; and that the blessing of "him that has none to help him," will fall upon no small number. Such an union of piety and charity, while it is a comfort to ourselves individually, brings out, and makes a happy exposition to Europe and the world, of the national character of Britons; and thus combining moral and political good, is, we believe, in a word, "that righteousness which exalteth a nation."

At one, the Tower guns fired, and the guards assembled on the parade in St. James's Park, and fired a *feu de joie* in honour of the event. After church hours, the streets were crowded with the population of the metropolis, in decent or in lively attire; every house pouring forth its inhabitants: the number of well-dressed persons, and the display of the genuine beauty of a great majority of the sex, who do not constantly shine at midnight dances and the public show, but whom this celebration brought into observation, exceeded any former example. Most of them wore ribands of garter blue, and many had medals with the profile of the king.

The magnificent preparations for the evening were the general objects of notice, which the brilliancy of such a day as October does not often see, gave them full opportunity of observing; while the volunteer corps, returning from their respective parades, enlivened the scene with a martial, as well as a patriotic and a festive feature. As the evening approached, the corporation of London, and various other bodies, were hastening to the Mansion-house, and to their different halls, taverns, and other places of meeting, to celebrate in a more mirthful way the 50th year of the reign of a British king. At the Mansion-house the corporation sat down to a dinner provided by the chief magistrate of the city; the merchants and bankers met at Merchant-Tailors' hall, to the number of 400, and many of the chief companies of London at their halls; and numerous other parties at various places of public or private entertainment.—Daylight was scarcely gone, when the full blaze burst forth upon the eye in all the skill of art, and in all the radiant splendour and varied magnificence



magnificence of the general illumination of the British capital. Hands were, with much difficulty, procured to light up the innumerable lamps; and therefore the illuminating of most of the public edifices commenced as early as three in the afternoon. All the other customary demonstrations of popular satisfaction were abundantly exhibited, with, perhaps, some little of the awkward, though, we trust, honest coarseness, with which the great body of the people express their homely, but sincere, participation of the festivities in which all were called upon to share and unite.

On this happy occasion, a proclamation was issued for pardoning all deserters from the fleet, whether they return to their duty or not; and another, pardoning all deserters from the land forces, provided they surrendered in two months from the 25th. The lords of the Admiralty ordered, to every man in his majesty's sea-service, an extra allowance. Eleven crown debtors were discharged from prison, in addition to above 100 liberated by the Society for the Relief of Persons imprisoned for Small Debts. The donations to this laudable society for the above charitable purpose have been most liberal. The city of London set the example, by subscribing 1000*l*. Many other corporate bodies, and a multitude of individuals, followed in the same track, so that thousands were set free, and made happy, by the munificence of the day.

Early in the month of December, a cause was decided in the court of Arches, which had been more than a year in its progress, and which was of very considerable interest to the clergy of this kingdom, and also to the great body of those who dissent from the church of England. The cause was instituted by Mr. Kempe, a dissenter, and a Calvinist, against the reverend Mr. Wicks, rector of a parish in Somersetshire, for refusing to bury a child belonging to two parishioners, on the ground of the child having been baptized by a dissenting minister. It was contended, on the part of the rev. Mr. Wicks, that the administering of this sacrament must be performed by a lawful minister of the established church of England, otherwise such baptism was to be considered as null and void, both by the ancient and modern rubrics, canon law, and various other authorities, quoted by the learned civilians on the subject.—Sir John Nicholl, after hearing the counsel on behalf of the promoter of the suit, was of opinion (after entering at considerable length into the various authorities upon the point in question), that the rev. Mr. Wicks had mistaken the law, and that it was his duty to have performed the ceremony; at the same time recommending, as

this suit was not brought by Mr. Kempe through any vindictive spirit, but only for the purpose of determining the right, and setting the question at rest, that he would be satisfied with correcting the error, and establishing the right, without proceeding any further in the cause.

On the 9th of January 1810, the livery of London assembled in common-hall for the purpose of receiving the report of the sheriffs relative to the presentation of the address and petition lately voted to his majesty, and to which we have already alluded. The lord-mayor opened the business, and the crier read the report of the committee, stating, that it was his majesty's pleasure that their petition should be delivered at the secretary of state's office, in consequence of the public levees having been discontinued for the last four years, owing to the defect in his majesty's eyesight, and that the liberty to present it at the private levee had been refused. Upon this an animated discussion took place, and resolutions were unanimously passed, to the following effect:—1. The right of the livery to petition: 2. Denominating the refusal to receive such petition a flagrant violation of the rights of the livery: 3. That complaints against his majesty's servants are likely to be nugatory, if they must previously pass through the hands of the ministers: 4. That those who advised his majesty to refuse receiving the petition, have committed a breach of their duty, violated one of the first principles of the constitution, and abused the confidence of their sovereign, &c.

In the historical facts of last year we had occasion to notice the frequent recurrence of the practice of duelling, and the fatal effects attending upon it: from some cases which have happened in the present year, 1810, we cannot silently pass by the crime of suicide, which seems to have been sanctioned in this city by the practice of persons eminent for humanity, kindness, and various other social and personal virtues, but who nevertheless, upon the failure of their pecuniary resources, or upon some sudden and unexpected reverses of fortune, have not scrupled to desert their families, at a moment when their aid was peculiarly necessary, to support and console them under afflictions, for which they were probably more unprepared than those who have thus prematurely abandoned them to the most cruel and heart-breaking reflections and reproaches. The humane and benevolent cannot be displeased at a jury who are called to pronounce a verdict on one that has thus rushed out of life, and who give that verdict in favour of a sorrowing widow and fatherless orphans, by pronouncing the deceased insane. In many cases, however, self-murder cannot



be the effect of a deranged mind: it seems to have been the result of as much deliberation as any former act of their lives. A wealthy man cannot endure a state of poverty, his pride is wounded, and he prefers death to a degradation from the rank in which he had been accustomed to move. In the same way, it would not be difficult to trace the causes which have led others, though from very different motives, to the perpetration of the crime of suicide. We do not mean to apply these observations to any individual case which we have to notice: we do not wish to reverse the verdicts of any jury who, upon evidence, however slight, have given decisions favourable to survivors; but we would willingly do our utmost to prevent others from following the sad example; we would gladly dash from the hand the fatal instrument lifted up against the life of its possessor. We would call on the husband, the father, and the child, to think of the evils which they are bringing upon the heads of their friends and relations, before they commit an act that admits of no repentance, and that inflicts a stain which no time can obliterate.

About the middle of January, Mr. Lyon Levi, an eminent diamond-merchant, precipitated himself from the top of the Monument, and was literally dashed to pieces. Mr. Levi attended to several appointments in the city about eleven o'clock, and transacted his usual business; and at twelve o'clock obtained admission to see the Monument. He walked several times round the outside of the iron railing before he sprung off, and in falling, the body turned over two or three times before it reached the ground. When near the bottom, it came in contact with the architectural ornaments, which, in some measure, broke the fall, but which caused his instant death. The dreadful act was traced to his pecuniary embarrassments.

Another case of this melancholy kind was in the death of Mr. Abraham Goldsmid, who shot himself through the head, at his house at Morden, in Surrey, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 28th of September. The verdict of a jury, assembled for the purpose, and to which, as it agreed with the evidence before them, we have no objection, was, "Died by his own hand, but not in his senses at the time." It will not be difficult, however, for the historian to trace the rash act to a more satisfactory cause than that of insanity. Mr. Goldsmid had been a joint-contractor for a late loan of 14,000,000*l.* with the public-spirited Sir Francis Baring. The price of the funds had taken an unfortunate turn; Omnium, as it is called, that is, the particular stocks of which the loan consisted, had fallen rapidly, from one per cent. to between six and seven per cent. discount. By this he was an actual loser of  
more

more than 200,000*l.* even if it went no lower, against which there could be no security: and he saw little probability that they would rise again. He felt that his fortune was in a measure lost; that his credit must, in a few days, or perhaps hours, be shaken; that his bills must for a season be dishonoured, and that he, who had afforded help to thousands, in the hour of their misfortunes, must himself seek similar aid, in this great emergency. Overwhelmed with the thought, which had some days preyed on his mind, he, after a sleepless night, committed the rash and fatal act to which we have referred. As soon as intelligence of this distressing event reached the city, the funds were instantly depressed: Consols fell 3 per cent., and omnium fell from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to  $10\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. discount. Such was the effect which the death of this gentleman had upon what is called the monied interest. Upon the friends and acquaintance of Mr. Goldsmid, to the remotest degree, it excited emotions of sorrow and affliction, which no pen can describe. The name of Abraham Goldsmid had, for years past, been rarely mentioned but in connexion with some kindness, some act of beneficence that he had performed to alleviate distress, or to advance honest industry in the world. A man more truly amiable, in all the relations of life, never existed. His general philanthropy, his ready munificence, his friendly demeanour, his mild and unassuming manners, have been long known and esteemed. It is said that none, of any class or description, ever became tolerably acquainted with him without improving their fortunes, in some degree, by the connexion, so that the list of those whom gratitude, or the sense of kindness received in some way or other, had bound, or ought to have bound, to him, was almost endless. Yet there were those who heard of the melancholy event without any sensations of grief: the cold-hearted speculator in the funds, who was interested in their depression, exulted in the news: he saw a road opened to him for the accumulation of his property; and the distresses of an amiable widow, of a number of fatherless orphans, and of multitudes dependent on his life for support, were, in their estimation, as dust in the balance compared with their main object, the “*auri sacra fames*,” the accursed love of money.

In the month of March, the attention of persons in the metropolis, and, indeed, in every part of the country, was roused by the relation of a fact, which was regarded as unprecedented in our history. Captain Lake, of his majesty's navy, had actually put one of his sailors, named Robert Jeffery, on the island of Sombrero, which was known to be uninhabited, where he was left to starve, for a very trifling



trifling offence. Some of the men had remonstrated, as far as sailors dare remonstrate, with their commander, but he was deaf to their prayers, and sent the unhappy man, without money or clothes, to perish by hunger, or by beasts and birds of prey. A crime of this nature was not likely to be passed over in silence. The captain was brought to trial before a court-martial, and was reprimanded. Here the matter had apparently ended; but the circumstance began to be noticed by persons out of the navy, and the cause of the poor man was undertaken by Sir Francis Burdett, who brought it before parliament on the 3d of April. The honourable baronet, with eloquence which made a visible impression on the house, drew an unaffected picture of the situation of the unfortunate seaman; declared, that, from the whole of the circumstances, he believed the man had perished upon the island; but, whether he had or not, the moral guilt of the act rested upon captain Lake. The honourable baronet then read extracts from the evidence, and called the attention of the house particularly to the circumstance, that captain Lake, when near the island of Sombrero, being informed by the master, in reply to a question put by him, that there were two thieves on board, had, without inquiring for the other, ordered up Jeffery, and declared that he would not keep such a fellow on board his ship. Spencer, the master, in his evidence, acknowledged, that he had often said that it would be a very good thing if they could get Jeffery out of the ship, as flogging would do him no good. Here then, said the honourable baronet, is an actual conspiracy against this unhappy man; he was seized, and sent away without his clothes or money; there was no use in those to him, for he was sent away to die. In two months after, he was sent for, and his trowsers only were found. The man was supposed by the seamen to have been devoured by the birds of prey that flock round the island: yet this act, with all its horrid feeling about it, was thought by the admiral in the West Indies, and his court-martial, to be a trivial occurrence; and a report of a report, taken from the report of an American paper, was to acquit captain Lake of the deepest crime of which the laws can take notice. Sir Francis then commented, in forcible terms, upon the conduct of the party who were sent on shore to look for Jeffery, and upon their being provided with fowling-pieces to shoot birds on the island. This circumstance, coupled with others, induced him to think, that it was intended to draw off the attention of the party from any diligence of search. Contrary to admiral Cochrane's statement, the nearest land to Sombrero was Anguilla, a distance of seven or eight leagues. It could not be pleaded that this

crime was done in anger—no; the sun had set and risen upon captain Lake's revenge. The next morning the ship was in sight of Sombbrero; but no feeling, no thought, could awaken him to a sense of the misery he had inflicted—a lingering detail of all the sufferings that can be laid upon our nature, where the pains of the body, burning under a tropical sun, were wound up by the bitter depression of a mind that was never to hear the sound of a human voice again, never to feel the consolation of a human presence, but sink, from hour to hour, helpless, hopeless, deserted, and in despair. It had been said, that the first suggestion that the island was uninhabited reached captain Lake when he was at Barbadoes, and that he declared, that he would not for 20,000*l.* have put the man on shore, if he had known it. But why did he not even then inquire about Jeffery? Why not send to America, which he might have done for the hundredth part of the money, and discover whether he was living? The very seamen who were sent in the boat with Jeffery declared, that he must be starved to death.

The result of this motion was, that an address was carried to his majesty, to "request that he would give directions that a search be made in all his majesty's settlements abroad, and in his majesty's fleets, and also in all foreign countries where his majesty has influence, to ascertain whether the said Robert Jeffery be alive." In the course of a few weeks it was discovered that he had made signals of distress to an American ship as she was passing by, which came up to the island, and took the unfortunate man away; and sometime in the autumn he returned to his native country, when, it is said, he was amply remunerated by the friends of the captain for all his sufferings, and for all the risk which he had run.

Another circumstance that was brought before parliament, and which very much interested the public, was the subject of the Walcheren expedition. Of the merits of this expedition, or of the arguments brought forward by the contending parties, we shall take no notice; our business only is with the decision which brought together in London more members of parliament than had ever met on a like occasion. The wisdom and conduct of the expedition were discussed in a committee, from which the public were shut out; but when all the witnesses had been examined, and the general question came on to be argued, the debate, which was carried on during several nights, was terminated by four separate divisions, which took place at seven o'clock in the morning of Saturday the 31st of March; in which a greater number of members voted than had ever been known on any former occasion; there being  
counted,



counted, on one division, 504. The first division was on the resolutions of lord Porchester, conveying a censure on ministers, on the ground of the expedition being impolitic: upon this division there was a majority of 48 in favour of ministers. The second division was upon the amendment, approving of the conduct of ministers on the policy of the expedition: ministers had a majority of 40. The third division was upon the resolution of censure, as to the policy of retaining Walcheren so long: ministers had a majority of 51. Upon the fourth division, approving of the conduct of ministers in the retention of Walcheren, ministers had a majority of 23.

From this melancholy subject the public attention was contrived to be immediately called off by the proceedings of the house of commons against Sir Francis Burdett, in consequence of a pamphlet published by him, being the substance of what he had said in his place, in parliament, addressed to his constituents, the electors of Westminster, in which he denies the power of commitment for libel, recently assumed by that house in the case of Mr. Gale Jones. Mr. Lethbridge moved, that Sir Francis Burdett's letter was a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting upon the just privileges of the house; and, after a debate, which lasted till eight o'clock in the morning, the house divided on an amendment moved by lord Folkestone, for getting rid of the question by proceeding to the other orders of the day. The amendment was lost by a majority of 191. Mr. Lethbridge's resolutions were then agreed to without a division. After this, Sir Robert Salusbury moved, that Sir Francis Burdett should be committed to the Tower. Mr. Adam moved, as an amendment, that Sir Francis should be reprimanded in his place. A division took place upon the amendment, which was rejected by a majority of 38. The motion for committal to the Tower was then carried.

This was in the morning of Friday, April the 6th, and the Speaker issued his warrant for the commitment of Sir Francis immediately; but as the principles, in the support of which the baronet had thus engaged, led him, of course, to consider that instrument as illegal, he determined not to obey it; and after having refused to comply with the personal requisition of the serjeant at arms, to surrender himself as a prisoner, he in the course of Saturday addressed the following letter to the speaker:

" Sir,—When I was returned, in due form, by the electors of Westminster, they imagined they had chosen me as their trustee in the house of commons, to maintain the laws and liberties of the land. Having accepted that trust, I never will betray it.

" I have also, as a dutiful subject, taken an oath of allegiance to the king, to

obey his laws; and I never will consent, by any act of mine, to obey any set of men, who, contrary to those laws, shall, under any pretence whatsoever, assume the power of the king.

“ Power and privilege are not the same things, and ought not, at any time, to be confounded together. Privilege is an exemption from power, and was, by law, secured to the third branch of the legislature, in order to protect them, that they might safely protect the people—not to give them power to destroy the people.

“ Your warrant, sir, I believe you know to be illegal—I know it to be so. To superior force I must submit: I will not, and dare not, incur the danger of continuing voluntarily to make one of any association, or set of men, who shall assume illegally the whole power of the realm, and who have no more right to take myself, or any one of my constituents, by force, than I or they possess to take any of those who are now guilty of this usurpation; and I would condescend to accept the meanest office that would vacate my seat, being more desirous of getting out of my present association, than other men may be desirous of getting profitably into it.

“ Sir, this is not a letter in answer to a vote of thanks; it is an answer to a vote of a very different kind. I know not what to call it; but since you have begun this correspondence with me, I must beg you to read this my answer to those, under whose orders you have commenced it. I remain, sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

*Piccadilly, April 6, 1810.*

“ FRANCIS BURDETT.”

Those who had taken up this business, were employed on Saturday and Sunday, in concerting the most advisable means of carrying the warrant into execution, as Sir Francis had expressed his determination not to surrender himself, except to actual force: and during the whole of these two days and nights, the people were constantly assembling round Sir Francis's house, and giving him tokens of their attachment, though the streets were paraded by dragoons. At length, on Monday morning, an immense military force was drawn up before and near the house, and the warrant was carried into execution by Bow-street officers, with almost theatrical management and effect.

A little before eleven, the sergeant at arms, accompanied by messengers, police-officers, and a large military force, broke violently into the house. Sir Francis was sitting with his family, and on the appearance of the sergeant, he asked, by what authority he broke into his house? The sergeant produced the speaker's warrant,  
which



which Sir Francis refused to obey ; and demanded if it was intended to be executed by a military force ? The answer was in the affirmative : whereupon Sir Francis commanded them to desist in the king's name, and called upon the sheriff for his aid. It was answered, that the sheriff was not there ; and Sir Francis then said, that they should not take him but by force, which they accordingly did, and hurried him through a double file of soldiers, drawn up in his own house, to a glass coach, which they had in waiting for the purpose, and conveyed him to the Tower, escorted by a large body of horse.

In the return of the troops from the Tower, being grossly insulted by the spectators, they fired repeatedly on the people, and some lives were lost : in one case, however, the coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the life-guardsmen who fired the fatal bullet. The individual could not be pointed out, and the government peremptorily refused to take any pains in the discovery, in which, all circumstances being considered, they seem to have been perfectly justifiable.

On the prorogation of parliament, towards the end of June, it was universally expected that Sir F. Burdett and Gale Jones were to be drawn home from their respective prisons in popular cavalcade. Extensive preparations had been made for this purpose, and an order of procession announced. The day had scarcely dawned, when the people were in motion. Music was heard in every direction. At the several appointed rendezvous, the people began to assemble about ten, and from thence proceeded to the Tower. Before one, Tower-hill and all the avenues approaching it were literally thronged. By half after two the whole of the procession was in readiness to move ; and from that moment the most eager expectation prevailed, but which in the end was totally disappointed ; for Sir Francis was no sooner liberated, than he took a boat, crossed the river, and proceeded in his carriage to Wimbledon. Lord Moira was the first who announced this disappointment to the leaders of the procession, by whom it was communicated to the assemblage on Tower-hill ; but there was a general indisposition to believe it. Mr. Sheriff Wood having, however, confirmed the intelligence, mingled expressions of surprise and indignation burst from many of the crowd ; but the latter sentiment was short-lived ; the people feeling that they ought to suspend their judgment, until an opportunity was afforded for explanation. At five, the procession moved from Tower-hill. The phaeton, with four horses, provided for Sir Francis Burdett, was empty ; and the

effect of a procession where the hero is absent may be readily conceived. In consequence of Sir F. Burdett not appearing in the procession, two gentlemen belonging to the committee of his friends waited upon him at Wimbledon, to seek an explanation. Sir Francis received them in company with his brother, and stated, that his withdrawing on the preceding day had been the result of the deepest reflection; that his enemies had been base enough to charge him with the blood that had been shed on a former occasion; and had he, by gratifying his personal vanity, been the cause of a single accident, he should have reflected upon it with pain for the remainder of his life. An expression of public sentiment was necessary: it had been complete, and his being in the procession could not have added thereto. Had he made his friends acquainted with his intention under an injunction of secrecy, it would have had the appearance of *finesse*. On the whole, he was convinced that the public cause would be benefited by the conduct he had pursued; and of that, he entertained no doubt, his friends would ultimately be persuaded.

We have now to record a circumstance that cannot fail to give a melancholy cast to the memoirs of the year. The reader will easily imagine we allude to the indisposition of his majesty, brought on in the present instance by the tender affection which he bore for his daughter, the princess Amelia, who had, during a year and a half, borne a martyrdom of sufferings. Her royal highness died on the 2d of November. In her manners she was so mild, elegant, and amiable, as to win every heart. To her parents she exhibited the most striking display of filial piety. Her love for her father was revealed in all her actions; and even in her looks, when it became painful to her to articulate; and so tenderly was it expressed a few days prior to her decease, as to occasion the unfortunate indisposition under which his majesty now labours. He had taken uncommon interest in her case, frequently visited her, and seemed even to share in her sufferings. His sympathizing heart appeared at length to be overcome. Symptoms of debility, both in body and mind, were observable on the 3d of October; the disorder at this period was seen in its mildest form; on the 25th he did, of his own accord, consult his physician, about which time the princess, at one of his visits, presented him with a ring, containing a lock of her own hair, as a memorial; and taking her aged parent by the hand, which she grasped with more than usual eagerness, she said “REMEMBER ME.” This was more than he could bear:—there is no man, deserving the name of Father, who would not, under similar circumstances, have been overwhelmed by sentiments of grief,



grief, which no words can express, and of which none but a parent can have any idea. Upon his majesty the effect was most melancholy: he doubtless remembered his beloved daughter, he participated in her griefs, but he forgot himself: his mind was completely overfet, and on the 28th he was pronounced incapable of all business. In this state he has remained to the present time, Jan. 16th, 1811.

This, alas! is not the first time to which the historian of the present work has been obliged to recur to his majesty's incapacity for public business. If the reader turn to p. 803-6, he will there find an account of the proceedings that took place on a similar occasion. What was done in 1788-9, in parliament, has, in every respect, been followed in 1810-11; we shall not therefore go over the same ground again, but only mention those facts which were omitted in that part of the volume.

Parliament met on the 1st of November, being the day to which it was prorogued; the state of his majesty's health was made known to the members, and they adjourned to the 15th, and on that day they agreed to a like adjournment to the 29th. A third adjournment was now moved, which caused a very warm debate, ministers wishing to follow the precedent set them by Mr. Pitt in 1788, and the opposition were at once desirous of addressing the prince of Wales to undertake the regency. Ministers laid before both houses the report of the privy council, containing the examination of all his majesty's physicians, which stated it to be their unanimous opinion, that though his majesty was certainly incapable of business, yet they entertained the most confident hopes of his recovery, but they were unable to state at what period he might become convalescent. On this report they proposed an adjournment to the 13th of December, but an amendment was moved in both houses to appoint a committee of each house to examine the physicians themselves. The adjournment was carried by large majorities.

On the 13th, committees of the two houses, very fairly selected, were appointed to examine the physicians as to the state of his majesty's health. In a former case, the examinations were only referred to; we will now give a brief, but as faithful an abstract of them as possible, in order that the public may be in possession of every material fact on the subject.

Dr. Reynolds was first called. He said his majesty has sometimes been better, and sometimes again he has been worse; there have been paroxysms; there have been times when he has been apparently going on well, and then something suddenly has  
thrown

thrown him back. Having alluded to the *integrity* of his majesty's mind, and being asked what he meant by that, he answered—"I mean, that his memory is entire; his perceptions are entire; and his acuteness is considerable; which appears from every now and then a comment on any thing that is said. His judgment I have said was perverted, and that at present his discretion is asleep at times; though every now and then there are gleams of both, but they are transient."—Q. "Is the present age of his majesty likely more to affect the duration of his illness, than his age at the respective periods of his former attacks of his disorder?"—"I can only answer that question by saying, that age seems to have made very few depredations upon his majesty. He is apparently younger and stronger than many persons much younger than himself; and therefore much better able to resist the effect of disease than several persons younger than himself would be."

Dr. Baillie was next called in. He said his majesty was sometimes afflicted with bodily ailment, and that, were there no such ailment, the chance of his recovery would be less. The king's age rendered his recovery less probable; at the same time his majesty, at 72, was younger and stronger than many others at 62. With respect to the king's defect of sight, he should conceive, that, in the earlier periods of an indisposition like the king's, blindness would probably be an advantage; that it would lessen the excitement; but towards recovery, the want of sight would be a disadvantage, because he would be deprived of many amusements that would occupy his mind, and assist in the complete recovery. This was, however, altogether conjecture. He thought the king's present indisposition would be a longer indisposition than some of the former. He had never known but one person who was affected with this disorder who was as old as the king, and that person saw; but that person did not recover. He believed his majesty's affection for the deceased princess, and grief during her illness, was the cause of his indisposition; and that he conceived rather favourable with regard to the prospect of his majesty's recovery. It was better to know some fixed cause for the complaint; and it was better likewise that the cause should have ceased, which it has done in the present instance.

Dr. Heberden, in reply to a question about the king's being informed that his physicians were coming to town to be examined, and who informed him, said, "I understood it to have been Dr. Reynolds. I believe it was owing to that cause that his majesty had a little hurry upon him at the time I saw him."

Sir H. Hallford was next examined. He said, that he thought the last time the queen



queen saw the king, was on the 29th of October; that the chancellor saw him on the 29th of October, and last Wednesday. Upon being informed the chancellor was come to Windsor, the king desired to see him. Witnesses informed the king of his arrival, and introduced him. The king expressed great satisfaction at the interview. It made no difference in his mental health. On the preceding morning he found the king involved in a great many misconceptions, and took the liberty of using the chancellor's name as a medical expedient; and it had the desired effect. He did not consult his colleagues, but took it entirely on himself. Throughout the day the king alluded to the conversation several times, and seemed to be less under the influence of error. The physicians left the room when the chancellor had his second interview, because it seemed desirable he should form his judgment uninfluenced by the presence of any person. Dr. Willis expressed an apprehension that the interview might be injurious. Witnesses did entertain great hopes of his majesty's recovery.

Dr. R. D. Willis said, he had confident hopes of his majesty's recovery, but could form no judgment of the duration of his illness. Had he known the king proposed to see the chancellor, he should have objected. It produced no beneficial effect. He had had persons under insanity of the king's age, not perhaps under derangement similar to his. The king's derangement was more nearly allied to delirium than insanity. In delirium the mind is entirely employed on past impressions, which rapidly pass in succession, resembling a person talking in his sleep. In insanity, there may be little or no disturbance in the general constitution; the mind is occupied on some fixed idea, and adheres to it in opposition to the plainest evidence of its falsity. Taking insanity and delirium as two points, he would place derangement of mind between them. His majesty's illness partook more of the delirium than of the insanity. When he first saw his majesty, on the 6th of November, he was perfectly unconscious of surrounding objects. The king was far from being in a good state of health at this time. The symptoms of bodily indisposition were sufficient to account for the present symptoms of the state of his mind. After he objected to the chancellor's admission, he proposed going to the king, to see in what state of expectation his majesty was; knowing that he had been apprised of the chancellor's visit to Windsor. He found him then in such a state of expectation, that it was a doubt whether as much irritation would not arise from keeping the chancellor away, as from admitting him; and he therefore assented, as a choice

choice of evils, that the chancellor should go in. His majesty's complaint being more nearly allied to delirium than insanity, he thought it, on that account, much more easily cured.

On Monday Dr. Baillie, again called in, stated, that on the 25th of October his majesty was hurried in his manner; his pulse was at 90, and his conversation was a little desultory; that is, passing from one thing a little rapidly to another. On the 26th his conversation was very much hurried. He said that the queen and three of the princesses saw the king on the 27th of October. The queen by herself (that is, without the princesses), saw the king for a little time on the 23d of October, and likewise on the 29th, for a short time. The king was principally in the custody of Dr. Robert Willis, who takes, in a great measure, the management of the persons who are more immediately about his majesty's person. Witness first saw the princess Amelia on the 26th of December 1809; and every time that he saw the princess, he was with the king afterwards, so as to have a good deal of conversation with his majesty. Before the 25th of October, that hurry of manner occurred two or three times, but not in any very strong degree enough for him to remark it. His majesty's manner is never a very quiet manner, but he did not recollect any thing that struck him, except two or three days, perhaps, before the 25th of October. The lord chancellor saw his majesty the day before yesterday, and also on the 1st of November; and Mr. Perceval saw him on the 29th of October.

The report of this examination was laid before the house of commons on the 17th, and it was unanimously determined that the house should, on the 20th, be called over, in order to insure a full attendance; and that it should then form itself into a committee on the state of the nation. This being agreed to, Mr. Perceval, out of respect to his royal highness the prince of Wales, submitted to him, by letter, on the 19th, his intended plan of a regency, expressing a hope that he might be honoured with his royal highness's command to wait on him to know his pleasure on the subject. His royal highness signified to Mr. Perceval, that, as no step had yet been taken on the subject in the two houses of parliament, he did not think it consistent with his respect for the two houses, to give any opinion on the course of proceeding which had been submitted to him; and the answer concludes with expressing the prince's most earnest wishes, that a speedy re-establishment of his majesty's health would make any measure of the kind unnecessary. No interview took place.



The prince of Wales communicated to all the branches of his illustrious family the plan of the regency ; upon which the whole of the royal dukes, with one consent, drew up a declaration and protest against the form of proceeding ; and which they addressed to Mr. Perceval, for the information of ministers at large. It stated in substance—

That, understanding from his royal highness the prince of Wales, that it was intended to propose to the two houses the measure of supplying the royal authority by the appointment of a regency, with certain limitations and restrictions, as described, they felt it to be their duty to declare, that it was the unanimous opinion of all the male branches of his majesty's family, that they could not view this mode of proceeding without alarm, as a regency so restricted was inconsistent with the prerogatives which were vested in the royal authority, as much for the security and benefit of the people, as for the strength and dignity of the crown itself ; and they, therefore, must solemnly protest against this violation of the principles which placed their family on the throne.

This royal protest was signed by Frederic duke of York, William Henry duke of Clarence, Edward duke of Kent, Ernest Augustus duke of Cumberland, Augustus Frederic duke of Suffex, Adolphus Frederic duke of Cambridge, and William Frederic duke of Gloucester.

Notwithstanding this declaration of their royal highnesses, which must be regarded in the light of a protest, circulated in a very unusual and unprecedented manner, and which, perhaps, it would be difficult to justify, Mr. Perceval did not change his plan : he was resolved to abide by the precedent, as far as it went, of the years 1788-9 ; he accordingly, on the 20th of December, submitted to the house of commons the three following propositions :

1. That it is the opinion of this house, " That his majesty is prevented by indisposition from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business ; and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby for the present interrupted."
2. That it is the opinion of this house, " That it is the right and duty of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's late indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require."
3. " That for this purpose, and for the maintaining

entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two houses of parliament respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition."

The honourable gentleman then proceeded to state, that he should propose that his royal highness the prince of Wales should be appointed to exercise the office of regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, during the continuance of the king's indisposition: that, generally, all the powers of the government should be committed to his hands: that to her majesty, the queen, should be entrusted the care and guardianship of the king's person: that due provisions should be made to notify the king's recovery, and chalk out the course of proceedings by which his majesty might be enabled to reassume his functions. These three provisions should have no limit in point of time, except what should arise from the duration of the king's indisposition. Taking all the circumstances connected with the king's indisposition into consideration, a limit should be placed on the prerogatives of the crown, when in the hands of the regent, for a twelvemonth; taking care that the limitation should expire during the sitting of parliament, and at least six weeks after it was convened. It would then be open for parliament to re-consider the subject; or, if they did not think that duty necessary, the termination of the restriction would have the advantage of having occurred under the eye and superintendence of the legislature. Upon these grounds, he thought that there should be a suspension for the same period of the power of granting any rank or dignity in the peerage, with certain exceptions. Also, that all pensions and offices granted should continue *only* during the continuance of the regent in office, unless subsequently approved and confirmed by his majesty: and, lastly, that to her majesty the queen, with the care of his royal person, should be committed the appointment to the several offices connected with his majesty's household, subject to the re-consideration of parliament.

These resolutions, and others which restricted the powers of the regent according to the plan sketched out by the chancellor of the exchequer, were agreed to, excepting as to the queen's having the appointment of all the great officers of his majesty's household. It would not accord with the limits of this work to proceed, step by step, with the proceedings of the two houses; it will be sufficient to say, that, on  
the



the 15th of January 1811, they agreed to a plan proposed by ministers of affixing the great seal to a commission for the opening of parliament; and in a few minutes after, that is, after the seal had been affixed, the lord chancellor stated, in his place, that forasmuch as certain causes prevented his majesty from conveniently attending in parliament in his own person, a commission had issued under his great seal for the opening the same: which commission having been read, the lord chancellor then proceeded to deliver, in the king's name, his own speech on the opening of the present session of parliament, in which he observed, to the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled, that, acting under the authority of a commission under his majesty's great seal, they had, among other things, chiefly to call to their attention the afflicting circumstance of his majesty's indisposition, and the necessity of their providing the best means for the care of his sacred person, and the due exercise and maintenance, in his name, of his royal authority.

Parliament was now considered as legally and constitutionally assembled; and, in the house of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that there must be another commission appointed for the purpose of giving the royal assent to the regency bill; which bill was brought in, and, after long discussion, was carried through both houses.

Preliminaries being completely settled, it was notified to the prince, that it was hoped he would now graciously take upon himself the office of regent; the 6th of February was accordingly appointed for his taking the oaths previously to entering on the duties of his high station. On that day, about two o'clock, the royal dukes, and a numerous assemblage of privy-councillors, attended at Carleton-house. The lord president of the council obtained a private audience of the prince, to prepare his royal highness for the business of the day. A public levee was then held, which being over, the prince signified his readiness to attend the council, to which, with all the great officers of state, he immediately went in procession.

On their entrance into the grand saloon, a long table was prepared, covered with crimson velvet, with massy silver ink-stands, which originally belonged to queen Anne. The oaths, directed to be taken, and signed by the regent, were laid at the head of the table, written on vellum. His royal highness took his seat at the head of the table, the lord president on the right, and the lord chancellor on his left hand: the other privy-councillors being seated, the lord president briefly stated the indisposition and incapacity of the king, and the proceedings that had taken place

in parliament to appoint a regent ; and then read the oaths required, by the act, for the prince to take, to enable him to fill that high office ; and his royal highness signifying his willingness to take them, the lord president proceeded to administer the oaths, and the prince signed the vellum upon which they were inscribed, in the presence of all the royal dukes, and of about seventy other privy-councillors.

The proceedings upon swearing in the prince regent being ended, his royal highness retired, and commenced the duties of his office, by transacting business with the ministers of state.

### THE END OF VOL. I.











